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WOLSELEY

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DATE:

1894

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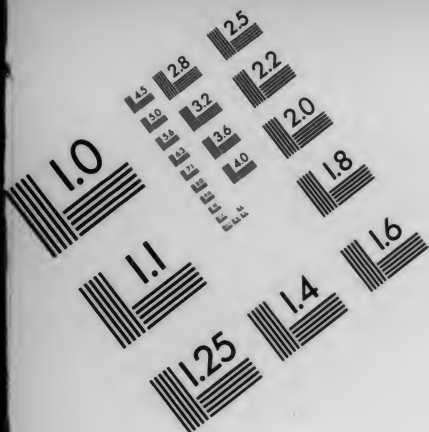
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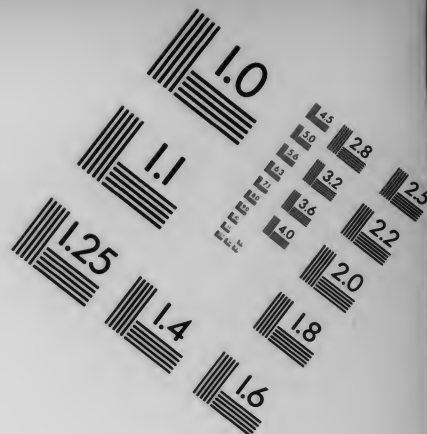


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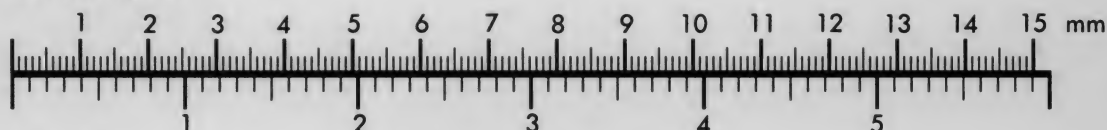
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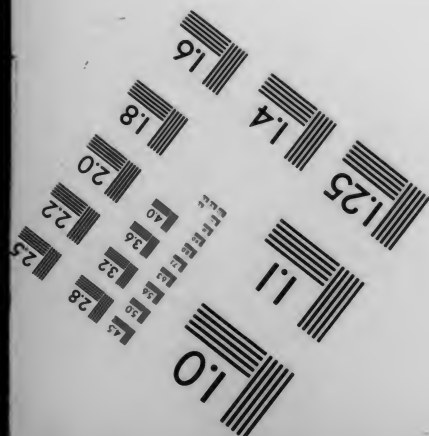
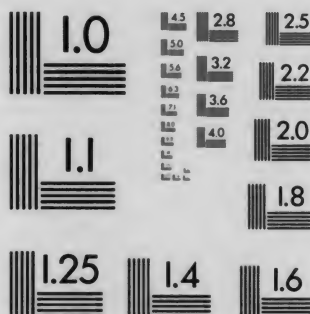
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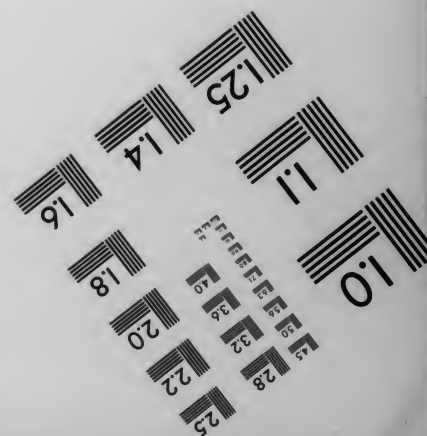
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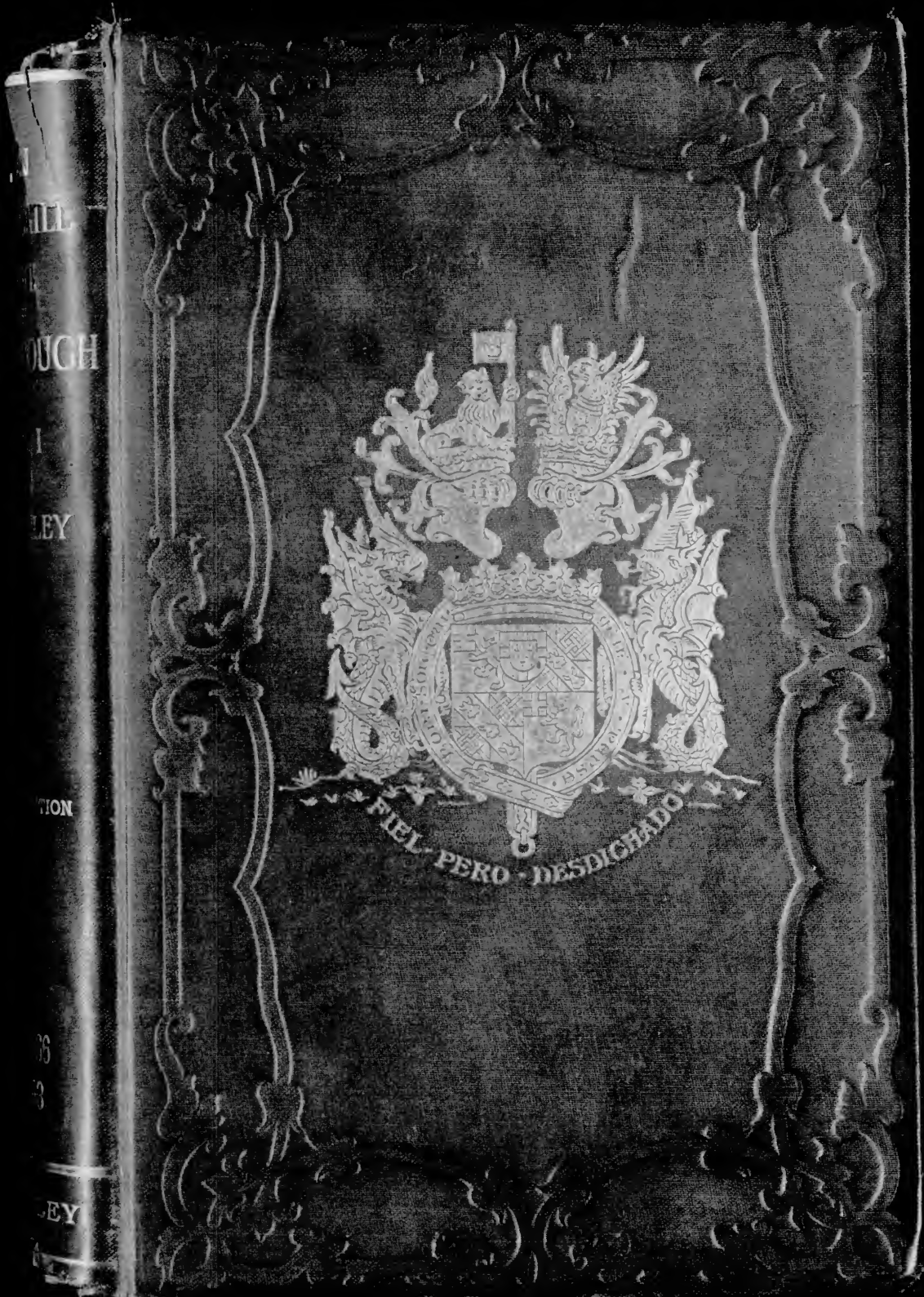


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THE LIFE
OF
JOHN CHURCHILL
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
BY THE
REVEREND FATHER OF OUR ANNO



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THE LIFE
OF
JOHN CHURCHILL
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

TO THE
ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE

BY
FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT WOLSELEY, K.P.



ASH HOUSE IN THE YEAR 1750

VOLUME ONE

FOURTH EDITION

LONDON
RICHARD BENTLEY AND SON
Publishers in Ordinary to Her Majesty the Queen
1894
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M. H. 23 Jan. 1900.

I dedicate this Book
TO THE
MEMORY OF MY MOTHER,
WHO TAUGHT ME TO READ.

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P R E F A C E

WHEN Virgil undertook to sing of 'Arms and the man,' he knew well that an account of the 'arms'—the actual campaigns—would fail in interest without a study of 'the man' himself. Following afar off so great an example, I have striven in these volumes to bring before my readers the man John Churchill whilst I relate the Duke of Marlborough's feats of arms.

There is, both at home and abroad, ample material for the history of his wars in Queen Anne's reign, but there is little to be found which bears upon his domestic life, or illustrates the inner working of his curiously constituted mind.

After a careful study of my subject, I found it would be impossible to make the reader understand Marlborough's character and actions without giving a brief account of the picturesque period in which he lived and of the people with whom he associated.

It is not easy, therefore, to condense the story of his life, and I would disclaim all intention of competing with the writer of the following stanza, who won the prize of five

hundred pounds which the Duchess of Marlborough offered for the best poem commemorating the deeds of her great husband :

Five hundred pounds, too small a boon
To set the poet's Muse in tune
That nothing might escape her.
Were I to attempt the heroic story
Of the illustrious Churchill's glory,
It scarce would buy the paper.*

In these volumes the dates are given according to both the old and new styles. When at home, Marlborough invariably used the former, and when abroad, the latter.

I need hardly add that this book has been written at the odd moments of leisure in a busy life, on board ship, in camp, and often at long intervals of time when on duty abroad and in the field.

WOLSELEY.

June 4, 1893.

* *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. iv., p. 153.



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THE LIFE OF JOHN CHURCHILL,
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

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MARLBOROUGH'S BIRTH AND BIRTHPLACE.

The registry of his birth—His horoscope—Situation of Ash House, his birthplace—Axminster and its church—The Axe River—Musbury and its church—The Drake Family—Lord Boteler—Ash House burnt—Mrs. Churchill's 'groaning chair'—Ash House Chapel—Marlborough's lineage—The Manor of Churchill.

'Those will not look forward to their posterity, who never look backwards to their ancestors.'—BURKE.

1650 *John the Sonne of Mr. Winstone Churchill was Baptized
att Ash the 2th Daye of Jun in the year of our lord god*

THIS is the facsimile of an entry* in the badly-kept and sorely-neglected parish register of the very old church of St. Mary's, Axminster. The year is noted on the margin, as there was apparently no room for it elsewhere. There

CHAPTER
I.
1650.

* This entry has been examined most carefully, and the following reading of it has been corroborated by those well skilled in deciphering this old written character. 'John the Sonne of Mr. Winstone Churchill was Baptized att Ash the 2th Daye of Jun in the year of our lord god.' As mentioned above, the year 1650 is added on the margin of the page.

1650 MARLBOROUGH

is also a marginal reference to a note written on the cover in 1780 by the Vicar, the Rev. B. Symes. This note refers to the entry, not only of John Churchill's baptism, but also to that of his sister Arabella, two years before, in which her surname and the Christian name of her father are incorrectly spelled: it is as follows: '*For Churchwell read Churchill; for Weston read Winston; and for Aishe Haule read Ash Hall. The person whose baptism is here so simply recorded was afterwards the illustrious Duke of Marlborough, Prince of Mindlheim, Generalissimo, etc.*'

The date given is Old Style; had it been rendered according to the New Style, it would have been June 12, 1650. This christening took place, when the child was a week old, in the little detached chapel belonging to Ash Hall. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. M. Drake, Rector of Musbury, the parish in which Ash stands.* It is not clear why the entry of this baptism was made in the Axminster instead of in the Musbury parish register, where most of the baptisms and marriages celebrated in Ash Chapel are recorded, but it may have been because the church of St. Michael's, Musbury, was closed at the time for extensive repairs, and for the addition of what is known as 'Drake's Aisle.'

John Churchill was born in Ash House, about 1 a.m. on Sunday, ^{20th May,} ~~5th June,~~ 1650. Many have asserted that he could not have been born there as the house was then in a ruined condition from injuries sustained during the Civil War. But although it was in a dilapidated state, his parents did certainly live there in 1650, and there he was born. Mr. Prince, the author of 'Worthies of Devon,' was then seven years old, and lived at Newenham Abbey, close by Ash Hall. He was related to Mrs. Winston Churchill's family, and Marlborough's maternal uncle, Sir John Drake, was his godfather; in writing, therefore, about the birth

* The Rev. Matthew Drake was a distant relative of the Drakes of Ash.

of his illustrious playmate, Prince wrote of circumstances personally known to him. He refers to the companion of his boyhood as 'The present Right Honourable the Earl of Marlborough, whose birth at Ash, in the parish of Musbury, hath greatly honoured our county of Devon.'*

The date of John Churchill's birth has been variously recorded, but that given above may be relied on. Two of his autograph letters bear out this statement. It was his invariable practice to use the 'New Style' when writing from abroad, and the 'Old Style' in letters written at home. In one of these two letters, dated 6th June, 1707, and written in Flanders, he says: 'This day makes y^r humble servant 57.'† The 6th June, N.S., in the eighteenth century, corresponded with the 26th May in the seventeenth. The other letter was written at home, and its date, the 26th May, 1710, was 'Old Style.' In it he states that day to be his sixtieth birthday.

A manuscript book in the British Museum, by Partridge, the well-known contemporary astrologer and almanack-maker, gives Marlborough's 'Scheme of Nativity.' According to it, he was born 58½ minutes after midnight, 25th—26th May, 1650. In a note to this horoscope it is said that had he come one hour later into the world he must have been beaten at Blenheim.‡

His birth was in the darkest period of the rebellion, when Cromwell was made Captain-General of all the forces of the Commonwealth, and when chivalrous Montrose was hanged in Scotland. King William III. was born some five months later. Thus the same year gave England two of her most remarkable history-makers—two men destined

* Page 564, quarto edition of Prince's 'Worthies of Devon.' Prince was an accurate historian of his own locality.

† This letter is in the Earl Stanhope's possession.

‡ Mr. Henry Jenner, of the British Museum, has been good enough to work out this horoscope astrologically. Of it he writes: 'It does not seem at all characteristic; it has avowedly been "rectified" as to time by working backwards from some event in Marlborough's life.'

to be in after life most intimately associated, and to take prominent parts in that great but vulgar drama of the Revolution.

The traveller who visits the birthplace of Marlborough will not be rewarded by any striking scenery. But association will give interest to a spot not otherwise remarkable. If I dwell on the surroundings of the house in which he spent the first ten years of his eventful life, it is because I feel that his strong personality has power to lend charm to a humble landscape, and dignity to a homely valley.

Ash House lies about two miles south-west of the drowsy, stone-built little town of Axminster, and about one hundred and fifty by road from London. It is well situated, though, like most English dwellings of the same period, it stands low. It is on the left or eastern bank of the river Axe, from which it is distant some five hundred yards. Originally a simple oblong block, facing north-west, it was partly burnt during the civil wars, which about 1642, began to surge westward into Somerset and Devon. Axminster was occupied alternately by the troops of both sides, between whom there were frequent encounters. The town stands on a hill, at the foot of which runs the Axe, a bright and rippling stream. The narrow streets of the present little town creep up from the river to the high ground, once a British, and afterwards a Roman station. From earliest times the site had been occupied as a stronghold. In Saxon days the town was called Brunenburgh, and the great battle of that name was fought close by nearly a thousand years ago.

Early in this century most of the old houses were destroyed by fire, and few now exist that Marlborough could ever have seen. The Grand-Duke Cosmo III. passed through the town in 1669, and describes it as a collection of about two hundred houses, mostly of mud, and thatched with straw. He refers to its manufacture of woollen cloth, and remarks upon the pleasing harmony of its bells. The church, dedicated to the Virgin and St. John the Baptist,

is mainly of the thirteenth century, but part of an earlier structure, notably one doorway, remains which was built by King Athelstan to mark the burial-place of those who fell in the battle. Within the church lie many of Marlborough's maternal ancestors, the Drakes of Ash.

On many a surly winter evening, as the boy John Churchill sat listening for the latest news of Cromwell's doings, he must have heard the curfew-bell toll its slow and solemn admonition from this massive, square-towered belfry. Two centuries later the narrator of his deeds was busy in searching the records of that church's register for information about the Duke of Marlborough, and in copying from its pages the entries of sums expended by the churchwardens to supply General Churchill's troops with guides and transport during another, though much less serious rebellion.

To reach Ash House from Axminster, you follow for about two miles the winding, narrow road—the Fosseway of the Ancient Britons—which runs from that little town through the village of Musbury to Axmouth.* Near Ash House the river flows lazily over a gravelly bed through a deep fertile valley. The smooth, luxuriant meadows of luscious grass, often covered with flights of seagulls and curlews driven inland by stress of weather, afford rich grazing to herds of red Devonshire cattle. These choice fields have belonged in turn to Celtic, Roman, Danish, Saxon and Norman invaders.

In the seventeenth century the lower waters of the Axe abounded with salmon, but none run up now, though its bright, gleaming pools and rippling, sun-coloured shallows, still afford the trout-fisher good sport. No troublesome bushes entangle his casting-line, for the mower's scythe sweeps the very edge of its shelving banks. The peaceful, meandering stream is at certain seasons a chosen

* The Fosseway was used by the Romans to connect Ischalis and Moridinum. It was said to run 'from the south-west to the north-east into England's end.'

haunt of wild duck and widgeon, and a happy nursery of water-hen and bald-coot. After many a sunny reach of placid, slowly-running water, the Axe discharges itself noiselessly into the sea, some four miles below Ash House. The dominant characteristic of the scenery is smiling tranquillity. There is a harmony in the tone and colouring of this essentially English landscape that is most restful to the eye. The rich green of its herbage contrasts pleasantly with the deep red of its stone-strewn ridge-and-furrow. The fields, small, and curiously irregular in shape, have been fenced in by the patient industry of generations, with huge, hedge-topped banks which in places rival the dykes of Holland. The grass-covered ramparts of many a Flemish city may well have reminded Marlborough in after-life of these great fences of his own native valley. These thick, robin-haunted hedges are well studded with small-sized trees of oak, elm, sycamore and beech. But there is certainly no oak now there that could have existed when the great Alfred, or his equally-great though less-known grandson Athelstan, hunted in the extensive forest then surrounding the royal residence at Axminster.

Deep hollow lanes, perhaps dating back to Druidical times, wind their tortuous way in all directions. Snug homesteads surrounded by small crofts or great orchards, and 'bosomed high in tufted trees,' find shelter there from the winds of winter, while thatched cottages, covered with honeysuckle and other creepers, sleep on in the sunshine. Time would seem to have no value for these good Western folk, and the air of drowsy idleness which pervades both man and beast, appears, as it were, to be stamped upon the very face of nature herself. It is a vision of languid rest, and even the clouds seem to move in a lazy and objectless fashion. Stillness, fitfully broken by the song of birds and the lowing of kine, reigns supreme in the ripe maturity of this fruitful valley. Here gentle nature breathes content, and the well-fed herds, and the pleasant humming of bees

in the fruit-laden orchards, bespeak a land flowing with milk, honey, and cider.*

Looking south from Ash House, about three-quarters of a mile down the valley, you see the little stone-built hamlet of Musbury, with its narrow street of detached cottages, and small, trim gardens. It is built upon a spur of the rounded hills which there form the eastern side of the Axe Valley. High above the village is the parish church of St. Michael's, whose square tower forms a conspicuous landmark in the neighbourhood. There, many of the Drake family lie buried, and some interesting monuments exist to their memory. One represents three couples, husbands and wives: the men in armour, all in ruffs, and cleverly painted in the fashion of the day. The hands of each figure are joined in prayer, and in front of each couple is an open book, inscribed with this Royalist text: 'Let the Lord arise, and let His enemies be scattered.' In part of the church still known as 'Drake's aisle,' the windows are of the same character as those in Ash House, and like them doubtless came from the ruins of Newenham Abbey.

Early in the fifteenth century the estate of Ash, Aish, or Esse, as the name was variously spelled, passed by marriage into the Drake family, from a junior branch of which came Sir Francis Drake, the great navigator.

Sir John Drake of Ash, Marlborough's maternal grandfather, was a Cavalier, and commanded the quota of militia raised in Axminster. He died in 1636, leaving a widow and a large family, one of whom—Elizabeth—was Marlborough's mother.† His eldest son, Sir J. Drake, knight

* Duke Cosmo complains of the badness of the roads, abounding in mud and water, but he remarks upon the 'spacious meadows for feeding cows in which this district abounds.'—The London edition of his travels, 1821.

† This Sir J. Drake is buried in Musbury Church, where a part of his tombstone still exists. He was married in the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, $\frac{1}{2}$ 5, 1616. His family consisted of eight sons and five daughters.

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and afterwards baronet, was also loyal to the King, but on bad terms with his Puritan mother, to whom Ash was left absolutely.* He lived at Trill, then known as the 'Tenant's House,' and about half a mile south-east of Ash.†

‡ 6, 1665.

Lady Drake, his mother, a staunch Parliamentarian, lived at Ash until her death in 1666.‡ She left the place to her grandson, passing over her son. She was the eldest daughter of Lord Boteler (sometimes spelt Butler§), of Bramfield, Herts, by his wife, who was sister of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of James I., and of his son Charles I.; hence the cousinship between Marlborough and Barbara Villiers, the infamous Duchess of Cleveland, of whom more anon. Another daughter of Lord Boteler married James Ley, second Earl of Marlborough, a fine chivalrous gentleman, who was killed in the naval battle off Lowestoft, in 1665. His title became extinct in 1679. It was in consequence of this distant connection that Lord Churchill took the title of Earl of Marlborough.¶

In 1644 the Roundhead Lady Drake sent to the officer commanding the rebel troops at Lyme to ask for a detachment of soldiers to garrison her house of Ash. Lord Powlett, then in command of the King's forces at Hinton-St. George, being told of this, marched forthwith upon Ash. He effected an entrance through the window of the chapel, which then joined the house, and put to flight the

* During Lady Drake's widowhood, her son, Sir John, was not allowed access to Ash Chapel. We find from the parish registers that all his children were baptized in his house at Trill, or in Musbury Church, whilst all Winston Churchill's children were baptized in Ash Chapel.

† He was in 1643 godfather to John Prince, author of 'Worthies of Devon.' See Davidson's 'History of Newenham Abbey,' p. 221.

‡ She died 10, 1666, and was buried in Holyrood Church, Southampton.

§ This family had also representatives in Bedfordshire, and one of the Botelers from that county was Lord Mayor of London in 1515.

¶ The first Lord Marlborough of the Ley family was a lawyer who became Chief Justice, and afterwards Lord High Treasurer.

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Roundheads before they had had time to finish the defensive works they had begun.* The King's troops upon this occasion did great injury to the house, and burnt part of it. Enough, however, remained for Lady Drake to live in, and shortly afterwards, about 1646 or 1647, her daughter Elizabeth with her Cavalier husband, Mr. Winston Churchill, joined her, and, being destitute, were glad to find a home, even in that ruined place.

In 1647 Lady Drake demanded, and soon afterwards obtained from the Cromwellian Government, the sum of £1,500 as compensation for the damage done to her house and chapel by the Royal troops.† After the Restoration, the house was repaired, and two wings added, by Marlborough's cousin, Sir J. Drake, Bart., who thus converted it into an E-shaped building, with the open part of the letter facing north-west. The Drakes had some control over the neighbouring abbey of Newenham, and its ruins seem to have been extensively drawn upon for the mullions and other cut stone required for these additions. Sir John Drake enclosed the park with a wall, dug fish-ponds, and stocked the gardens 'with a great variety of choice fruits, etc., so that now it may vie for beauty and delight with most other seats in those parts.'‡ In 1778 the stables and offices were destroyed by fire, the house itself was injured, and upon the death of the last Lady Drake, in 1782, it was dismantled as a gentleman's residence. What remained of it was converted into the farmhouse which we now see.

Amongst the old furniture then sold was the 'groaning chair,' in which Mrs. Winston Churchill was delivered of her son John. It had been highly valued in the Drake family as an heirloom 'home to the time of Lady Drake's

* 'Axminster during the Civil War,' by Davidson.

† Roberts, in his 'History of Lyme Regis,' says this money was voted to her by the burgesses of that place in August, 1648, from the rents and profits of Lord Powlett's lands, sequestered by the rebel Government.

‡ Prince's 'Worthies of Devon.'

death.* Such an article of furniture was common in many parts of England during the seventeenth century, when 'groaning cake' and 'groaning ale' were as customary at births as plum-cake now is at weddings.

The existing farmhouse of Ash is evidently the southern wing, that represented by the upper stroke of the **E** in the former plan of this 'antient and gentile' family mansion. It is in the Tudor style of domestic architecture, and built of the gray limestone of the neighbourhood. Some few windows of the same fashion have recently been added. The present owner, an Axminster grocer, has only lately purchased the farm. All immediately around the house is commonplace and unlovely. There is an air of dirt and decay about the grim old place and its rickety, badly-thatched barns. It is about a hundred and eighty yards from the main road, with which it is connected by a mean farm lane. The original drive quitted that road much nearer the village of Musbury, making a wide sweep to the south and west of the house. The visitor reaches the present hall-door through a dirty straw-yard, where even the old watch-dog who sniffs your heels has an air of having seen better days that is in general keeping with the place.

In a large orchard behind the existing farmhouse stands a little slated building of the same perpendicular style. It was once the family chapel, and formed part of the house, but it belongs to an earlier date than the home of the Churchills, for the Bishop of Exeter had licensed it in the fourteenth century. It continued to be used as a chapel until the Hall was dismantled, when it was ignobly turned into a cider-house.

'Thus in this poor world of ours,
Noblest things find vilest usings.'

* This groaning chair was purchased by Sir J. W. Pole, of Shute, in 1782, when the property was sold by the trustees. This is taken from a note in the handwriting of the well-known antiquary, Mr. John Crouch, on a copy of Polwhele's 'History of Devon' (1793), now in possession of General Sir Redvers Buller, of Downes, Crediton.

Carved in stone over the door are the Drake arms, with the baronet's bloody hand, showing that the chapel, as well as the house, was restored after 1660, the year in which the baronetcy was created. The chapel is now divided into two storeys, the upper a wretched apple-loft, whilst in the lower stands a cider-press. The fifteenth-century piscina still remains, also a little old oak panelling in the loft; but dirt, neglect and decay are now the chief characteristics of what was once a shrine of holiness.

There Marlborough and most of his brothers and sisters were baptized, and there, just a century later, Lord North, the Minister, and as some have it, the half-brother of the King, married Anne Speke, the daughter and heiress of the last Lady Drake by her second husband. Both Marlborough and North were the favourites of their respective sovereigns, and in their day of power both wielded great authority. One name recalls the story of victory and national triumph; the other, of failure, folly, and defeat.

Of the fish-ponds with which Ash was once provided, one still remains, and the site of the old level bowling-alley can even yet be traced in the adjoining orchard. Not long ago some of the old bowls were found in the fish-pond. Near the chapel is a fine old walnut-tree, under whose spreading branches the handsome boy Churchill may often have played, and watched the pink apple-blossoms of the neighbouring orchard flutter down into the fish-ponds, or whirl about in the soft wind of a Devon summer. Descending some stone steps, you reach the now neglected garden, where box borders hem in the ill-kept flower-beds, and where herbs and weeds struggle for supremacy. The lichen-covered fruit-trees, gnarled and bent, are in keeping with the high moss-tufted and crumbling walls by which they are enclosed.

Standing on these garden steps, the threshold of Marlborough's forgotten birthplace, what heart-stirring memories of English glory crowd upon the brain! Surely, the imagination is more fired and national sentiment more roused by

a visit to the spot where one of our greatest countrymen was born, and passed his childhood, than by any written record of his deeds. This untidy farmhouse, with its neglected gardens and weed-choked fish-ponds, round which the poor, badly-clothed boy sported during his early years, seems to recall his memory—aye, even the glory with which he covered England—more vividly than a visit to Bienheim Palace, or a walk over the famous position near the village of Hochstadt on the banks of the Danube. The place, the very air, seems charged with reminiscences of the great man who first drew breath here. Yet there is nothing in the scenery of this placid valley to justify the theory that man's mind takes a tone and colouring from its early surroundings. The fair valley, rich with farm produce, seems essentially peaceful and incapable of producing men of the sword. It is difficult indeed to realize that its smooth, grassy banks were once torn by the feet of contending armies, that its hillsides rang with the clash of swords and the din of war, and that nigh ten centuries ago thousands of Norse warriors trampled its rich meadows, as they fled to their ships before the victorious Saxons. The little stream which circles round what was once the park, or, as it was still styled in the Restoration epoch, the 'barton,' of Ash House, has been known as the 'Warlake' ever since that Saxon victory. It crosses the Axminster road near Ash House, at a spot still called the 'King's Field.*' We learn from local folklore, that until recently the children of the neighbourhood prattled of the time when that brook ran red with the blood of Norse warriors, and that there was hardly a grown man between Axminster and the sea who, if obliged to cross the Warlake by night, was not sensible of a certain creeping feeling of superstitious terror.†

* It is common in Devonshire to use the word 'lake' for brook.—
'Book of the Axe.'

† 'Book of the Axe.'

But the place may remind us still more of later times, when Royalist and Roundhead, gay Cavalier and prim Puritan, stalked through the land in such grim contrast. The sight of this once goodly country house revives stirring memories of gallant Drakes and Powletts and other neighbouring squires who fought and suffered for their luckless and unworthy King, and their very names remind us of the long struggle between ruler and people in this distant corner of England. Local tradition is still full of stories about the handsome, ill-starred son of Lucy Walters, who landed hard by with a handful of followers, and whose abortive career presents such a contrast to that of his early friend and comrade, Jack Churchill, who knew not failure. In this spot we recall Monmouth's rebellion, in the suppression of which Churchill took such a leading part, and we pass naturally from the fate of Monmouth to the 'Bloody Assize,' ordered and directed by Churchill's merciless master, whose memory is to this day execrated in these south-western counties. Thus a visit to Ash House is like opening a page of history inscribed with the names of kings and princes and mighty warriors, and looking at the hill across the river, we reflect that in 1688, it was there that Orange William met John, Lord Churchill.

Born here ten years before the Restoration, Marlborough's earliest recollections were of civil war. Stories of hard-fought fights had inflamed his young imagination. Sites of camps, new and ancient, lay thick around his home, and the old folk, far and near, were wont to amuse their children with war stories and legends of Saxon heroes and of Danish invaders. Brought up amongst those who had fought for the King, his young companions were the sons of Cavaliers who had charged at Naseby or bled at Edgehill. The stories of these events were then household words in every neighbouring Hall; and the dented breast-piece and notched sword hanging in the parlour, bore silent witness to hard blows given and received for unfor-

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tunate Charles. Taught by a ruined Cavalier father to hate the canting Puritan, and to ridicule and despise his vulgarity, the chivalry of the unselfish Royalist appealed all the more strongly to the heroic sympathies of the boy, while the remembrance of the overwhelming misfortunes of the picturesque Royal martyr appealed to his imagination and excited his compassion. Whatever effect the peaceful character of the surrounding scenery may have had upon him, the atmosphere of his early home could not fail to foster a love for war, to arouse within him a healthy personal ambition, and to tinge his young dreams with military enthusiasm.

Biographers sometimes think it necessary to prove their heroes to be of ancient lineage, and long pedigrees are accordingly invented by ingenious heralds to substantiate the existence of mythical ancestors. But the vexed question of John Churchill's genealogy will not be entered upon here, for it is impossible to connect him positively in any direct way with the long list of forefathers allotted to him by many historians. Indeed, it seems doubtful if his descent in the male line can be traced with any certainty beyond his grandfather, Mr. John Churchill, though there can be no doubt, that, like most of England's greatest leaders, he sprang from a family that had long been reckoned amongst the landed gentry of the Kingdom.

In the list of landowners near Bridport, in 1330, we find the name of 'John Chirchille,' who was doubtless one of his ancestors.* In Wilts and Dorsetshire, families of that name had long been settled.† Mr. Awnsham Churchill, the celebrated bookseller and publisher in the reigns of William III. and Anne, was a kinsman of Marlborough, and Sir John Churchill, Master of the Rolls, was his father's first-cousin.‡ Many Churchills had been knights of the

* Appendix to Sixth Report of Historical MSS. Commission.

† Hutchin's 'Dorsetshire'; Anthony Wood; Collinson's 'Somersetshire,' vol. iii., p. 57.

‡ Sir John, born about 1620, married Susanna, daughter of Edmund

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shire, which generally implied that they were men of birth and position, and the name of Elias de Churchville appears in the list of Edward II.'s Parliament, as 'manucaptor of Rogerus de Nonaunt, Knight of the Shire,' returned for Devon.*

The family would seem to have come originally from Somersetshire, and probably derived its surname from the hamlet of Churchill, in the parish and manor of that name. Some biographers, not content with dilating upon the assumed ancient lineage of Marlborough, insist upon his French origin, because of the strong similarity between *council* and Churchill. They ignore the fact that the name is composed of two very common Saxon words, frequently found joined together in all parts of England, churches being often built upon hills. No combination of two words could be more natural than that of 'Churchill'; indeed, no fewer than four parishes and one hamlet in England are so named. It has its counterpart in Churcham, Churchdown, Churchover, and Churchston. A common family name in Dorsetshire is Churchnaye — 'naye,' or as it is sometimes written, 'nayre,' being the South-country word for ham, or hamlet. Crichel (Circel) is evidently the same word as Churchill. Long Crichel, Dorset, is written in the 'King's Book' *Kyrchil Longa*. Churchill is, and was, by no means an uncommon name, and looking to its derivation, it is unlikely that all who bear it come from a common stock. The poet Churchill came of an Essex family, and there are other families of that name who can trace no connection with Marlborough or any of his forbears. Of these families, one was settled in the seventeenth century at Crawley, in the parish of Chardstock, Dorset; another at Crewkerne, Somerset, near Lyme Regis. A Churchill family now resides at Colliton House, Dor-

Prideaux, and died in October, 1685. He was godfather to Henrietta, Marlborough's second child. There was also another Churchill at the Bar, who died in April, 1709, as M.P. for Dorchester.

* Palgrave's 'Parliamentary Writs.'

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18, 12, 1708.

chester, where there still hangs a picture of the Colonel Joshua Churchill who joined Monmouth when he landed.

Luttrell records: 'Yesterday one Deborah Churchill, sometime since found guilty of murder, was carried in a coach to Tyburn, and there executed for the same.' Among the twenty 'poore Weomen' paid to 'walke' at the funeral of Charles II., we find one 'Ann Churchill.*' In reference to the Duke of York's partiality for John Churchill, Legge, and Hyde, Lord Halifax writes: 'He ought to consider those who had ancestors, as well as those who had none.' Sir J. Reresby describes those three favourites as 'being scarce Gentlemen.†' But in the Oxford matriculation papers of Marlborough's father, the grandfather is described as 'Generosus,' which may be deemed as equivalent to what we now mean by 'Esquire.‡'

The manor of Churchill, in Somersetshire, did not apparently belong to anyone of that name, until Marlborough's cousin, the Master of the Rolls, bought it, in 1652, from Mr. Richard Jennyns, the father of Sarah, Marlborough's wife.§ It had only been about a century in possession of her family, Ralph Jennyns, her great-great-grandfather, having purchased it in 1563.|| At Sir J. Churchill's death it passed to one of his daughters, and

* Warrants for funerals in the Lord Chamberlain's office.

† 'Reresby Diary,' 28, 2, 1683.

‡ At Oxford the term 'Armiger' was not, it appears, then bestowed upon anyone under the rank of a knight's eldest son. A knight's younger son and all the sons of country gentlemen were described as 'generosus.' The entry in question runs thus: 'Winstonus Churchill Londō fil. Johis Churchill de Glanville Wootō in Com. ꝑd. Gen. an. nat. 16.' The ꝑd. (predicto) is evidently a clerical error for 'Dorsetiensi.' This information has been kindly furnished by Mr. F. Madan, of the Bodleian Library.

§ Mr. Green, in his history of this manor, describes it as consisting of 20 messuages, 20 cottages, a windmill, 20 gardens, 20 orchards, 200 acres of land, 60 of meadow, 250 of pasture, 60 of wood, and 300 of gorse and heath. Common pasture for all manner of cattle, and free warren in the appurtenances of Churchill.

|| He bought it from Sir Wm. I.o, or Lowe. See the 'Manor of Churchill,' by E. Green, F.S.A.

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through her to her husband's family. It was thus but a very short time in possession of any member of Marlborough's family.

The manor of Great Minter, in Dorsetshire, where Marlborough's father and grandfather had lived, was not their freehold property, but was only rented from Winchester College.*

* The original lease was granted to Marlborough's grandfather in 1642, and it was renewed by Mr. Winston Churchill, Marlborough's father, in 1660.

CHAPTER II.

MARLBOROUGH'S MOTHER, FATHER, BROTHERS, AND SISTERS.

The violent temper of John Churchill's mother—His father at Oxford, in the Civil War, and afterwards in Dublin—'Divi Britannici'—Sir Winston's ten children.

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MARLBOROUGH'S mother was Elizabeth, daughter of the stanch Cavalier Sir John Drake, by his Roundhead wife, Eleanor Boteler. She was clever, but her talents did not compensate for the sharpness of her tongue and the violence of her temper. Her great son inherited his mother's ability, but, happily for him and for England, not her irritable disposition. After his marriage she had many serious encounters with her imperious daughter-in-law, which led to unpleasant family jars. A letter from Dublin in June, 1668, contains an amusing allusion to the fiery, jealous tone of the letters she sometimes wrote to her husband when he was in Ireland. She twitted him for not coming to England occasionally to see his wife, as, she asserts, his colleagues were in the habit of doing. This letter says: 'Sir Winston's lady saluted him with such a tempestuous epistle, as if the only reason he sought not the same liberty was because he was more delighted with his divertizements than obliged by his business to continue here.'*

Marlborough's father, Winston Churchill, was born in 1620, and lived at Mintern, near Dorchester. He was the

* The Carte Papers, Bodleian Library.

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son of Mr. John Churchill, of Wotton Glanville in the same county, who was a member of the Middle Temple, and one of the Deputy-Registrars of the Court of Chancery.* Mr. John Churchill had married Sarah, daughter of Sir Henry Winston, of Standiston, Gloucestershire, from which connection the name of Winston came into the Churchill family. He is said to have made money at the Bar, and the Duchess of Marlborough, in describing her husband's family, states—with some exaggeration certainly—that, when Winston married, his father was able to give him property worth £1,000 per annum. Winston, she adds, was no favourite with his father, who bequeathed his property to his grandson John, her husband, only giving his own son Winston a life-interest in it. In 1678, when seriously in debt, Winston induced his son John to break the entail, in order to raise money on the property to pay off his liabilities.†

In 1636 Winston Churchill, then only sixteen years of age, ‡ 4, 1636. was sent to St. John's College, Oxford.‡ There he soon acquired a reputation for sedateness, talent, and application, but for some unexplained reason he did not remain long enough to take a degree. He quitted the quiet of a Collegiate life when England was already on the brink of that great civil war which for many years ravaged her most fertile districts, destroyed many of her cities, castles and country houses, and laid low thousands of her noblest and manliest sons. The Churchills, father and son, remained loyal to their King. Winston became Captain of Horse, and took part in many a hard-fought encounter. He distinguished himself at the battles of Lansdown Hill and Round-

* He was admitted to that society on 1st 3, 1613. See 'The Manor of Churchill,' by E. Green, p. 6.

† MS. paper by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, in the Spencer House Collection.

‡ The following is the entry of his matriculation, as given in Coxe, '1636, April 8. Winstonus Churchill Londin' fil. Johā Churchill de Glanville Wooton in com. tiō Gen. an. nat. 16.'

way Down, at the siege of Taunton, and at the defence of Bristol.* For the active part taken by father and son against the Parliament, heavy fines were imposed upon both. The father's fine was £440, the son's £4,446.† The former was paid, but the latter was so much more than the son, Winston, could afford, that he was compelled to surrender his property to the Commonwealth. Thus rendered houseless through his loyalty to the King, he was glad to avail himself of his mother-in-law's invitation to share with her the possession of Ash House, her ruined home near Axminster. There he lived with his young wife until his property was given back to him at the Restoration.

During this forced retirement of twelve years at Ash House most of his children were born. It was a period full of portentous excitement for all Englishmen, especially for those who, like Winston Churchill, had staked their all in the cause of the King. He had the good fortune to be fond of books, and was consequently able to find occupation in literary pursuits and in the personal education of his children, for which duty he was eminently qualified. It was from him, at this time, that his son John acquired the rudiments of education.

At the Restoration Mr. Winston Churchill sat in Parliament for Weymouth. Fond of science, he became in 1661 one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, then

* These names are mentioned in the grant of augmentation of arms—now at Blenheim Palace—given to Winston Churchill in 1661; but these names are indistinct, and those of other battles in which he took a part are entirely illegible.

† 'On the 9th April, 1646, John Churchill, of Dorset, late one of the Deputy Registrars in Chancery, prayed in regard he was aged, of infirm body, and unable to travel, that he might be admitted to make a composition by deputy. Following this, in July, he stated he had resigned his office to his nephew, John Churchill, of Lincoln's Inn; and then came John Churchill, of Lincoln's Inn, and answered for the payment imposed on his uncle John, of Wotton Glanville. On the 28th August the fine was fixed at £440.' The Royal Composition Papers, 2nd sec., vol. xiii.; 'The Manor of Churchill,' by E. Green, F.S.A.

in its infancy. In recognition of his loyalty, an augmentation of arms and (what was then by no means common amongst the smaller gentry) a crest were conferred upon him by special warrant.* This was a very cheap way of rewarding loyalty, but, when the privilege of bearing arms at all was confined to a few, it meant more than it sounds to modern ears. As some sort of recognition for all he had lost through his fidelity to the King, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the Court of Claims, created by patent to hear the appeals of the Irish against the Cromwellian Settlement, and to distinguish between the 'innocency and the nocency' of all concerned. This court sat at the King's Inns in Dublin, where the Four Courts now stand.† The date up to which cases were to be heard was May, 1661, afterwards prolonged for some years more.‡ The first case was heard in February, 1662, and the court did not close its proceedings until the beginning of 1689.§ Many of the cases brought before it were heartrending in the extreme. Impoverished gentlemen claimed back the properties of which they had been dispossessed by Cromwell because of their loyalty to the King. The doors of the court were daily crowded by famished soldiers and by tattered peers and squires in absolute want. A few had their lands restored to them; but in most cases those who had sided with the regicides were allowed to retain the castles and the baronies, which, robbed from the loyal Irish, had been given to them by Cromwell as the reward of their treason. It was about this time that Sir Winston took as his motto 'Faithful, but unfortunate'; for he, too, in a

* This warrant of 1, 1661 is registered in the Heralds' College. It was then he assumed the Spanish motto of 'Fiel pero desdichado'—faithful but unfortunate.

† Kennet's 'Register of Events,' 14, 3, 1661.

‡ Some of the Cromwellian Settlers who had obtained forfeited lands were ruined by the decisions of this court.

§ It may be of interest to know that the weekly allowance granted to these commissioners for board and lodging in Dublin was £4 2s. 1½d. each.

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small way had been similarly made to suffer in England. How the boy John Churchill must have pondered over these words in Dublin, when he saw daily in those men who appeared before the Court a striking illustration of how often steadfastness in faith and loyalty led to penury, and in how many cases wealth and titles had been won by treason and perfidy! It was a bad lesson to be learned by a youth at the most receptive period of life.

Recalled to London by the King's order in January, 1663,* Winston Churchill had conferred upon him the distinction of knighthood, and the following year he was made Junior Clerk Comptroller of the King's Household.† He again went to Ireland in January, 1665-66, to sit on the same commission as before.

'Brother Churchill,' writes one of his colleagues, 'was particularly severe upon the Duke of York's agents.'‡ Why he should have been so is difficult to determine.

In 1675 he published a dull, but by no means an unlearned, book, under the curious title of 'Divi Britannici.' It proves him to have been a man of great research, skilled in heraldry, and well read in ancient history. It contains the lives of the English monarchs from the earliest times, and dwells forcibly upon the Divine right of kings to rule their subjects absolutely. It also gives some interesting information about the armorial bearings of our reigning houses.§ In the dedication of this book to Charles II., he says it was 'begun when everybody thought that the

* Fourth Report of Historical MSS. Commission, p. 247.

† Records of the Board of Green Cloth. We read of him as a visitor to the Bodleian Library on 4, 10, 1665.

‡ In the Report of the Carte MSS. by Russell and Prendergast, published 1871, there is a curious story of a fight between Sir Winston Churchill and Captain Thornhill at the chambers of the former in King's Inn, Dublin.

§ Anthony Wood describes this book as 'very thin and trite.' Lord Macaulay, in his lofty, offhand fashion, refers to it with pitying contempt. The work is described on the title-page as 'Being a remark upon the lives of all the Kings of this Isle from the year of the world 2855 unto the year of grace 1660.'

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monarchy had ended, and would have been buried in the same grave with your martyred father,' and 'when none of us that had served that blessed prince had any other weapons left us but our pens to show the justice of our zeal by that of his title.'

When James II. came to the throne, Sir Winston Churchill was continued in his position as 'Eldest Clerk Comptroller' of the Green Cloth, and he represented Lyme Regis in Parliament during the whole of that King's reign. He was shortly afterwards promoted to be Second Clerk of the Green Cloth in ordinary. He died in 1688, and was buried in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Westminster. He had very little to leave his widow, and nothing to leave any of his sons, having been in straitened circumstances for some years before his death. The entail having been broken by arrangement with his son John, as already mentioned, he left the leasehold of Mintern and all his personal property to his widow, with a request that she should bequeath it at her death to their third son, Charles, from whom he had borrowed money to pay his debts.*

Mrs. Winston Churchill bore her husband twelve children. Their names were as follows:

1. Arabella, born in Ash House, and baptized in Ash Chapel, $\frac{2}{8}$ - $\frac{3}{3}$, 1648. She died in 1730.†
2. Winston, who died young.
3. John, born at Ash, $\frac{2}{8}$ - $\frac{3}{3}$, 1650, and baptized in Ash Chapel, $\frac{2}{12}$ 6, 1650; died 1722.
4. George, born at Ash, $\frac{2}{8}$ - $\frac{3}{3}$, 1652-3; baptized $\frac{1}{2}$ 5, 1653; he died $\frac{8}{9}$ 5, 1710.
5. Ellen, baptized in Ash Chapel, $\frac{3}{9}$ - $\frac{1}{1}$, 1652-3.
6. Mary, born $\frac{1}{9}$ 7, 1655; baptized $\frac{2}{6}$ - $\frac{7}{3}$, 1655; buried $\frac{4}{4}$ 5, 1656.
7. Charles, born $\frac{2}{12}$ 2, 1655-6; baptized seven days afterwards.

* Mintern was held on lease from Winchester College. His wife, Lady Churchill, died in 1697. The probate to her will is dated $\frac{1}{1}$ 3, 1697.

† The name in the parish register is spelt 'Churchwell.'

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8. Mountjoy; died young.
9. Jaspar; died young.
10. Theobald, born in Dublin, and baptized in St. Bride's Church, $\frac{1}{2}$ 1, 1662-3.*

There were two other daughters, Dorothy and Barbara, who died in infancy.

Of these only one daughter—Arabella—and four sons—John, George, Charles, and Theobald—lived beyond childhood.†

In small county families like the Churchills of those days, it was the common ambition of parents to provide for their sons in the army and navy, and, if they had any Court influence, to place their daughters in some royal household. Sir Winston and his father had suffered much for their King in the 'Great Rebellion,' and at the Restoration, Charles II. and his brother, the Duke of York, felt bound to do something for them in return. As soon as Arabella was old enough to leave the paternal roof, Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, took her as a maid-of-honour. How she very soon became the mistress of that Duchess's husband will be told in another chapter.

John, the eldest son who reached the age of manhood, is the subject of this history. George, the second son, was provided for in the navy, where the Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, had, of course, much patronage. He served as a volunteer at sea in the Dutch war of 1666, and in after-years displayed both courage and ability as a sailor. His ship, the *Newcastle*, was the first which joined William III. in 1688. In the following year he was given command of a squadron employed on the coast of Ireland during the Duke of Schomberg's unfortunate campaign in that country, and when in command of the *St. Andrew*, he took a distinguished part in the victory over the French at Cherbourg

* Noble says he died in 1685.

† The use of more than one Christian name had not yet been introduced into society.

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and La Hogue. He withdrew from the navy when Captain Aylmer was made Admiral over his head. This supercession followed soon upon his eldest brother's disgrace, and was probably in consequence of it. When Marlborough had been restored to favour, George was appointed Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, and he retained that position until Lord Pembroke became Lord High Admiral. Lord Pembroke was succeeded by Prince George, Queen Anne's husband, who, without doubt to please Marlborough, promoted George Churchill to be Admiral, and made him one of his Council. During the six following years, thanks to his brother's influence, he was virtually the supreme master of the navy. He sat in Parliament during the greater part of his life, but, crippled with gout, he was forced to relinquish all public duty in 1708. At one time he was seriously suspected by the Junto of giving information, through Prince George, to the Queen, of the Whig doings and intentions, but when told of this Marlborough said: 'It is not true, for the Queen does not like him, and seldom speaks to him.' It is much to his credit that he died poor, in an age when most public men robbed the State. This is all the more remarkable, because he had long held highly-paid offices, and had never been married. He died in his fifty-eighth year, and his epitaph in Westminster Abbey contains these words: *Invictissimi ducis Marlburghii frater non indignus.* He left all he possessed to his illegitimate son, George Churchill, and to his nephew, Francis Godfrey. i. 5, 1710.

Charles, Sir Winston's fourth son—the third who lived to grow up—became page to Christian, King of Denmark, at thirteen years of age, and at sixteen Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince George.* He was a keen soldier and an able infantry leader. Had he not been overshadowed by his brother's fame, he would have left

* In the papers of the Lord Chamberlain's office are recorded several lawsuits for debts owed by him, that lead one to believe he was extravagant.

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behind him a well-deserved military reputation. At the battle of Landen he made his nephew, the Duke of Berwick, a prisoner, and was allowed 20,000 guilders for his ransom.* He took a distinguished part in the battle of Blenheim, in recognition of which his brother sent him home in charge of Marshal Tallard and other French prisoners of distinction. He was at different times Governour of Kinsale, of Guernsey, of the Tower, and of Brussels. He rose to be a Lieutenant-general, and was Colonel of the Coldstream Guards, but resigned when he was given to understand at the accession of George I. that his services were no longer required. He died much regretted by those who knew him, and is buried at Great Mintern. He married a daughter of Mr. Gould. She afterwards married Lord Abingdon, and the Dorsetshire property passed with her from the Churchill family. Charles had no children by his wife, but he left an illegitimate son, Charles, who became a General, Governour of Plymouth, Groom of the Bedchamber to the King, and represented Castle Rising in Parliament for many years.† This son was a friend of Sir Robert Walpole's, and married his natural daughter by Moll Skerrett.‡ By her he had one daughter, married to the first Earl Cadogan, who divorced her. He also had a natural son by Mrs. Oldfield, the actress.§

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The youngest son, Theobald, entered the Church. He never obtained preferment, but was at one time chaplain

* Warrant of 2nd March, 1693.

† 'I hear Colonel Churchill is gone to your city. I don't know what he may pass for among you; if assurance will recommend him, he never fails of that quality, though he can behave himself with as much good manners as anybody where his impertinence meets with no encouragement.' Letter from Mrs. Delany, dated 22, 8, 1725. See her Life, vol. i., p. 117. He was born in 1679, and died 1745 at Bath, where there is a monument to him in the abbey. He is immortalized by his friend Hanbury Williams.

‡ Sir R. Walpole afterwards married this Moll Skerrett.

§ Mrs. Oldfield, born 1683, died 23.11. 1730, aged forty-seven.

to the Royal Dragoons when his brother John was its Colonel.*

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* He matriculated in Queen's College, Oxford, when fourteen years of age, 2, 3, 1674; B.A. 1680, and M.A. 1683; died 3, 12, 1685, and was buried in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The following genealogical tree is copied from one found in the Rolls Office amongst the domestic papers of James II.'s reign. The bundle is marked in pencil: 'Heraldic peerage between 1664 & 1668.' It is also endorsed '1687.'

Jasper Churchill, of Bradford, Dorsetshire.	Alice, d. of John Claxton, of Herington, Dorsetshire.	John, Ld. Butler, of Broomfield.	Elizabeth d. to Sir George Villiers, of Brokesby, & sister to George, Duke of Buckingham.
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John Churchill, of Mintern, Dorsetshire.

Sarah, d. & co-heir of Sir H. Winston of Standish, Gloucestershire.

Sir J. Drake, of Ash, in Devonshire.

Ellen, d. & coheir.

Sir Winston Churchill, of Great Mintern.

Elizabeth Drake.

John, now Lord Churchill.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION.

Marlborough's boyhood—His life in Dublin—Goes to St. Paul's School—His education and bad spelling—Knowledge of French.

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JOHN CHURCHILL was his father's second son, the eldest having died in infancy. We know little of his boyhood, and have none of those anecdotes of his early days that are so common in the biographies of great men. His father, an earnest student of history, was his earliest instructor, and from that loyal soldier he drank in a love of England and a deep respect for its history, laws and liberties, which influenced his whole subsequent career. His first regular tutor was the Rev. R. Farrant, Rector of Musbury parish, a man noted for piety and scholarship, and remarkable for having refused a bishopric.* During the ten or twelve years young Churchill spent at Ash House, he learnt from this worthy man the rudiments of knowledge as usually taught at that time to the sons of English country gentlemen, and he acquired that sincere love for Protestantism which was ever his strongest conviction, and one of the most remarkable features in his character. At no period of his career, however, was there any bigotry in his

* 'The Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals,' etc., etc., p. 6. This reverend gentleman (M.A. Oxon.) was in every way fitted for the office of Bishop. He died in 1662, having been given the living of Musbury in 1656 by Sir J. Drake, of Trill House, in succession to Edward Griffin, expelled by the Puritans.

religion, and he leaned rather towards the broad, liberal, Protestant teaching of the Church, than to the narrow theology and ceremonial of its High Church section. In the following pages it will be shown how much this Protestant feeling, acquired in boyhood, influenced his conduct at the great crisis of his life and at what may be termed the most important point in the history of the English Constitution.

When Sir Winston went to Ireland in 1662 as a commissioner of the Court of Claims, he took his wife and family with him. They lived in Bridge Street, Dublin, then a fashionable quarter, though now one of the most squalid in that city. Their neighbours were Sir P. Davys, the principal Secretary of State; John Chevers, whose son was created Viscount Mount-Leinster by James II.; Sir E. Burrowes; Patrick D'Arcy, a famous Roman Catholic lawyer and member of the Confederate Irish; Derrick Westenra, the well-known Dutch merchant; the Marquis of Antrim; and Sir Hercules Langford.*

In Dublin, John Churchill attended the City Free School, an old foundation for some twenty children of poor free-men. The master was the Rev. Dr. W. Hill, Fellow of Merton, Oxford, who only received eighteenpence a quarter for each scholar, in addition to a fixed salary of £15 per annum.† He was, however, allowed to live in the school-house rent free, and to take in by private arrangement a few better-class boys as day-pupils, amongst

* Private letter from Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster, who informed me that the following gentlemen sent their sons to the City Free School, viz., Sir N. Purdon, Colonel O. Wheeler, A. Campbell, A. Adair, F. Rogerson, etc.

† Dr. Hill, known as 'the famous Hellenist,' was born in Warwickshire in 1619. At one time he practised as a physician. The school-house—of which some walls still remain—stood on the eastern side of Schoolhouse Lane, which is extremely narrow, and runs north from High Street to Cook Street. The schoolhouse only fell about 1846. The great and learned Archbishop Usher had been educated at this school.

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whom were young Pooley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, and Nat Foy, afterwards Bishop of Waterford. Young Churchill did not, however, remain there more than a year, for he returned with his father to London towards the end of 1663, and became a pupil in St. Paul's School, of which Samuel Cromleholme was then headmaster. How long he was at St. Paul's is not known, but, as the school—which was closed at Midsummer 1665 on account of the plague—was destroyed in the Great Fire the year after, and was not apparently reopened until 1670, it would seem that his school education must have ended in 1665, near the date of his fifteenth birthday. In that same year his father went back to Dublin to resume his duties as a Commissioner of Claims.

In the Rev. G. North's copy of Knight's 'Life of Colet,' now in the Bodleian Library, where the 'De Re Militari' of Vegetius is entered as one of the books then possessed by St. Paul's School, there is the following MS. note*: 'From this very book, John Churchill, scholar of this school, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough, first learnt the elements of the art of war: as was told me, George North, on St. Paul's day, 1724-25, by an old clergyman, who said he was a contemporary scholar, was then well acquainted with him, and frequently saw him read it. This I testify to be true.—G. NORTH.† Most schoolboys would find the Latin of this work difficult to construe, but the book contains passages of a character to account for the pleasure with which a boy of a strong military bent would pore over its pages, even though he might not be able to turn all its sentences into good English. In the dedication to this 'Life of Colet,' it is said: 'We have lately lost two

* The Rev. G. North was Rector of Codicote. This MS. note is at page 483 of the above-mentioned work in the Bodleian Library.

† This note has been recently verified in the Bodleian Library by Mr. R. B. Gardiner, one of the masters of St. Paul's School; he wrote an article on the subject in *The Pauline* from which I have taken this information.

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persons of the most exalted station that our school (St. Paul's) could glory in, viz., the Dukes of Marlborough and of Manchester, from whom, as we have many instances of favour, we might, if they had lived longer, have expected more.* In an Apposition speech delivered by Christopher Hussey in St. Paul's School about 1702, there is the following allusion to Marlborough: 'Hic Malburius denique ab ipso Cæsare Gallos domare et a Gallorum injuriis vicinas gentes tueri didicit.†

From all this, we are justified in assuming that Marlborough had at least an elementary knowledge of Latin, in addition to the stock of learning he picked up from his father, from the Rector of his parish, and at the schools he attended. When we further remember that in early life he could converse fluently in French—which hardly one of all the King's Ministers could do—we feel that when his enemies pronounced him to be 'grossly illiterate,' they grossly maligned him. As with Hannibal, so with Marlborough, much of our knowledge regarding him comes to us from his enemies. The Jacobites detested him because he assisted William at the Revolution. His rivals in public life envied his success, and hated him for it. It was necessary for the existence of the Government which destroyed him to disparage his talents, and writers employed to vilify him sought to make him ridiculous because he could not spell. His spelling was unquestionably bad, and he often subscribed himself in early life, 'Your lord-chipe's humbell servant.' But in his time there was no recognised standard of spelling, and if he failed in this respect, it was in company with Lord Chancellor Somers and a host of other well-known and even learned contemporaries.‡ The letters of Pepys abound with mistakes in

* See the edition of 1724.

† *The Pauline*, of June, 1892, p. 117.

‡ Somers wrote 'bin' for been, 'coold' for cooled, 'don' for done, 'dor' for door, 'gon so farr,' 'Munday,' 'wee,' 'mee,' 'busines,' 'wine,' 'restlesse,' 'opportunity,' etc. In many contemporary letters from men

spelling, and even in our own time we have had many instances—Wellington and Napoleon, for example—of great men who could never learn to spell properly. His grammar and style were quite as good as those of James II., or Queens Anne and Mary, and most of the history-makers of their time.

To allege, therefore, that he was conspicuously illiterate and ignorant, is to misstate facts. He left behind him a most voluminous official correspondence, from which the reader can judge for himself on this point. One of his friends, a good judge of literary work and style in the reign of Anne, when recounting the wits and writers of his time, says: 'Others I forbear, because tho' a thousand Occasions testify their Abilities, their Modesty hath hitherto concealed their Works and Names: only give me leave to add, it is the Opinion of some good Judges that if the Duke of Marlborough would give us his own Memoirs, we should find he could Write as well as Fight like Cæsar.*'

His knowledge of French has been questioned, because

of position we find the following: 'Pepell,' 'prisener,' 'rable,' 'pees,' 'quiat,' 'imbassadors,' 'to judg,' 'Chanseler,' 'whare,' 'interest,' 'acompanied,' 'pertickelery,' 'exterpreted,' etc. I have taken these examples at hazard from some letters before me. That bad spelling was not a failing peculiar to the English of Marlborough's day the following copy of a letter from the French Duchess of Portsmouth is a good proof. Although her virtue was not what it might be, she was a well-born lady, belonging to the Court of the 'Great Monarch.' This letter is addressed to 'Mr. Sidney.' 'De Paris ce 8 de mar 1689. Ge sais toute les bonté avec laquelle vous aves parles de moy monsieur dont ge vous suys infiniment obliges. Vous saves combien toute ma vie ge esté dans vos interais, et de vos amie de mon caute ge ne suys poingt changé et lonne peut prandre plus de part au tousse,' etc. Many other of her letters, with equally bad spelling and grammar, are in Mr. Alfred Morrison's collection of autographs.

* Dr. H. Felton's 'Dissertations on reading the Classics and forming a just style, written in the year 1709.' He draws a constant distinction between the writings of men of quality and of scholars, and says there is as much difference between their writings 'as there is in the behaviour of a dancing master and a gentleman.'

in one of his letters to Robethon—the faithful agent of the House of Hanover—he gives as an excuse for writing in English, that his secretary, 'poore Cardonale, is sicke.*' This is a very unfair accusation, for many who speak the language fluently, would shrink from writing it, and it is absurd to suppose that one who had served so long in the French army under Frenchmen entirely ignorant of English, like Turenne, should be unable to converse freely in French. In one of his letters from abroad he criticises the imperfect manner in which someone had spoken French in his presence, which of itself should convince the most unbelieving that his knowledge of the language was considerable. Bishop Burnet writes of Marlborough that he was 'bred up in the Court with no literature.' Evelyn refers to him as 'well-spoken and affable, and supports his want of acquired knowledge by keeping good company.' Lord Chesterfield, always cynical about him, says, he was 'eminently illiterate, wrote bad English, and spelt it worse,' and that 'he had no share of what is commonly called parts; he had no brightness, nothing shining in his genius,' meaning presumably that there was no sparkling wit in his conversation. In a discussion with Burnet upon some historical point, he displayed so incorrect a conception of the subject, that the Bishop asked him the source of his information. He replied that it was from Shakespeare's plays he had learnt all he knew of English history.† Such an expression may be regarded as a figure of speech not intended to be taken literally, but still the story has been often quoted as a proof of his ignorance. At any rate, it does not prove his ignorance of history, but rather his knowledge of Shakespeare, which then was and still is, more rare and valuable.

We learn from the published papers of Flamstead, our first Astronomer Royal, that Marlborough was one of the

* Macpherson, vol. ii., note to page 29.

† This anecdote is told by Dr. Warner in his 'Remarks on the History of Fingal,' on Bishop Burnet's authority.

hundred and forty gentlemen who had been his pupils. Flamstead states that he employed these 'young gentlemen' in his 'night observations, to tell the clock, to "write for" him, and in other duties and work that he could safely trust them in.* He says he was compelled to take in these pupils to help him to pay skilled assistants and to purchase instruments. Under such a master it may be fairly assumed that Marlborough learned something of mathematics and astronomy.

With the exception of his bad spelling, then so common a failing, I do not find in the vast correspondence he left behind him any particular evidence of a marked want of education. He was not even then esteemed highly educated, nor was he well read in either ancient or modern literature; but his knowledge of French gave him access to a wide field of literature, which was at that time closed to most Englishmen, and even to many men of letters. But whatever may have been his lack of book knowledge, he had within him the divine spark of genius, that heaven-sent gift which, when allied to wisdom, makes men great; no study can produce it, and no learning can compensate for its absence. It is the rarest of all gifts, and few, if any, have had it in larger measure than Marlborough. But his genius was slow in development, and his great force of character, as well as his mental power, matured leisurely. Even his handwriting was better at forty than it had been at five-and-twenty. As the slowest growing trees produce the hardest timber, it would seem that the genius which takes most time to develop is usually of the highest quality. Marlborough only began his career of victory at fifty-two, and, in the words of Bolingbroke, his 'was the perfection of genius matured by experience.'

* Bailey's 'Account of Flamstead,' p. 49.

CHAPTER IV.

ARABELLA CHURCHILL.

Female virtue in the Restoration epoch—The position of a Royal mistress—Arabella's children—Duke of Berwick—James deserts Arabella—She marries and has more children.

THERE is a wide gulf between our standard of female virtue and that of the Restoration epoch. This is brought home to us by the fact, that an upright, God-fearing gentleman like Sir Winston Churchill, should have wished to see his only daughter established as a Maid of Honour at a Court where Charles II. was King. But in those days it was no slur upon a lady to become the mistress of a prince, nor did her family suffer in reputation. Lord Arlington, in a letter of advice to the beautiful Miss Stewart, refers to the position, which he thought she had accepted, of mistress to Charles II., as one to which 'it had pleased God and her virtue to raise her.* It is said that the parents of Louise de Kéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, sent her originally to Versailles, in the hope that Lewis XIV. would thus favour her. Sir E. Warcup records with pride in one of his letters, that his daughter, a Maid of Honour to Queen Katherine, 'was one night and t'other with the King, and very graciously received by him.† The mistress to a royal prince was courted by all who had access to

* De Grammont, 'Memoirs.' Miss Stewart never did become the King's mistress.

† Granger, vol. iv., p. 338.

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her. Other women envied her good fortune, and her family looked upon her as a medium through whom Court favour, power and lucrative employment were to be obtained. In allusion to the statement that Marlborough owed much of his success in early life to his sister Arabella, Hamilton, who knew thoroughly the French and English Courts, writes, 'Cela était dans l'ordre.' In common with others of his time, he assumed that 'the favourite of the King's mistress, and brother of the Duke's mistress, was in a fair way of preferment, and could not fail to make his fortune.* Edward Villiers was made Earl of Jersey because his sister was the acknowledged mistress of William III., and it was taken as a matter of course that 'la maitresse en titre' should obtain honours and advancement for the members of her family.

Arabella Churchill joined the household of Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, about four years after the Restoration. She soon lent a willing ear to the importunities of the amorous Duke, best known in history as James II. Where or in what year the intrigue began, is not quite certain; but it was probably at York, to which place James and his Duchess went in August, 1665. James had the redeeming trait of being extremely fond of golf and field sports. He rode well, and kept a large number of horses. The country near York being then very open, he amused himself with coursing. Upon one occasion a large party on horseback accompanied him, the Duchess alone being in a carriage, attended by her Master of the Horse, who was also her lover, the handsome Robert Sidney.† Arabella, who was a bad horsewoman, rode a spirited animal, which presently bolted and threw her. James gallantly dismounted to help her, and, struck by the grace and beauty

* De Grammont, 'Memoirs,' p. 310, Bohn's edition, 1846.

† He was son of Lord Leicester and brother of Algernon, who was beheaded. James says in his 'Memoirs' that this Robert Sidney, and not Charles II., was the father of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth. See Macpherson, vol. i., p. 76.

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of her figure as she lay half unconscious on the grass before him, his susceptible heart took fire, and ere-long she became his acknowledged mistress.

She was tall, slight, and well proportioned. Her pale face was not pretty, but neither was she the hideous skeleton which De Grammont describes. Indeed, some of her contemporaries speak of her as good-looking.* In disposition, she was lazy and inert.

She bore four children to the Duke of York. The eldest was Henrietta, Lady Waldegrave. The second was James, Duke of Berwick, whose name will frequently occur in these pages. The third was Henry FitzJames, born in August, 1673, created by his father Duke of Albemarle, and by Lewis XIV. Grand Prior of France; a useless and debauched drunkard, who died in 1702. The fourth was Arabella, born in 1674, who became a nun, and died at Pontoise in 1704.†

‡-18, 1704.

The Duke of Berwick saw active service in many countries. He rose to a high position in the French army, and is best known amongst the famous marshals of Lewis XIV. as the Englishman who, in command of a French army, defeated the English and Spanish armies under the command of the Frenchman, Lord Galway, at Almanza. Berwick was killed by a round-shot in 1734 at the siege of Philipsburg. Unlike his renowned uncle, he gave liberally to those about him, and distributed large sums in secret charity. He died poor in an age when most men of high position amassed fortunes. If, however, he despised wealth, he loved glory. A devout Catholic, he made no parade of his religion. A sincere though moderate Jacobite, he was at all times ready in after-life to fight for his half-brother, the 'Pre-tender.' Marie Louise, Queen of Spain, said of him:

* There is a portrait of her at Althorp.

† See *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. iv., p. 488. In O'Callaghan's 'History of the Irish Brigade,' p. 106, it is stated she 'lived to the age of ninety, and died in February, 1762.'

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'C'est un grand diable d'Anglais sec, qui va toujours tout droit devant lui.'

James soon deserted Arabella Churchill for Catherine, daughter of the witty Sir Charles Sedley, of Eylesford, Kent. This was the lady whom Marlborough's parents wished him to marry. The discarded mistress lived in comparative poverty and obscurity until she married Colonel Charles Godfrey in 1677.* She died in 1730, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the 'Quire door,' in the grave of her brother, George Churchill.

175, 1730.

William III. awarded her a pension of £1,000 a year from the revenues of the Irish property given to James II. when Duke of York.† But she never received this left-handed jointure, as an inquiry by Parliament into the grants of land made so profusely by William resulted in an order to sell all James's Irish property for the benefit of the public. She left, by her husband, one son, Francis, and two daughters. The elder, Charlotte,‡ became Maid of Honour to Queen Mary II., and secretly married H. Boscawen, afterwards created Viscount Falmouth.§ The other married Mr. E. Danch, M.P.|| The son Francis served in the Foot Guards during several of Marlborough's campaigns in the Netherlands.¶

23-4, 1700.

Arabella Churchill lived to see her old lover deposed and

* He had served with Marlborough as a Captain in the Guards. He died at the age of sixty-seven, in 1715, in Bath, where there is a monument to him in the abbey.

† The property upon which Arabella's pension was charged was known as Newcastle, in Co. Limerick. See O'Callaghan's 'Irish Brigade,' p. 106.

‡ She was born 1678, and died in March, 1754, in her seventy-sixth year.

§ His mother was sister of Godolphin, the Lord High Treasurer. This marriage was not owned for several months; why, I know not. Historical MSS., Coke Papers, vol. ii. of 1888, p. 403.

|| Of Newington House, Wallingford. This old Oxfordshire family is now, I believe, extinct.

¶ He was for several years Colonel of the Bedfordshire Regiment, and died 1710, 1712.

die in exile. The man she married fought against him, and for years she must have followed with peculiar interest the progress of a great war, in which her brothers fought for England and her traitor son served in the ranks of England's enemies.*

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* Horace Walpole says he had often seen her, and had once been in a room with her when he was a boy and she in her dotage.

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CHURCHILL BECOMES AN ENSIGN IN THE FOOT GUARDS.

Churchill becomes a page to the Duke of York—Becomes a favourite with James.

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THE compulsory break in the studies of young John Churchill, caused by the closing of St. Paul's School, may very possibly have hastened his introduction to Court life. Upon leaving school his father obtained for him the position of page to the Duke of York, in recognition of Sir Winston's fidelity to the royal cause. It is said that application was in the first instance made to the Duke of Beaufort to take the boy, but as there was no vacancy in the Badminton household, Sir Winston applied to the Duke of York, who granted his request.*

James had a royal fondness for military display. To inspect a handful of troops in Hyde Park, and to see them march past in all their feathers and fine clothes, was one of his most cherished enjoyments. The young page usually accompanied him upon these occasions, and was thus able to indulge that taste for everything military which had grown up with him from earliest childhood. He evinced the utmost interest in these parades, and soon learnt to answer quickly and clearly all questions upon drill details. James was highly pleased with his precocious military knowledge and love for matters to which he himself attached so much importance. When

* Seward's 'Anecdotes,' vol. ii. Also Noble.

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asked upon one of these occasions what he intended to be, 'A soldier,' was the ready answer, and availing himself of the opportunity, he begged the Duke to give him a commission in the King's regiment of Foot Guards, then on parade before them.* His wish was gratified; and in the autumn of 1667 he was given 'a pair of colours,' that is, *†*, 9, 1667. made an ensign in that distinguished corps, and was posted to the King's company, vice John Howard, compelled to retire because of the new law which forbade Roman Catholics to hold any office under the Crown.

Thus began the career of this penniless boy. His own and his parents' poverty brought home to him, as it so often does to young men in similar circumstances, the necessity for hard work on his part. It was the spur in his side which made him put forth all his strength to win in the race of life. How many able men owe it to their easy circumstances that they have passed away, without raising even a ripple on the sea of fame! It is difficult, we are told, for the rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven; it is no less difficult for him to become great in the profession of arms, where a life of hard work and anxious care, often endured under great privations, must always be the initial step on the road to distinction. It is surely for this reason that younger sons are more apt to succeed as soldiers than their brothers who are heirs to fortune. The ambition born of poverty is generally for riches and the comforts they ensure; but a noble nature seeks wealth rather as a means to an end, that end being honour and renown.

To what extent John Churchill was indebted for his first start in life to his sister's influence with her royal lover, it is difficult to say. She had been James's mistress for nearly two years, when her brother entered the Foot Guards, and though it is not improbable that she had something to

* This regiment was subsequently called the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, and, having in this century, like all the foot regiments in the army, dropped its number, is now known as the Grenadier Guards.

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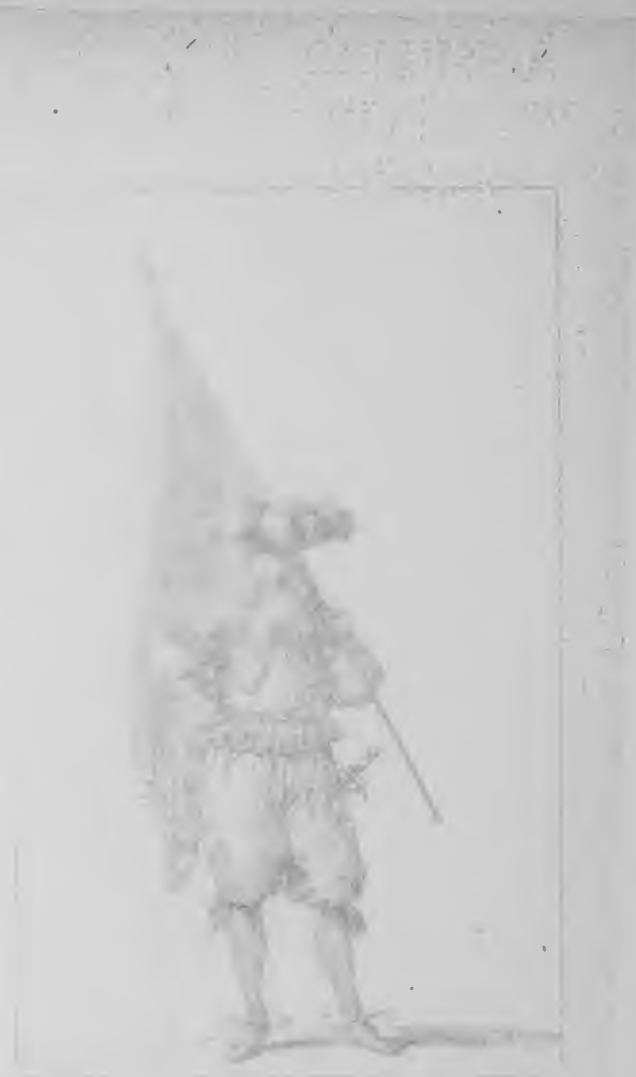
do with his advancement, still, nothing could be more natural than the nomination of a handsome young royal page of engaging manners to a place in the Household Troops. Even in our own time, prior to the abolition of purchase in the army, the Queen's pages received free commissions in the Foot Guards.

It was about this time that James began to entertain for him that warm regard which lasted to the moment when the ensign, become a General, quitted his service for ever. James much disliked having about him men who were not Catholics, and his liking for young Churchill must have been deep and strong to make him forgive the determined Protestantism of his favourite.

It has been often said that the Duchess of York fell in love with her handsome young page, and much of his success in early life is thus accounted for. There is, however, no trustworthy authority for this imputation.*

It is interesting to note to what trifling and accidental circumstances the greatest reputations have often owed their origin. How frequently has the course of history been turned aside by some apparently unimportant Court intrigue or by some chance like the finding of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter! How many leaders of men have owed their first opportunity to some trivial occurrence or some fortunate connection with those in power! The period produces the man, chance assists him, and then if real greatness be in him, he dominates his generation and influences posterity. Some hold to the pleasant belief that the golden moment of opportunity must come sooner or later in life to each one of

* Anne Hyde died 1671. Mrs. Godolphin, who had been her Maid of Honour, gives the following touching description of her death: 'She was full of unspeakable torture and died (poor creature) in doubt of her religion, without the Sacrament or Divine by her, like a poore wretch; none remembered her after one weeke, none sorry for her; she was tost and flung about, and everyone did what they would with the stately carcase.'—'Life of Mrs. Godolphin,' p. 13.





M^{rs} DE MARLBOROUGH

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London: Richard Bentley & Son: 1834

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us. Be that as it may—and it is a debatable theory which finds little acceptance with the unsuccessful—it is amongst the first qualities of the man of genius to recognise his chance before it is too late, to see, as Clough puts it :

'Midst all the huddling silver, little worth
The one thin piece that comes, pure gold.'

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CHAPTER VI.

THE CHARACTER OF THE ROYAL BROTHERS.

The talents and vices of Charles II.—His immorality and want of principle—His leaning towards Roman Catholicism—His amiable traits—The Arts flourish in his reign—The character of James—His bigotry, cruelty, and immorality—Churchill brought up in their depraved society—Churchill's Protestantism.

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To understand thoroughly the surroundings amidst which Marlborough grew into man's estate, it is necessary to have a clear conception of the Restoration Court. To know what an army is worth, we take stock of its commander; and to form any useful estimate of society during the reigns of Charles II. and of his brother, we must know what were the habits, tastes, and morals of those princes. What was their character and disposition? Were they English gentlemen in thought, word and deed; honest, and truthful? Did they love England for England's sake, or only for their own selfish ends? Were they better or worse than their father and grandfather, the mere feeble imitators of the sturdy, manly Tudors? It was wittily said of them that Charles could do well if he would, and that James would do so if he could.* But the character of the elder brother is difficult to describe, for it was made up of many different and conflicting qualities. Quick-witted and clever, he had acquired abroad a knowledge of foreign affairs such as none of his Ministers could lay

* Said by Buckingham: Burnet, vol. i., p. 288.

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claim to, with the exception of Clarendon and Temple. His natural aptitude for the study of character often enabled him to see through the cleverest machinations of those he employed. But ease and pleasure were the great aims of his unkingly life. Come what may, his one and fixed determination was to live in undisturbed possession of that crown which his father had lost by the adoption of violent and unconstitutional measures. Having secured the throne, life thenceforward was to him a species of comedy, a practical joke. Sensualist, idler, and cynic, he scoffed at religion, and believed neither in the honour of men nor in the virtue of women. If every man had his price, experience led him to believe that every woman had hers also. The ironical dealings of fate tickled his fancy; the foibles and ambitions of men amused him, and their wrangles over trifles afforded material for his careless and witty raillery. Tenacious of what he deemed his kingly rights and prerogatives, he was utterly without ambition; devoid of any semblance of patriotism or principle, wrapped up in love of self, he cared nothing for the feelings or wants of others. His only aspiration was to rule as he chose, without interference from Parliament or Minister, and whilst so doing, to wrest from the passing hour every possible personal enjoyment. In pursuit of that enjoyment there was no temptation that he sought to resist, no vice or villainy from which he shrank. As long as he was allowed to saunter lazily through life in possession of the throne, he felt no sting of shame, although the Dutch fleet burnt his ships in the very Thames. The wail of a nation dishonoured but not overthrown, troubled him nothing. If the plague decimated his subjects or the flames destroyed his capital, why should such national misfortunes affect him? As long as the taxes supplied money for himself and his mistresses, why should he distress himself? The avarice and extravagance of these women, however, drained his coffers, and compelled him to depend upon Lewis XIV. for the money

he dared not ask from a Parliament of English gentlemen.*

During his unworthy reign, public as well as private honour and virtue were laughed to scorn by all the Court. He left his soldiers and sailors unpaid, and every department of Government became rotten to the very core.

The royal brothers were both unblushing libertines. The intrigues of Charles were known not only in Whitehall, but in the country generally. His indifference to the affairs of State was also notorious, and was thus recorded in contemporary doggerel :

‘ And when he was beat,
He still made his retreat
To his Clevelands, his Nells, and his Carwells.’†

He disliked wars, not because he shrank from bloodshed, but because they meant stir and trouble. At heart he was a coward, a fact which, together with his love of ease, kept him from such heroic ventures as brought his father to the scaffold, and subsequently sent his brother into exile. His heart was too hollow to admit of any manly respect for the most faithful public servant. The sturdy honesty of Clarendon was to him as nothing in the balance with the caresses of a Barbara Villiers or the smiles of a Louise de Kéroualle. He was a treacherous friend, an accomplished dissembler, and Barillon’s letters to Louvois show him to have been devoid alike of truth and self-respect. His idea of happiness was apparently to sit munching sweetmeats and dried pears in the midst of rollicking rogues and wanton women. To his low, craven nature it mattered nothing that he should be hated by all that was honest at home, and despised as the puppet and pensioner of Lewis by all that was honourable abroad. He

* ‘ A prince like a pear which rotten at core is,
With a Court that takes millions, and yet as poor as Job is.’
—From a contemporary song.

† Marvell’s ballad on the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

knew Oates to be a perjurer, yet he paid this false accuser of Catholics from his own private purse with money obtained from Lewis upon this stipulation amongst other things, that he should declare himself a Roman Catholic.

Like his brother, he leaned towards absolutism in government, and consequently towards the Roman Catholic religion which fostered it. Unlike James, however, he would risk neither his head nor his throne—not even his ease—for either. A voluptuary in every sense of the word, he was too fond of lazy comfort to be either brutal or vindictive; but, unlike his brother, he was endowed with as much good nature as a selfish monarch, destitute of heart, could possess. Yet he had many qualities which attach men to princes, and which made him generally popular. His good humour was inexhaustible. Like most indolent men, he was familiar with all, easy of access, affable, and so intolerant of formality and ceremony that it was no easy matter to make him play the King at any time. Entirely devoid of haughtiness or insolence, he allowed those about him to laugh at his foibles, and seldom resented even the wit and satire they pointed at ‘ Old Rowley,’ as they had familiarly nicknamed him.* Dryden wrote :

‘ In loyal libels we have often told him
How one has jilted, the other sold him ;
How that affects to laugh, how this to weep.’

Although his wicked, melancholy face did not bespeak amiable qualities, his natural disposition was soft, weak, pliable and gentle. He had a smile and a cheery greeting for everybody. It was no part of his easy, indolent philosophy to cherish animosity or to register wrongs. He forgave with extreme readiness. Weak, careless, and hating business, he was steadily consistent in his determination to die King of England. He would do nothing to risk his

* This nickname was given to him after a stallion of that name which was one of his favourite race-horses.

crown. He had tasted the bitterness of foreign exile, and was determined never again to set out upon what he laughingly referred to as 'his travels.' When he found it necessary to yield to a popular demand, he did so with grace, but without inquiring whether it was just and right. He loved to tell stories of his many adventures when in exile, and he told them well, with an accuracy of memory that made his courtiers wonder he did not also remember how frequently he had related them before.

Fond of music and the stage, he may be said to have introduced the opera into England. The whole life of Charles II. proves that it is as hard for a man to be entirely bad as it is to be perfectly good.* Yet in such a reign and under such a King the arts and sciences flourished! The painters Lely, Huysman, Wissing, and Sir G. Kneller owed much to his patronage and protection. It was when England had been reduced by his treason to the lowest level of national degradation that Milton published his 'Paradise Lost,' Newton his 'Principia,' and the Royal Society was founded. Stranger still, during his reign some of our most valuable enactments were added to the Statute Book, proving that although good laws may be made under the worst rulers, they do not necessarily imply good government. Those passed in this reign were rather concessions to expediency than the fruit of an enlightened statesmanship.

James possessed none of his elder brother's ability, wit, or geniality. Nature had designed him for an inquisitor; the accident of birth made him a King. In manner he was ungracious; he accepted as a right, and with no sign of courteous recognition, the cordial greetings with which he and his brother were welcomed at the Restoration. The vicissitudes of his youth, his travels abroad and visits to foreign courts, had afforded him exceptional opportunities for the acquisition of practical knowledge of public affairs. But from poverty and ad-

* Machiavelli.

versity, often the best masters, he had learnt nothing, and he returned to England as fully possessed, as his father had ever been, with a belief in royal prerogative and in Divine right. We cannot believe him to have been the coward his enemies assert, though he possessed the cruelty which so frequently accompanies cowardice.* A contemporary, who knew him well, said: 'He is every way a perfect Stewart, and hath the advantage of his brother; only that he hath ambition, and thoughts of attaining something he hath not, which gives him industry and address even beyond his natural parts.† James was a bigot of the worst type, though some may think that his honest belief in the dogma he wished to force upon his people somewhat redeems his bitter and cruel fanaticism. His disposition was detestable—a mingling of cruelty with vindictiveness, of obstinacy with bigotry and stupidity. To a follower of Argyle brought for examination before him, he said: 'You had better be frank with me, for you know it is in my power to pardon you.' 'Though it is in your power, it is not in your nature to pardon,' was the prompt reply.‡ When James once remonstrated with his brother upon the smallness of his military escort, Charles cynically answered: 'No man in England will ever take my life to make *you* King.§

Portraits of James represent him as a man of a long and gloomy countenance, though some of his biographers assert that his complexion was fair and his manners sprightly. He was somewhat above middle height, and had a good figure, 'very nervous and strong.¶ In

* See Burnet, vol. iii., p. 57, for a description of the extent to which James is responsible for the cruelties perpetrated by Jeffreys in 1685.

† Shaftesbury.

‡ Dalrymple. The prisoner's name was Ayloff or Aylif. He was a lawyer, connected by birth with the families of Hyde and Hatton. He had been concerned in the Rye House Plot, and fled to Holland in consequence. He accompanied Argyle to Scotland in 1685.

§ King's 'Anecdotes,' p. 61; Macpherson's 'History,' vol. i., p. 424.

¶ Clarke's 'James II.'

life and morals he was quite as dissolute as his brother, but with less discrimination in the selection of his mistresses. He was apparently as insensible to their beauty as Charles was to their manners, breeding and intellect. Louise de Kéroualle told the Duchess of Orleans that Charles had said of his brother: 'You will see that when he comes to the throne he will lose his kingdom through over-zeal for his religion, and his soul for some hideous creatures. He has not taste enough to choose good-looking women.'*

In the early days of Charles II.'s reign, before it became certain that Queen Katherine would have no children, the religious convictions of James were of little moment to the English people. But when he became the recognised successor to the throne, his adherence to the proscribed faith, and the presence of priests in his household, attracted the hostile criticism of all classes. According to his notions of royal prerogative, the people had few rights; certainly none to interfere with the religious beliefs of their rulers. The reigns of both brothers were little more than persistent intrigues with the French King against the rights and liberties of the English people. It suited the foreign policy of Lewis XIV. that, whilst subsidising Charles and James to enable them to reign without a Parliament, he should also pay the English Protestant faction to oppose them in everything. This subtle policy was designed to keep England weak, and unable to interfere with his designs on Holland and Flanders. But whilst thus scheming to have England at his mercy, he little dreamed that he was all the time blindly working to bring about the very consummation he most dreaded. His deep-laid machinations eventually

* The clever Duchess of Orleans, writing to the Duchess of Hanover, says: 'Si la prophétie du dernier Roi d'Angleterre est vraie, le bon Roi Jacques ne pourra pas même faire un bon Saint.' She goes on to insinuate that during his stay in Dublin, 'il y avait deux affreux laiderons avec lesquelles il était toujours fourré.'—'Correspondance de la Duchesse d'Orléans,' vol. i., p. 94.

ended in the closest possible alliance between Holland and a strong and united Great Britain and Ireland, under his most dreaded enemy, William of Orange. In fact he played into the hands of that great Protestant leader, who hated France as relentlessly as Hannibal had hated Rome.

The more thoroughly we realize the public corruption and private depravity of English Court life during the twenty-eight years previous to the Great Revolution, the more difficult it is to believe in the virtue of any woman or the honesty of any man educated in that polluted atmosphere. Yet it was amidst those surroundings that John Churchill, the trusted servant of both Charles and James, passed his years from boyhood to early middle age. His faults no doubt were many, but the reader who studies his character will freely acknowledge them to have been the faults of the age he lived in—whilst his sturdy Protestantism, the honesty which caused him to refuse great bribes with which he was more than once tempted, and his many other good qualities, were all his own. In the virtues of public and private life he was far ahead of his fellow courtiers, and few of his contemporaries passed as unsullied as he did through the temptations which surrounded his early manhood.

Though Churchill lived at this Restoration Court and was certainly no saint in his relations with women, he still kept himself free from many of the other vices then so common in society. He neither drank nor gambled, and doubtless his strong religious feeling had much to do in keeping him above the low debauchery indulged in by most of his Court associates. In our days of extreme liberality in matters of faith and even of morals, it is not easy to realize how largely the question of creeds and of rival Churches entered into public and private affairs in the seventeenth century. The most serious charge brought against Marlborough—his desertion of James in 1688—had its origin in the firmness with

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which he clung to Protestantism, and in his determination to support the law which had made it the State religion of England. Indeed, notwithstanding his many lapses from virtue, and much that he did which was out of harmony with our ideas of a pure Christian life, the more closely we study his character, the more clearly we see, that with him, a love for Protestantism was a guiding principle, to which even his craving desire for power and renown was always subordinated. The sincerity of his conviction was proved by his steadfast resistance to King James's wish, that he should embrace the Roman Catholic faith—a resistance fraught with peril to his prospects of advancement.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGION OF THE RESTORATION PERIOD.

Protestantism disliked by Charles II.—His indifference to religion—His letter urging his brother Henry to hold firmly by the Protestant Faith—He pretends to be a strong Protestant—James, on the contrary, puts his religion before all other interests—His bigotry.

THE religion of Charles II.'s Court was little more than a mixture of superstition and freethinking, and, as regards those who then governed England, this reign may be well described as the era of no God. The teaching of the Bible was only mentioned to be laughed at. But whilst vice and public immorality reigned supreme at Court, there was still a strong religious leaven amongst the people. The Protestantism of that epoch was not an inspiring belief, yet it was a living power in the land. It influenced the conduct and the lives of men, and even the scoffing Court dared not openly ignore, still less despise it. King James defied it, and lost his throne in consequence. The heroic spirit of the praying Puritans survived the Commonwealth, and the earnest, zealous faith of those who had died for the Reformed Religion, was still an important factor to be dealt with by the rulers of England.

The struggle between Charles and his people about religion, and also about the political freedom which Protestantism brings with it, began soon after the Resto-

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ration. It quickly became evident that neither of the royal brothers had much sympathy with the faith to which their father clung through life, and even Charles was soon suspected of a leaning towards the Church of his mother.* The great majority of his English and Scotch subjects were Presbyterians and other Nonconformists, but because of their deep-rooted hatred of Popery he had from the first treated them with great severity. Throughout his reign he favoured Roman Catholics as far as he dared, to the disgust of his Protestant subjects, and in spite of the protestations of his Parliament. The religious feeling was, however, too strong for Charles, and he had to bow before it. The result was a proclamation in 1666, by which all priests and Jesuits were banished the kingdom, and all Roman Catholics forbidden the possession of arms. So strong and general was the belief of unreasoning people that London had been set on fire by the Papists, that the King was compelled in the following year to dismiss all Roman Catholics from the Army and Navy.

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It is desirable that the reader should have a clear conception of how this question of Romanism and Protestantism stood in England when Charles, and subsequently James, occupied the throne. Had the absolute indifference of Charles II. to all sacred matters, and his bias in favour of the Queen-mother's faith, been thoroughly known to the English people in 1659-60, it is very doubtful whether he would ever have been crowned at Westminster. He dreaded lest the influence of his mother, backed up by her wily confessor, Montague, should induce either of his brothers to join the Church of Rome. Any such untoward event then, would, he knew, operate most injuriously upon his chances of being brought back as King of England. The following letter, dictated by expediency, and not by any love of Protestantism, shows how strongly he felt upon this point. It

* Sir R. Bellings was sent to Rome in 1662 to assure the Pope that Charles II. was a Roman Catholic in heart, and wished to enter that communion and to bring back England to it.

was written to his brother Henry from Cologne, the 10th November, 1654:

'DEAR BROTHER,—I have received yours without date, in which you mention that Mr. Montague* has endeavoured to pervert you in your religion.' Charles then refers to the commands he had given him on this subject, and warns him against listening to his mother. Should he, however, turn Romanist, he 'must never,' he says, 'think to see England or me again;' that 'all the mischief that may befall me, you will be responsible for;' that his perversion will not only ruin the family, but also 'your King and country. Do not let them persuade you either by force or fair promises; for the first they will neither dare nor will use, and for the second, as soon as they have perverted you they will have their end, and will care no more for you.' This remarkable letter ends thus: 'If you do not consider what I say to you, remember the last words of your dead father, which were, to be constant to your religion, and never to be shaken in it; which if you do not observe, this shall be the last time you shall ever hear from, dear brother, your most affectionate brother, CHARLES R.†

The same influence which had impressed Prince Henry, was also brought to bear upon his brother James. It was from his mother and her priests that his mind received the bent towards Roman Catholicism which led him eventually to sever his connection with the Church of England. In heart, he was, at the Restoration, already a Roman Catholic, though 'many weighty reasons at first obliged him to conceal that change from public view.‡' Before the Restoration Charles never lost a chance of pretending to be a strong Protestant. When a deputation of Scotch ministers went to the Hague to congratulate him on the approaching Restoration, he arranged they should discover

* His mother's—Queen Henrietta's—confessor.

† Kennet's 'History of England,' vol. iii., p. 320.

‡ 'History of the Revolution,' by the Jesuit Orleans, p. 232.

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him on his knees, thanking God that he was a 'covenanted' King.* When he landed at Dover, the Mayor presented him with a Bible, and, as he took it, he said solemnly that 'it was the thing he loved above all things in the world.'† Indeed both brothers returned to England avowedly as sound members of the Established Church. But in his heart, Charles II. cared nothing for any religion, though a sort of superstitious reverence for the 'ancient faith of England' had been early implanted in him by his French mother. He hated and despised the religion of those who had murdered his father. The Puritan was the standing joke of his court, and in his opinion 'Presbytery was not a religion for gentlemen.'‡ Roman Catholicism, on the other hand, with its doctrine of Divine Right, was, he thought, the faith proper for all loyal courtiers and men of breeding. The Catholics were so loyal, and talked so pleasantly of that absolute authority for which he longed, that he naturally felt himself drawn to them. On the other hand, the Protestants lectured, and, still worse, wearied him by their incessant attacks upon the Pope and his followers, and especially upon his brother James, to whom he was attached.

Charles was willing openly to join the Roman Catholic Church, provided he could do so with safety to himself; James put his religion before all earthly considerations. For it, if necessary, he was prepared to die. Above all things, he longed, with the proverbial zeal of the neophyte, to see his Church restored to its former power and position in England. In a letter to his daughter Mary, he gives his reasons for leaving the Church of England.§ He refers to himself as having been a keen Protestant, and says—untruthfully beyond all doubt—that during his long

* Calamy states this on Oldmixon's authority.

† Pepys, 25, 5, 1660.

‡ Burnet, i., p. 184.

§ 'Lettres et Mémoires de Marie, Reine d'Angleterre,' edited by the Countess Bentinck. La Haye, 1880.

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foreign exile no priest had ever spoken to him on the subject of religion. The statement of Father Orleans, already quoted, is certainly opposed to this declaration. James did not openly avow his change of faith until 1672, although very soon after the Restoration he was generally regarded as the friend and advocate of English Catholics.* In his own memoirs, he says it was about the beginning of 1669 that he sent for the Jesuit, Father Simons, and told him he wished to join the Church of Rome. He wished to do so secretly for policy' sake, but he could not arrange matters with the Pope, and the Catholic party were too anxious to secure the King's brother as an openly avowed convert to consent to secrecy. Writing in 1679 from Brussels to his faithful servant, Lord Dartmouth, James says:

'And pray once for all never say anything to me againe of turning Protestant; do not expect it, or flatter yourself that I shall ever be it. I never shall, and if occasion were, I hope God would give me His grace to suffer death for the true Catholike religion as well as Banishment. What I have done, was not hastily, but upon mature consideration, and foreseeing all and more than has yett happened to me, and did others enquire into the religion as I have done without prejudice, prepossession, or partial affection, they would be of the same mind in point of religion as I am.'†

Like most Protestants who join the Church of Rome, James fell completely under priestly influence. He failed to apprehend the Protestant instinct of the English people—their innate love of liberty, and their absolute hostility to his religion. It was universally felt that his zeal for the repeal of the Test Act was prompted by no regard for liberty of conscience, but rather by a desire to protect and favour the Romanists. His efforts to bring about the

* Pepys.

† Historical MSS.: The Earl of Dartmouth's Papers, eleventh report, appendix, p. 36.

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repeal of that Act were especially unfortunate at a time when foreign Protestants were pouring into England to avoid the religious persecution with which all Roman Catholic rulers then pursued them. It was evident that it was not equality, but supremacy, that James sought to obtain for his newly adopted faith. He did nothing by halves, and on the point in question, displayed the usual earnestness of the proselyte. Like all men of weak character, he mistook obstinacy for firmness, and he set himself to resist what he described as the 'yielding temper which had proved so dangerous to his brother, and fatal to the King his father.'*

Such were the princes who ruled the Court in which Marlborough was educated, and such were the religions of those who composed it. Marlborough in early life was brought so much into contact with these royal brothers, that the scepticism of the one and bigotry of the other might conceivably have exercised much influence over his mind; but this was not so. The bigotry of James was certainly an important element in Marlborough's early career, but nothing could shake that great soldier's faith, which remained to the last as the sheet-anchor of his soul, sure and steadfast.

* Macpherson, vol. i., p. 152.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COURT AND MORALS OF THE RESTORATION.

The women of the Court of Charles II.—The men drank and gambled—The ingratitude of Charles.

MEN and women are generally what they are taught to be by the prevailing views, opinions, and aims of the society in which they have been brought up, and in the midst of which they live; and in order to estimate fairly the moral worth of man or woman of this time, we must measure it by the standard of morality which then prevailed.

Katherine, the neglected Queen, ungainly in appearance and commonplace in intellect, designedly surrounded herself with uncomely ladies. The Duchess of York, on the other hand, strove to make her household remarkable for beauty, brightness and engaging manners. Sir Peter Lely has made us familiar with the beauties of Charles II.'s court, ladies whose 'sleepy eye bespoke the melting soul,' and whose charms were emphasized by the low-bodiced gown of the period. Anne Hyde was no beauty herself, but her bearing was good and her air distinguished. She was sensible and endowed with plenty of natural wit, which imparted a charm to her personality. She wisely shut her eyes to the infidelities of her coarse-minded husband, while the Queen loudly proclaimed her wrongs, and irritated Charles by her bitter remonstrances.

With the Restoration began a period of open licentious-

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ness at the English Court unparalleled in any previous reign. Even the common, conventional and superficial decencies of civilized life were ignored there. Numbers of pretty women sought to charm and fascinate the King and the gallants who surrounded him. No statesman or man of business exercised any influence within that dissolute circle. Charles, devoted to his mother's country, and to everything French, brought home with him at the Restoration, the fashions, Court etiquette, and vices of Versailles. French profligacy soon became as fashionable in London as French lace or Parisian silk stockings. Card-play for high stakes became the everyday occupation of both sexes. In some of the Princess Anne's letters to Lady Churchill, she deplores her favourite's ill luck at cards. In one letter she states her own winnings at dice, the previous evening, to have been three hundred pounds; half of which, however, she lost the following morning. In another she says: 'I have played to-day, at Court, hand to hand with the Duchess of Portsmouth, and have won three-score pounds.'*

Modesty, the old outward sign of feminine virtue, was no longer reckoned an inward grace, and even regard for common decency was stigmatized as prudish. Chastity was held up to scorn, and faithless husbands made faithless wives. The outspoken Pepys says of the Court ladies: 'Few will venture upon them for wives. My Lady Castlemaine will in merriment say that her daughter (not above a year or two old) will be the first mayd in the Court that will be married.'

Men drank deeply, and quarrelled over their cups and cards. Street brawling and practical jokes, often ending in bloodshed, were the common amusements of the young men about town. The drinking encouraged at Court became the fashion amongst all classes. Men in society were esteemed in proportion to the quantity of liquor they could carry, and

* The games commonly played were 'ombre,' 'basset,' and 'thirty and forty.'

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drunkenness in a gentleman was scarcely deemed a fault. This was indeed 'a mad, roaring time, full of extravagance, and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk.'* We read of orgies at which the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and other dignitaries, drank themselves into a quarrelsome frenzy, and ended by stripping to their shirts.† We are told of a wedding-party where the Lord Chief Justice and another judge got drunk, and passed the evening in smoking and giving toasts.‡ The plays reflect, in their coarseness, the manners, morals, and language of the day. The perfect courtier was wittily described as 'a man not weighted by either honour or temper,' and the boon companions of Charles II., who swore and brawled and drank and gambled, fully answered that description.

In George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, we have a good example of a popular and successful courtier of the period. He had been brought up with Charles and his brothers, and the habits, manners, and views of all of them were very similar. He scoffed at public opinion, and took pleasure in outraging all recognised decency. Volatile by disposition, he surrendered himself to every passing whim, mistaking 'profligacy for pleasure, and prodigality for magnificence.'§ He was witty, fond of literature, a gallant soldier, but entirely ignorant of all useful military knowledge. Above all things, he was a stanch and loyal Cavalier, firmly believing that the King could do no wrong. He cared nothing for sacred or spiritual things, though nominally a member of the Established Church of England.

Such were the intimates of the King, and yet so strong was the innate loyalty of his people, that nothing short of the obstinate folly of his bigoted brother could finally

* Burnet. † Sir John Reresby, 1686. ‡ Evelyn.

§ This saying was by Philip, Duke of Orleans, nephew of Lewis XIV., and afterwards Regent. He was, like his father, a truly vicious man in a vicious age. He scoffed at religion, but was a devout believer in astrology: 'A godless Regent trembling at a star.'

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estrangle it. The enthusiasm with which Charles was hailed at the Restoration, is partly accounted for by the fact, that England had grown weary of Cromwell's iron rule. Men did not forget that he was a usurper; and he never forgot it himself. Besides, the tragic death of Charles I. had thrown a glamour of romance over the royal House of Stewart, which served to stimulate the loyalty of men, and to captivate the sentiment and sympathy of women. Hence it was that Charles II. had been welcomed with every outward demonstration of joy. He was described, in contemporary verse, as:

‘The first English born
That has the crown of these three Kingdoms worn.’*

In an outburst of loyalty and of joy at their relief from the military despotism of Cromwell, the people freely gave to Charles nearly all the power they had sternly refused to his father. They did so without any formal pledge on his part that he would respect their political freedom. And having thus surrendered themselves, he repaid their generous trust by scheming to make over their souls to the Pope, and their bodies to the French King.

* Waller.

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CHURCHILL SERVES IN TANGIER.

Tangier, and military service there—The garrison left in great want
—Marlborough returns home, and the place is finally abandoned.

To a handsome youth like John Churchill, the Court of Charles II., though a hot-bed of temptation, must have been also an Elysium of bliss. But to one of his temperament it was far from satisfying, for his ambition soared above mere pleasure. Court amusements soon palled upon him, and the daily routine of a subaltern's life in London became irksome to his adventurous spirit. He longed to distinguish himself in some other field than Whitehall, and to excel in some occupation more noble than dancing.

Tangier had lately been added to the dominions of the British Crown as part of Queen Katherine's dowry. It was important as a place of arms against the pirates who infested the Barbary coast, and as possessing the only harbour for nine hundred miles on the Moorish shores of the Mediterranean. For some twenty years an English garrison was kept there, and we then finally abandoned it for economical reasons. Whilst our occupation lasted, it was to our officers, what Egypt has lately been, a drill-ground for practical soldiering. Men fired with the love of danger, and wearied with the sham nothings which form so large a part of a soldier's occupation in peace, found there some scope for their daring and their military talents, and also learned something of the meaning of real war. To Tangier our

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young ensign accordingly went in search of adventure and distinction. The date of his going is somewhat uncertain, but it was most probably about the end of 1668 or the beginning of 1669. He served as a volunteer with the 'Governour's,' or, as it was often called, the '1st Tangier Regiment,' now known as 'The Queen's' or 'Royal West Surrey.'

The garrison usually consisted of four battalions of Foot and one strong troop of Horse, or about 3,100 men in all.* But when Churchill arrived, it had fallen to a total of only two battalions and one weak troop of Horse—in all, not more than 1,500 or 1,600 men.

History repeats itself constantly in our military annals. We are told periodically that our army is 'going to the dogs.' The Tangier papers contain many complaints in the same strain against the quality of the recruits sent to complete the establishment of the garrison, depleted by disease and death. We find the gentleman in charge of the guns, ammunition, etc., loud in his complaints of the uselessness of the gunners sent to him. 'The firemaster,' he reported, 'is certainly a most ignorant person as to the knowledge of any ingredient except brandy.'† In the following December Colonel P. Kirke, writing on the same subject, says: 'Of thirty-three gunners there is not ten knows the gun from the carriage, and now that Mr. Povey is gone, there is not two men in town understands the art of gunnery.'‡

* This troop of Horse was subsequently enlarged into a regiment of Mounted Infantry, then styled Dragoons. It is now a cavalry regiment, and known as 'The Royal Dragoons.'

† Historical MSS.: Dartmouth Papers, p. 61.

‡ Ibid., p. 72. Mr. Thomas Povey was 'Paymaster and Exchanger of Moneys,' as well as in command of the guns and munitions of war. He had been M.P. for Bossiney in 1658. To economize the number of sentinels at night, recourse was at one time had to watch-dogs, which were posted at some of the most exposed points. In one of the orders sent from home in 1664, we find the Governour urged to 'abolish as much as you can that national distinction of "English," "Irish," and "Scotch"' amongst the soldiers.

Tangier was a troublesome and, what is worse, according to English opinion, an expensive possession. It entailed an annual drain upon the home exchequer of over £70,000, for which outlay England obtained no direct return.*

The affairs of the place were managed, or rather, jobbed, by the Tangier Committee, of which Pepys was a leading member. Money voted for Tangier was too frequently spent by the King on his own pleasures, and the garrison was in consequence often reduced to great straits both for money and provisions. Whilst Churchill was there, the soldiers were left for seven months, and later on, for nine, twelve, and even sixteen months without pay; they were overworked, and they more than once became mutinous. In 1665 the soldiers were reported to be dying from want of proper food.† The sickness and mortality at last became a scandal, and alarmed those at home even in that age, when human life was little regarded, and when our soldiers were far less cared for than at present. Tangier was, however, useful to Charles and his brother in providing employment for some to whom they were indebted, and for others whom they wished out of the way. It was jocularly said to be to the King what a spendthrift had called his timber, 'an excrescence on the earth provided by God for the payment of debts.'‡

For the military reader it may be well to add, that having blown up the Mole we had nearly finished, we abandoned Tangier in 1684 as a useless and costly possession. The portions of the walls and other defences that are evidently

* 'History of the Queen's Regiment,' by Colonel Davis, p. 88.

† Pepys, the man of business, always on the look-out for opportunities to make money, is said to have realized a considerable amount by his contract for victualling this garrison. On 4, 6, 1672, there were 1,540 men in the garrison, when it was reported to the authorities at home that there was only enough biscuit left for eight weeks, beef for twenty-one weeks, whilst there was nine weeks' oatmeal due to the troops. In the following month the report was that they only had biscuit for three and beef for sixteen weeks.

‡ Pepys.

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of British construction may still be distinguished, and the remains of English-built houses in the citadel still rear, as if in defiance, their high-pointed gables above the flat roofs of the Moorish dwellings around them. The place is but little changed since Churchill's day, as civilization and progress are still unwelcome visitors there, and even the presence of eleven Consuls has hitherto failed to combat its picturesque barbarism.

We know little of Churchill's doings at Tangier, beyond the fact that he was constantly engaged with the enemy, who closely invested the place. He took part in frequent sallies made by the garrison, and showed remarkable daring in numerous skirmishes with the Moors, whose enterprise often took the form of cutting off, by means of cleverly laid ambushes, those who ventured to straggle beyond the British lines. Churchill was thus able whilst still a boy to test his nerve, and to accustom himself to danger and to the curious sensation of being shot at. He returned home in the winter of 1670-71, and rejoined the household of the Duke of York.



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BARBARA DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND

*From a Miniature in the possession of
His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh.*

London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1894.

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BARBARA DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND

*From a Miniature in the possession of
His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh.*

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CHAPTER X.

JOHN CHURCHILL'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.—HIS INTRIGUE
WITH THE DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND.

The character of Barbara Villiers—Churchill banished from Court as the result of his intrigue with her—The prejudice of Swift and Macaulay in their estimate of his character—The lessons we seek to learn from the study of his career—His ambition—He fights a duel—His business-like qualities.

The portraits of John Churchill at this period of his life represent him as strikingly handsome, with a profusion of fair hair, strongly-marked well-shaped eyebrows, long eyelashes, blue eyes, and refined and clearly-cut features.* A wart on his right upper-lip, though large, did not detract from his good looks. He was tall, and his figure was remarkably graceful, although a contemporary says: 'Il avait l'air trop indolent, et la taille trop effilée.'† His bearing was noble and commanding, and one who particularly disliked him tells us, that 'He possessed the graces in the highest degree, not to say engrossed them.' He adds, that his manner was irresistible either to man or woman.‡ The truth was, he knew how to be all things to all men. Kings, courtiers, and private soldiers alike were captivated by his gentle demeanour, his winning grace.

* In the Duke of Buccleugh's collection there are two beautiful miniatures of him as a very young man, a copy of one of which is given in these volumes.

† De Grammont, 'Memoirs.'

‡ Chesterfield Letters.

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He understood Court life thoroughly, 'caressed all people with a soft, obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices.'*

Born 1643;
died 1709.

14, 1659.

12, 1661.

Such in appearance and manner was this gifted young soldier and courtier, who, bedecked with ruffles and point lace, waited in the ante-rooms of Whitehall. He soon became a general favourite with the ladies of the Court, of whom none was more fascinating than Barbara Palmer, better known as the Duchess of Cleveland, one of the King's many mistresses, appropriately called in the language of the day, 'the chargeable ladies about the Court.' She was second cousin to Marlborough's mother, and her husband had been recently created Earl of Castlemaine. Her portraits represent her as exquisitely beautiful, with the soft, almond-shaped eyes and languishing expression which Lely painted so well. 'Everything she did became her,' writes the susceptible Pepys. Depraved from early youth, she had for two or three years before her marriage carried on an intrigue with the Earl of Chesterfield. At the age of eighteen, she married Roger Palmer, a Roman Catholic of the Inner Temple, and son of a Middlesex knight, but within the first year of her married life she renewed her relations with her former lover. In the course of the same year she went to Holland with her husband, who was the bearer of a large present in money from the English Royalists to Charles II., and there began her intimacy with the King, by whom she had several children.

She was the most inconstant of women, and had lovers of all degrees, even whilst openly recognised as the King's mistress; but far from allowing him a corresponding privilege, she always pretended to be violently jealous of his attentions to other women. She was a gambler and a spendthrift, imperious in temper, and far from wise.† Her cousin, Mrs. Godfrey—sister of Marl-

* Burnet, vol. iii., p. 267.

† In 1668 Charles purchased Berkshire House for her. It stood on

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borough's mother—was the governess of her children by the King, and is said to have designedly thrown her handsome nephew, John Churchill, in her way. The result was, as anticipated by the lady, an immediate intrigue between them. This affair became known to Charles through the Duke of Buckingham, who had quarrelled with Barbara Palmer, and wished to ruin her in the King's favour.* Aware of her intimacy with Churchill, he bribed her servant, and so contrived that the King found the young guardsman in her bedroom. This was too much even for the easy-going Charles. A scene occurred, which has been variously described, and the result was Churchill's temporary banishment from the Court.† This intrigue must have begun shortly after Churchill's return from Tangier, and it was renewed annually during his winter visits to England throughout the Dutch war, from 1672 to perhaps as late as 1676.

Those who, like Dean Swift and Lord Macaulay, bring to their study of Marlborough's life a strong prejudice against him, deal severely with this episode, and dwell upon it with all the unction of the Pharisee. They make no allowance for the temptations to which he was exposed, for the thoughtlessness of youth, or for the character of

the site now occupied by Bridgewater House, the street leading to which is still called Cleveland Row in her honour. Her ordinary salary from Charles seems to have been about £14,000 a year, but she obtained large sums from him besides. In the year 1682 she appears to have received about £34,000. See Camden Society paper on Secret Services of Charles and James.

* This George Villiers was born 29-12, 1627, and died 16-4, 1688. He was the 'B' in the 'Cabal.'

† This story is told by De Grammont, and by Barillon, the French Ambassador, in his letters to Lewis XIV. It is repeated with many imaginary details by the scurrilous Mrs. Manley, in that 'jumble of obscenity and falsehood,' the 'New Atalantis.' In referring to this book, upon which Macaulay and other detractors of Marlborough rely for many of their stories about him, Lord Campbell says: 'Swift, as a slanderer of private character, is to be placed in the same category with the author of it.'

the beautiful and depraved woman—so many years his senior—who lured and tempted him. They affect to regard his youthful indiscretion as a crime, to be judged without mercy, and this appears all the more unjust, when we consider that his subsequent career exhibits him as the most faithful of husbands, the most moral of men.

No man's character should be judged by a bare record of his early love affairs, whether they were innocent or otherwise. Time, circumstance, opportunity, the nature of the temptations experienced, the amount of moral strength in the man, the power or weakness of his religious convictions, and above all, his natural temperament, all should be duly weighed before judgment can justly be pronounced.

From the days of Moses to those of Napoleon the lives of mighty men abound in useful moral lessons. But we do not read their story in order that we may gloat over those failings which attest their mortal origin, gratifying though such a course might be to our own vanity. What we want to know from the study of a great career is, what the man was like, what was his mode of life and thought, what motives guided and prompted him, and what convictions, what circumstances, influenced his conduct and action? In his dealings with men and with nations, was he actuated by self-interest, or by faith in God, by honour, truth, justice, loyalty and patriotism? What did he do for England? That is the measure by which all great Englishmen must be measured. We seek to discover the extent to which he directed or his genius influenced the events which constituted the history of his time. Was it the man who made the events, or the events which made the man? Did he shape a course for history to follow, after the manner of the great leaders of all ages? or was he content, like the ordinary political leader of the present day, to wait upon events and to manipulate them for his own or his party's benefit? In calm weather a small man may steer the ship of State safely through the rocks and

shoals which must always beset public life. But it is only the courageous and lofty spirits, such as Cromwell, Marlborough, Washington, Napoleon and Pitt who can create the circumstances required for their own genius to work in. They alone can ride safely through the storms and upheavals which their policy necessarily occasions.

It is not to censure his amours, to despise him for his niggardliness, or to hate him for his double-dealing, that we wish to study Marlborough's character and to follow his career. We do so because we desire to learn the secret of his success, and to discover the motives of his actions. We wish to know how he so contrived to carry public opinion with him for nearly ten years, that he was able to direct our foreign policy, and to shape our history. Had he failed in this, not even his genius for war could have won for England that foremost position in Europe to which he raised her. When the whole civilized world rang with his name, when kings and princes sought his advice and were proud to obey his orders, we still more want to know what was the spirit within him that urged him on. There must have been some strange power in the man who was able to endow his country with such power and influence whilst he ruled her and guided her destinies.

The intrigue of a young subaltern in the Foot Guards with the King's mistress was an event which made some stir in society, and was even deemed worthy of mention by the French Ambassador in his official despatches. It unquestionably had an influence upon Churchill's subsequent career, and further reference to it will be made in the chapters which deal with the Dutch war. One of his failings at this period, was a tendency to indiscretion in speech, which led him at times to talk of his intimacy with the Duchess of Cleveland; and although we are told, that, with her usual audacity, she took no trouble to correct him for doing so, it added to his difficulties with the King.*

* De Grammont's Memoirs.

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This intrigue, however, was not to him what it would have been to most of those about the Court. Even at that early period of life Churchill allowed his passion neither to run away with his reason, nor to triumph over his better judgment. His dealings with women never took the form of reckless debauchery, and the cool, calculating side of his character seems to have saved him from becoming the slave of pleasure. Self-contained from early manhood, he began life with the determination to make a name for himself in the world. A craving for distinction has wrecked the careers of many second-rate men; but it is the ruling principle with most of the best as well as with many of the worst amongst us. Sages have denounced ambition as beneath the dignity of the true philosopher; holy men have condemned it as dangerous to the soul; and a great poet has pronounced it to be the last infirmity of a noble mind. We have, however, Shakespeare's authority for calling it 'the soldier's virtue,' and in Churchill's case, it assuredly was the tonic which saved him from that deterioration of mind and body which follows inevitably upon a life of idleness and luxury.

Duels were at this time of common occurrence, and few gentlemen who lived much in London were able to entirely avoid them. In these affairs of honour, the seconds fought as well as the principals. In the summer of 1671 Churchill fought with Captain Henry Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Cherbury.* The cause of quarrel in this instance is unknown, but Herbert was apparently in the wrong, for the King and the Duke of York were both angry with him when the affair came to their ears. Young Churchill was twice run through the arm, he wounded his antagonist in the thigh, and the affair ended in Churchill being disarmed.†

* We read of a Captain Henry Herbert serving afterwards in France and Holland with Sir Harry Jones's Regiment of Horse, but it is not quite certain that this was the same man.

† Hatton, 'Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 66.

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John Churchill had early chosen a military life as the career best calculated to afford him opportunities for distinction, and a wide field for his ambition. A seat in Parliament was always open to him, but it presented little attraction to the young soldier, who had no turn for politics. Personally attached at this time to his royal benefactor, he served James with zeal and loyalty, but had there been no other motive for this, his own interest alone would have dictated it. It soon became evident that Queen Katherine was not destined to become a mother, and the life of the King was known to be precarious. In the ordinary course of events, therefore, it was tolerably certain that his vigorous brother, James, must soon succeed to the throne. What a vista of ambition this prospect must have presented to Churchill! James was fond of him, and to be the King's favourite, in those times, meant power and wealth. To him it meant even more, for he knew it would afford him opportunities for the exercise of those powers which he already felt stirring within him.

During the reign of Charles he took little part in public affairs, never gave his advice unless asked for it, and always counselled moderation.* Wisdom alone would have prompted this line of conduct, and, in any case, the quality of his mind was more suited for the direction of foreign policy than for dealing with small questions of social and local interest. It was not that he lacked either method or business-like qualities, for the care he bestowed upon the minutiae of camp discipline, upon the food and comfort of his soldiers, and upon the management of his slender means, are clear proofs of his aptitude for business.

* Burnet.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SECOND DUTCH WAR, AND HOW IT CAME ABOUT.

Death of Monk—Lewis XIV. determines to capture Holland—The first Dutch War—'Peace of Aix la Chapelle'—Marlborough's victories over France pave the way for the French Revolution—The wars between England and Holland—Treaty of Dover—The question of our flag in the narrow seas—Louise de Kéroualle becomes Mistress to Charles—England and France declare war against Holland.

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UPON his return from Tangier, young Churchill rejoined the household of the Duke of York, and when not in waiting, did military duty as Lieutenant in the King's Company of the 1st or Royal Foot Guards. He attended with his Company at the funeral of 'Honest George,' Duke of Albemarle. That stout soldier and stern patriot, who had long been ailing, died in January, 1670, after many a hard tussle with Death. He had been a trusted leader when England occupied a proud position of authority, and he had lived to see her hour of humiliation in which the Dutch fleet thundered at the very water-gate of the Kingdom. In him Charles II. lost a soldier who had given him his crown, and the people an honest patriot whom they had fully trusted.

Churchill was now to see active service in the Low Countries, destined, some thirty years later, to be the theatre of those great achievements with which his name will be for ever associated. The campaign which afforded him this opportunity, is known in history as the 'Second

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Dutch War,' and had its origin in the ambition of Lewis XIV. The annexation of both Flanders and Holland to France was one of the great aims of his life. His first attempt upon these provinces was made in 1667, when he suddenly marched an army of 50,000 men into Flanders. The people of Amsterdam had heard of the recent victory of their old allies the French over their enemies the Spaniards, with the utmost delight. But this feeling changed into one of dismay, when they realized that the French frontier had been suddenly pushed forward to their very doors. The alarm soon spread over Europe. In England the old national hatred of France was inflamed, and fear was even felt for the great cause of religious liberty. Dutch enterprise might interfere with our commerce, but the rapidly growing power of France seemed to menace our national independence. The outcome of this apprehension, was the Peace of Breda between England and Holland, and also the celebrated Triple Alliance between Holland, Sweden and England. The Catholic no less than the Protestant States determined to thwart the growing pretensions of the French King, and he found arrayed against him a force before which, without allies, he felt he must bend. It was a cruel blow to his insatiable ambition, but under the circumstances, peace was a necessity, and the Treaty of 'Aix la Chapelle,' was concluded 2, 5, 1668. between France and Holland. In his heart, however, Lewis only regarded this peace as a truce that would enable him to prepare the better for another Dutch war on a far larger scale.

The struggle so begun in 1667, was not really brought to an end until the battle of Waterloo, but when it had lasted for a period of forty-six years, the Peace of Utrecht secured a long lull in this stupendous conflict. It was in the last ten years preceding this celebrated peace, that Marlborough won for himself his imperishable renown.

It is interesting to trace how surely the disasters which befell France in Queen Anne's reign, led, step by step,

to those scenes of rapine and bloodshed which, nearly a century later, culminated in the destruction of the Bourbon dynasty. France under her old race of kings, never recovered from the blows dealt her by Marlborough. The series of wars waged by Lewis from 1667 to 1713 against the Dutch and their allies exhausted France quite as much as did the subsequent wars of Napoleon. So great, in France, became the demand for soldiers during the early years of the eighteenth century, that in many localities the fields were left untilled, and whole districts passed out of cultivation. The very life of the nation was sacrificed to the inordinate ambition or the selfish carelessness of its Kings, until at last the people could stand it no longer. The down-trodden population of an exhausted country, a people deprived of every right that is the natural inheritance of civilized man, rose at last in desperation. Their fury knew no bounds, and, in the cruel fashion of mobs, they swept from France everything that could recall a system and institutions which had at once ruined and degraded them.

Between the English and the Dutch, there had been many wars in the sixteenth century, in which the ostensible cause of quarrel was often little more than the haughty demand of England that the ships of all nations meeting British men-of-war, in the Channel, should lower their flags, and in some instances, their topsails, in recognition of the ancient right which England claimed as mistress of the 'Narrow Seas.' But these wars really sprang from the commercial rivalry of the two great maritime nations, and from their respective efforts to secure the monopoly of the Indian trade. Lewis XIV. had always watched with extreme satisfaction these wars for naval supremacy between the two great Protestant Powers. Every ship sunk on either side, was, he felt, a gain to the French navy. Holland for her part was wont to regard France as her best friend, and she continued to do so until the first Dutch war opened her eyes to the true nature of Lewis's intentions.

Although thus forced to make peace, Lewis at once began to prepare for a renewal of the struggle, fully determined, when all was ready, to choose an auspicious moment for the recommencement of hostilities. In the meantime he sought to strengthen himself all round by treaties with his neighbours, bribing some with money, and all with promises. England, with her impecunious King, was of course easily dealt with. Charles wanted money for his mistresses, Lewis wanted the alliance of England to help him in his intended conquest of Holland. To complete the bargain, Lewis sent his sister-in-law, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, to England, to arrange details with her brother Charles II. They met at Dover, where a treaty called after that place was soon arranged between them. For a lump sum down, and a liberal annuity as long as the war against Holland should last, Charles agreed to declare war against the Dutch, and to furnish a contingent to help Lewis. Poor England! Plague, pestilence, fire, and famine had already sapped her strength, and now the unworthy Sovereign she had recalled from exile, sold her honour and her interests for gold! Only ten years before thousands of loyal subjects had flocked to welcome their King as he landed at the very spot where he now betrayed them. Crowds of men and women had lined the beach and cliffs of Dover to greet him with shouts of joy, and this was the return he made them for their warm-hearted welcome!

Lewis XIV. was an adept in the art of bribery. All through his long reign he expended great sums on the purchase of ministers and princes whose co-operation he required at the moment. At the beginning of the 'second Dutch war,' he bought up the active support, or at least the neutrality, of those rulers who, from dread of his rapidly-increasing power, might have been inclined to side with Holland. Charles, as already mentioned, was one of those so bribed, but in his dealings with him, Lewis was under no delusions. Although he had bought the King, he well knew that Charles and the Roman Catholics about

the Court were the only allies he could count upon in England, and that the English hated him, his policy, and his country. Charles had recently told Colbert that he himself was the only friend to France in all England, and that his subjects preferred even Spain.* Lewis could not hope to secure more than the neutrality of this freedom-loving people by bribing their ignoble King, and he soon found it necessary, in dealing with a nation so full of insular prejudices, to meddle as little as possible in their home affairs. They passionately resented any interference from without in their internal administration, though few concerned themselves about foreign affairs. In order to keep Charles up to his engagements, Lewis thought it desirable to provide him with a new mistress, a Frenchwoman, entirely devoted to French interests. For this position he selected pretty Louise de Kéroualle—for years afterwards known to Londoners as 'Madam Carwell.' She belonged to an old Breton family, had been for some time about the Court of Versailles, and now came to England, nominally as Lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Orleans, but in reality for the purpose of captivating the fancy of Charles. He fell a victim to her winning ways, and she soon succeeded to all the power and influence which Barbara Palmer had previously exercised. For nearly fifteen years, Lewis XIV. may be said to have directed the foreign policy of England through her. The wretched creatures who were ministers under Charles II. were bribed through her agency to subordinate British interests to the territorial aggrandisement of France. She was created Duchess of Portsmouth, and largely pensioned by her royal lover.†

* Dalrymple, vol. i., p. 104.

† The author of 'Hudibras' thus refers to the King's selection of a new queen of the harem:

'Takes a gay Tit from France to mount,
The cast-off of a Paris Count,
With apple-face and slender waste,
All over jilt, but looking chaste.'

In the winter of 1671-72, Lewis XIV. at last felt himself strong enough to carry out his deep-laid plans for the destruction of Holland, as agreed upon with Charles II. His preparations had been carried on very quietly, and all was now ready for this infamous undertaking. The terms agreed upon in the Treaty of Dover were confirmed in another written compact of February, 1672. England and France were simultaneously to declare war with Holland, and to act in concert, neither Power to make peace without the other's consent. The English claim to supremacy at sea was to be openly recognised by Lewis, and every vessel in the French navy was to strike her flag whenever she met an English ship of war. The fleets of the two nations were to act together under the orders of the Duke of York, or of any other British admiral whom Charles might select. England was to furnish for service in Flanders a contingent of 6,000 troops under an English general, who was to obey the orders of the French Commander-in-Chief in the field. He was, however, to be senior to all other French generals employed there. As long as the war lasted, Lewis was to pay all the expenses connected with this contingent, and to allow Charles an annual stipend of £240,000, besides paying him £200,000 down—half when the war began, the remainder some months afterwards.

It had been the intention of Lewis and Charles to declare war with Holland as early in 1672 as the weather would admit of field operations in the Low Countries. Before doing so, it was for every reason desirable that England should be represented at the Hague by a man prepared to do the bidding of the despicable clique who then ruled England. It did not suit their purpose that the high-minded and upright statesman, Sir William Temple, should remain there as Minister. He was consequently recalled, and Sir George Downing, Bart., 'a rougher hand,' was sent to replace him towards the end of 1671.* Still earlier in the

* Ralph.

year, Mr. H. Coventry had been sent to Sweden to announce officially, that England had withdrawn from the 'Triple Alliance.'*

Even in the seventeenth century, it was considered a breach of international decorum to declare war without at least some alleged cause of quarrel. Our grievances against Holland were of the flimsiest nature. The East India Company had some undefined claims for the detention of English subjects—detained with their own consent—in Surinam, after that country had been ceded to Holland. This, and the old dispute about the 'honour of our flag,' which we paraded whenever we wanted a pretext for complaint or quarrel, were practically our only grievances, and these Sir G. Downing was ordered to urge at the Hague in an unfriendly spirit.

It was alleged that the Dutch fleet had not 'veiled bonnet' to a royal yacht, the *Merlin*, which had been sent the previous autumn to bring home from Holland the Ambassador's wife, when Sir William Temple was recalled. But, in order to cook up this grievance against Holland, her captain had been specially ordered to sail through the Dutch fleet, and open fire on all ships that did not at once strike topsails to his flag. This he did upon his return voyage, and so great was then the national vanity on the point, that his conduct was generally approved. To heighten the national feeling, he was sent to the Tower on reaching London 'for not having sufficiently asserted his right.'†

The honour of our flag in the English Channel had been from time immemorial a recognised article of English national faith.‡ The 19th clause of the Treaty of Breda

* It was Mr. H. Coventry who, with Lord Holles, concluded the Treaty of Breda with Holland in 1667, after our naval humiliation that year.

† Lord Arlington's letter of 7, 9, 1671.

‡ Admiral Lord William Howard in 1554, Sir John Hawkins in 1597, Sir William Monson in 1604, Sir Thomas Mansell in 1620, and Blake in 1652, had all at different times opened fire upon French or

prescribed the honours which Dutch ships should pay to the King's flag, and in the treaty with Holland of 1674, the limits within which these compliments were to be paid, were defined as 'from Cape Finistère to the middle point of the land Van Staten, in Norway.' Many a sea-battle originated in the exaction of this proud claim, and much blood was shed in its peremptory enforcement, but it gave us a weighty influence amongst nations, and blood has often flowed in a cause of less national concern.

When our grievances against Holland were formulated in Council, one of those present remarked, that the Dutch would tear Sir G. Downing to pieces if he dared to urge them, but the King, who was present, cynically remarked, 'Well, I'll venture him.'* As predicted, the Dutch were very naturally incensed by the flimsy nature of our alleged grievances, and furious at the manner in which Downing pressed them, so much so that he became alarmed for his personal safety, and fled from the Hague without waiting for an answer.†

The frivolous complaints preferred by Sir G. Downing at the Hague were reiterated by Charles in his declaration of war. Louis XIV. scarcely condescended to give any reasons for declaring war beyond telling the world that he 'was dissatisfied with the Dutch.' His conduct in this matter was perhaps more dignified than that of his ally, although his explanation was equally insulting to Holland. These declarations of war recall the wolf's complaint against the lamb, in the well-known fable. Lewis complained of Dutch insolence, and especially of a medal struck imme-

Dutch ships, because they failed to pay our flag the compliments we then claimed and insisted upon.

* He had been Cromwell's Ambassador at the Hague. His home was East Hatley, Cambridgeshire.

† Sir C. Lyttleton in a letter of 12, 2, 167½ says: 'Sir G. Downing is in the Tower for coming away in so much haste, and contrary to the King's direct orders to him under his own hand. It is believed he was afraid the people would attempt upon him.'

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diately after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, on which Holland was represented as victorious, with a legend stating that she had 'secured the laws, reformed religion, assisted, defended and reconciled Kings, vindicated the liberties of the ocean, and established the tranquillity of all Europe.' This pardonable outburst of Republican braggadocio was, in the main, fairly true, but it was declared by Lewis to be an insult to him and to France, which nothing but war could wipe out. At the same time Lewis pretended to the Pope that the war was intended to further the interests of the Catholic Church.

'No clap of thunder in a fair, frosty night could more astonish the world than' did this declaration of war by England and France.* No one in Holland believed that we really meant war until our attack upon the Smyrna fleet, with which very doubtful operation we opened the campaign. The Prince of Orange and his party were for compliance with the English demands, in order to split up the alliance between Charles and Lewis, and with a view to unite the two Protestant powers of England and Holland, against the ambition of Lewis. On the other hand, the Republican party, under the De Witts, wished for an alliance with France, and recommended abject submission to the demands of Lewis. They disowned the offending medal, and broke up the die. Holland, thus divided, was well nicknamed the 'Disunited Provinces.'

* Page 17 of Sir W. Temple's Memoirs (1 vol., 1700).

CHAPTER XII.

THE CHARACTER, AIMS, AND AMBITIONS OF LEWIS XIV.

Lewis as a statesman and a soldier—He longs to annex Holland and by doing so to destroy a dangerous hotbed of Protestantism and liberty—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

For this second Dutch war a magnificent army, thoroughly organized and well furnished with every appliance of the day, had been provided. The preparations had extended over four years, and no expense was spared to make them complete. Lewis XIV. was not remarkable for military genius, but as a King, history readily accords him the title of 'Great.' His ideas were grandly conceived, and his aspirations were lofty. His aim was to make France the greatest Power in the world, and her capital the greatest of all cities. He loved to adorn it with palaces, splendid buildings, and museums, and to enrich his libraries and institutes with rare books, pictures, and works of art. He was statesman enough to provide himself with an army and navy sufficiently strong to defend this accumulated wealth against all possible enemies, for he knew enough of history to be well aware that amassed riches constitute a danger rather than a strength to the country which neglects to provide for their effective protection. His title to the Crown was undisputed, and he controlled the destinies of France as completely as Napoleon did in the day of his glory. An absolute monarch, he had a large revenue at

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his disposal, and splendid troops and ships to do his bidding. Endowed with great natural talents, his industry was untiring. His clear judgment made itself felt in every department of the State, whilst art, science and literature flourished under his immediate protection. A sincere and ardent Roman Catholic, he believed himself to be the instrument designed by God to root out heresy from the earth, whilst a boundless ambition urged him to attempt the imposition of his despotic will upon Europe. Of these two aims the latter was, however, the nearer his heart, and it was he who first gave shape and reality to that longing for the Rhine as a frontier, which subsequently became a recognised article of French faith.* His ambition was to emulate Charles the Great, and to unite under his sway all the civilized States of Europe. The imperial crown was to be joined to the crowns of Spain and France, and the Mediterranean was to be converted into a French lake. His territorial greed was insatiable, and he may be said to have originated the policy which Napoleon adopted, of making France great by the absorption of neighbouring provinces. The weakness of Spain seemed to invite him to add Flanders and Holland to his dominions. Spain was no longer to be dreaded: she had ceased to be an effective force in Europe, and had become little more than a geographical name. Her splendid infantry, but yesterday the terror of her enemies and the admiration of all nations, was no more, and her commerce had waned and disappeared with her fighting strength. Her King was weak both in mind and body, and Lewis, knowing that he could not live long, wished to have everything ready for the occupation of the Spanish Netherlands whenever his death should take

* As a sentiment, however, this longing for the Rhine frontier may be said to date back to Philip the Fair. It was Richelieu who devised the scheme of making France the mistress of the world, and the recognised centre of all learning and cultivation. This aim was adopted by Mazarin, and became the corner-stone of Lewis XIV.'s political system.

place. The previous possession of Holland would greatly facilitate this operation, and hence the anxiety of Lewis to effect its early conquest.

But the acquisition of Holland was not an object which met with universal approval in France. Ministers warned Lewis that the destruction of Holland would mean the aggrandizement of England's naval power and commercial wealth—in fact, the transfer of trade from the Scheldt to the Thames. This argument, however, had little weight with Lewis. He knew too well how completely Charles and James relied upon him for money to render them independent of the Parliament they hated. Charles could look to no other quarter for help, since Parliament would only vote money for specified objects, on conditions which both brothers deemed derogatory to the dignity of an English King. James, the heir to the Throne, with all the zealous hurry of a recent convert, was burning to restore the Roman Catholic worship in all its ancient splendour, and it was from France alone that aid could be expected in such a cause. Lewis was therefore justified in his calculation, that come what might, he could reckon upon Charles II. At his own back, was the compact power of France—then the greatest and richest of European kingdoms—and he could see no reason why his ambitious aspirations should not be fully realized, as indeed they surely might have been, but for William III. and John Churchill.

Apart from his craving for territory, Lewis longed to destroy the Dutch hotbed of Protestantism and liberty. He believed that the existence, and still more the prosperity, of this heretical republic, was a dangerous example to the subjects of all kingdoms. Protestantism implied liberty of conscience and the civil rights of man, as opposed to the absolute will of an hereditary King. In Holland and in England, where it had taken firm root, there had grown up a spirit of political independence which taught men to realize that they too had rights as well as the princes,

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bishops, and nobles in whom power and privilege had hitherto been exclusively vested. When therefore the United Provinces presumed to incite other States to adopt their views upon civil and religious liberty, it is easy to understand how hateful Holland and her institutions became to a despot of Lewis XIV.'s aims and temperament. The conquest of Holland was, therefore, doubly necessary to his aims. It would not only open the door for him into the Spanish Netherlands, but it would enable him to eradicate this pernicious religion.

Lewis XIV. was absolutely unscrupulous, and regarded neither home law nor foreign treaties. Punctilious in all matters of etiquette, he loved to pose as the central figure in his superb Court, but truth, honour, and justice found no place in his home policy or dealings with foreign nations. As with the powerful rulers of all epochs, he only regarded treaties as binding when it suited him to respect them.

As a ruler, he thought he could do no wrong. He believed that the hearts and thoughts of Kings by Divine right, were under the special guidance of Him who made them, and that it was sinful in a subject to resist the will of his Sovereign Lord. Courtiers, whose property and lives were in his hands, accorded him a reverence more suited to a deity than to a mortal. By nature vain, and through habit fond of flattery, they played upon his weaknesses, and confirmed him in the belief that his power came from above, and that he was not as others are. That a man so educated should have been able to make France what he made her, is a strong proof of his ability.

24, 10, 1685.

The most foolish as well as the most wicked act of his reign, was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which amounted to a declaration of war against every Protestant State, and against every Protestant man, woman, and child. It was the turning-point in his reign. Thenceforward his successes became fewer and fewer, and what was worse, the victories he did win, no longer strengthened his power

or increased his fame. France grew poorer and poorer without any compensation for the privations of her people; and when, at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, Marlborough took the field against her and her only ally, Bavaria, Lewis drank the cup of failure and humiliation to the dregs.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE FRENCH ARMY OF 1672.

Lewis a great Army Reformer—General Martinet—Louvois—Organization of all civilized armies then—Strategy—Crime.

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IN one respect at least, Lewis XIV. resembled the great soldiers of every age—he was an army reformer. His keen instinct taught him that the army opposed to reform must fall behind in the race for fighting efficiency, and he was quick to take advantage of all the inventions of the day which in any way affected the implements or methods of warfare. Whatever science could do to improve the arms and equipment of soldiers, he adopted with alacrity. He did not shrink from new ideas or new inventions, because they had not been taken up by some rival nation. He was wise enough to act in accordance with the advice of experienced generals, and to recognise, that among the privileges of royal birth, a knowledge of war is not necessarily included. He never carried his royal infallibility into such matters, nor did he presume to override the opinions of real soldiers experienced in the field, and the result was, that his army was dressed, equipped, drilled, and trained in accordance with the most advanced military views of his day. He possessed that gift rare in kings, the common-sense to understand that courtiers flatter. When they told him that he, being a Prince, must know how armies should be organized and how soldiers should be drilled and trained better than Turenne or Villars he knew that they lied.

But Lewis, although not a great soldier, was a great man. Long practice at peace reviews and military displays had made him a first-rate authority on all the theatrical side of an army, but he did not therefore conclude that he was competent to advise about war, or the organization of an army for war. He habitually sought and acted upon the advice of experts, whether in matters of science, of civil government, or of war; and as we shall see later on, when upon one occasion he was over-persuaded to run counter to the advice of his experienced generals, failure was the result.

He often made mistakes, but he had the rare merit of not fearing to employ able men. Vanity and a deliberately-adopted policy, caused him to claim for himself the credit of every great success achieved by his army. To make his people believe that all victory emanated from himself, tended, he thought, to magnify the dignity of his kingly office. This love of false glory, though foolish, did no harm to his country, for he strove to avoid the crime of committing the fortunes of France and the lives of her soldiers to incompetent hands. Despots like Napoleon are prone to surround themselves with mediocrities, for they fear to create rivals for popular applause. But a wise hereditary sovereign has no reason for any such fear, and can afford to employ the best material he can find.

The troops of France were at this time the finest in Europe, and her frontiers bristled with fortresses, the creation of the first engineer of his age, the modest and loyal Vauban. Whilst preparing for the invasion of Holland, the ablest officers of Lewis, men of tried war-experience in Hungary, Flanders, and Portugal, were hard at work with the drill and instruction of the troops. A new and well-ordered mobility and a facility of manœuvre was taught, whilst a greater precision in the performance of military duties was strictly enforced. Discipline was brought to a high state of perfection. The instruction of the infantry was intrusted to General Martinet, whose name

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is still a synonym for unrelenting strictness in the punctual performance of all duties, no matter how small and apparently unimportant.*

Until Lewis reformed his army, there was little discipline amongst the superior officers. This he was determined to correct, and when the three marshals, De Bellefond, De Créqui and d'Humières refused to serve under Turenne because he was not a member of the Royal Family, he promptly dismissed them from the army.† By degrees, he taught his officers to attach more importance to military rank and to military efficiency, than to birth, and in these and other reforms he was ably served by his great bullying bourgeois minister. It was really Louvois who compelled the nobles in the army to submit to the same discipline as officers of inferior birth, and it is related of him, that on remonstrating with a nobleman about the unsatisfactory state of his company, he said, 'When one is an officer, it is necessary to take a decided line, sir. You must either declare yourself a courtier or apply yourself to your duty!'; Birth had then, as property has now, 'its duties as well as its rights.'

In the field, the King made it a point to take especial notice of all meritorious officers, no matter how humble their origin. In fact, he was the first to recognise and encourage the 'professional soldier.' His generals were consequently the ablest in Europe, and his army was excellent in all respects. Such a power in such hands may well have inspired the dream of making France the dominant Power in Europe.

* It was Martinet who replaced the pike with the bayonet. This new weapon had a wooden handle which fitted into the muzzle of the musket. The first regiment to receive the bayonet was 'le regiment de Fusiliers créé en 1671 appelé depuis Regiment Royal d'Artillerie.' In this second Dutch war he introduced the use of copper pontoons. He was killed at the siege of Doesburg in 1672.

† After an interval of about six months, when they had eaten well of humble pie, the King forgave them and restored them to their former position in the army.

‡ Madame de Staël.

Among other reforms, Lewis clothed his army in uniform. He began this at first only with his Guards in 1665, but he soon afterwards applied the system to all regiments. Before that date, the captains clothed their own troops and companies. Strange to say, with the exception of the wigs worn by officers, the dress of some European armies in the seventeenth and in the early part of the eighteenth century, was better suited for the work soldiers have to do, than it is at the present moment. Frederick the Great's absurd ideas of what soldiers should look like on parade, have been the curse of armies ever since.

The organization of European armies at this time was as follows: A regiment of Horse consisted generally of two or three squadrons of three troops each, and each troop had a captain, a lieutenant, a cornet, and about fifty troopers of all grades mounted on big, clumsy 'war-horses.' In the Dragoons—the Mounted Infantry of to-day—the regiment had four squadrons of similar strength, but their horses were small and light—seldom above fourteen and a half hands high. Every cavalry and infantry regiment had a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major. Mounted troops fought in three ranks. Their defensive armour consisted of a back and breast piece, and a pot-helmet, but about fifteen years later these were mostly laid aside. The infantry battalion was usually divided into from ten to seventeen companies of fifty men each, one company being grenadiers. Each company had a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign. The grenadiers carried grenades and a short musket, called a fusil. The other companies consisted each of about thirty matchlockmen, twelve pikemen, and four men armed with the fusil, and a bayonet which in shape and size corresponded with the dagger-bayonet of our new magazine rifle, except that its wooden handle fitted into the muzzle.* Every infantry soldier wore a sword, suspended to a broad buff-leather belt, to which

* In the 'Dictionnaire Etymologique, à Paris, 1694,' is as follows: 'Baionnette. Sort de Poignard: ainse appelé de la ville de Baïonne.'

also, for all men with fire-arms, were fastened little cylinders of wood or tin, each containing a cartridge. The infantry fought six deep, with the pikemen in the centre and the musketeers, or matchlockmen, on the flanks. The pikeman was equipped with an iron pot-helmet, a gorget, and breast and back piece; his pike, exclusive of the steel head, measuring sixteen feet long.

Holland and Flanders, then the battlefield of Europe, abounded in strong places. Almost all that was known of strategy, was gathered from the practice of war in the Low Countries, where campaigns consisted of little more than sieges, the passage of canals and rivers, the construction and occupation of fortified positions, and endless marches and counter-marches. Although it was the rule to make war support war,* still, it was considered necessary in an enemy's country to establish magazines of provisions within the zone of operations, and when an army was pushed beyond any such zone, further supplies were collected and fresh magazines formed. No army, as a rule, dared to cut itself off from its magazines, and such an operation as Marlborough's march into the heart of Bavaria in 1704, was an unheard-of enterprise. Biscuit, as a ration instead of bread, had not come into use, and the system of exacting contributions from a country in proportion to its agricultural resources, now so well understood, was then unknown. Armies were either fed from magazines of provisions, or lived chiefly on plunder. Woe betide the province through which a hostile army passed. The horrors of war were real indeed, and the records of black deeds too often perpetrated by men in search of food, may well make us shudder.

Crimie has only too frequently accompanied armies in the field, and the foreign soldier in particular has seldom shown much respect for the feelings or property of the invaded. But it does not become us to throw stones at our neigh-

* An expression that originated with Julius Caesar, and not with Napoleon, as is so commonly imagined.

bours on this score, for although the British soldier is usually humane and merciful, still, upon some memorable occasions, he behaved infamously to the people of captured towns in the Peninsula. British generals, too, have been compelled in certain instances, as an urgent matter of military policy, to lay waste whole districts, to burn villages, and to snatch all means of subsistence from their inhabitants.* We are given to thanking God with great unction that we pay for everything we take, and that we do not live upon an invaded country as other nations do. The fact is, that it answers better to pay for all we want, as by doing so we obtain it more easily and expeditiously; but wherever this system of paying for supplies has failed, our commanders in the field have never hesitated to take them by force. No prejudices on this score ever affected men like Cromwell, Marlborough, or Wellington.

The armies of Lewis XIV. acted upon the system which was and is common in war—they took what they wanted. The difference between his time and ours is, that, as a rule, the supplies are now taken upon a well-understood system, through the agency of the enemy's local authorities, whilst formerly, individuals took very much what they required, and in so doing, often destroyed more than they obtained.

It may be said that Marlborough was the first General of the Lewis XIV. period who reduced the commissariat service to a regular system. It was, however, a common thing, at the opening of a campaign, to enter into regular stipulations, or treaties, as to the districts which were to be recognised as at the disposal of each side for purposes of contributions. The manner in which the parties sent to levy them should behave was clearly defined by written agreement, and it was usually stipulated that, 'No body of men, under a certain number, were to advance into their enemy's country beyond the limits agreed upon, under the

* The French ravaged the Palatinate in 1674, and again in 1689. Marlborough ravaged Bavaria in 1704.

penalty of being treated as freebooters.' By such steps many disorders and enormities were prevented.*

Those who wish to understand the strategy of this period should study the campaign of 1691 in Flanders. It is a fair example of the formal and cautious strategy of the time. The wars of those days were wars of sieges rather than of battles. The investment of a place implied carefully constructed lines of circumvallation and contravallation, as in the days of Cæsar. Commanders loved to surround themselves in the open country with great continued lines, designed to defend some frontier or to bar the progress of an adversary. A battle was seldom more than an incident in the attack or defence of a fortress, or of some long line of field-works.

This was the period immediately preceding that in which the genius of Turenne's great pupil infused new life, energy, and concentrated direction into military operations. The movements of William and of Luxembourg in 1691 illustrate how a nation's money could be squandered in projects which led to no decisive result; how a people could be impoverished to no purpose by generals wanting that true fire, that natural instinct, which rises above the rules of the military theorist. It was the day of the drill-sergeant and the formalist, when war was a methodical, but costly, game, of which the rules could be learnt from books. Roads were improvised across country to enable armies to move mathematically in columns at carefully regulated intervals from one position to another, often not more than five, six, or eight miles distant. Each side gave 'check' in turn, or by clumsy expedients and countermoves sought to secure what was deemed to be a strategic advantage in these slow and ponderous manœuvres. From first to last in the campaign of 1691 there was not one spark of military genius. What havoc would Marlborough, Frederick, Napoleon, or Wellington have made had any one of them commanded on either side!

* Vattel, p. 366.

In subsequent campaigns, Marlborough may well have chafed when compelled to serve under the Kurfürsts, Margraves, Landgraves, Herzogs, and other Erlauchts and Durchlaughts, their sons and their nephews, who by right of birth held command in the allied armies of the period; but, indeed, many a military genius has since then smarted and endured in a somewhat similar position, and States have had to suffer in consequence. Many of these right gallant princes mistook, as their descendants still at times mistake, the theatrical properties and the 'stage business' of an army for real warfare. Their Highnesses of Waldeck and Vaudemont, of Nassau Saarbruck and Nassau Friesland, of Württemberg and Pumpernickel, all good fighting soldiers, believed that they were endowed with the genius of command because they were princes.* How must sorrow and amusement in turn have possessed Marlborough when compelled to listen with respectful gravity whilst their Serenities laid down the law to him upon strategy and tactics! What gall and wormwood it must have been to a soldier of his stamp to find himself serving as a subordinate to a 'wooden-headed' courtier like Bentinck!

The military punishments of the day were not only severe, but cruel. When the allied army was encamped at Cour, south of the Sambre, a French incendiary was caught in the act of attempting to blow up the powder in the artillery park. He was tried by court-martial, and sentenced to have his right hand cut off and burnt before him, and then to be burnt alive himself. This inhuman sentence was duly carried out, and the reverend chaplain who describes the execution refers to it as 'the punishment he deserved.'† Such was the custom of war in those days.

* To the English ear the titles and position of some of these German Serene Highnesses sound curious. When the Treaty of Vienna decided the contingents to be furnished by these potentates, one, 'Reuss-Schleiss-Lobenstein,' was to supply twenty soldiers . . . to the army of the Bunde.

† D'Auvergne's 'History of 1691 Campaign,' pp. 116 and 123. Carlton in his memoirs mentions this also.

The treatment of prisoners-of-war is well described by Mrs. Davies, the woman soldier who served so long in Flanders under Marlborough. Having fallen into the hands of the French during a skirmish in 1694, she says that the English prisoners were well treated, because the wife of James II. took a deep interest in them. They had clean straw every night to lie on, and each man was given five farthings a day for tobacco, a pound of bread, and a pint of wine, and all were allowed to retain their own clothes. But the poor Dutch prisoners had nothing beyond half a pound of bread per diem, and were kept 'almost naked in filthy dark prisons without other support.'*

On the sea also little regard was shown for human life. The English claim to sovereignty over the waters of the English Channel was stoutly maintained during this reign, and gave rise to many bloody encounters. In 1694 Sir Cloudesley Shovel found in the Downs a Danish man-of-war which omitted to strike her flag to his, as in custom bound to do. He reports that, having ordered her captain three times to do so without effect, he directed the *Stirling Castle* to bear down upon her, and compel her obedience. This was done by pouring a broadside into the Dane, who returned the fire and then 'quickly struck his flag.' But 'there were several dead and wounded on both sides.'†

In 1672 the French frontier on the side of the Low Countries was protected by the fortresses of Dunkirke, Bergues, Lille, Courtray, Oudenarde, Ath, Tournay, Douay, Charleroi, Philippeville, and Rocroi. Early in that year, under the cover of these places, a large French army was collected on the river Sambre, near Charleroi. Including the contingents furnished by the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Münster, the army numbered nearly 140,000 fighting men, and it was well supplied with artillery and bridge equipment. In name, Lewis was the Commander-in-Chief, but in fact, the operations were directed by Turenne

* 'Life and Adventures of Mrs. C. Davies,' p. 25.

† Lexington Papers. Report dated from the *Neptune*, 11 8, 1694.

and Condé, with Luxembourg as a subordinate, whilst Vauban conducted the sieges.

Pierre de Groot, the Dutch Ambassador in Paris, soon discovered the intentions of the French King, and the purpose for which he had collected this large army. He believed all opposition to be so hopeless, that he recommended De Witt to submit, and make the best terms he could to avert the coming blow. The faction of the Grand Pensionary seriously weakened Holland, and the base plots of Charles and of Arlington and Clifford, as already said, secured to France the co-operation of England. Spain's weakness was France's opportunity, and the influence of French gold was felt on every side.

CHAPTER XIV.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE : HIS CHARACTER.

The hatred between Lewis and William—William's appearance and disposition—His ability as a Commander.

'He is a great observer, and he looks
Quite through the deeds of men ; he loves no plays,
As thou dost, Anthony ; he hears no music ;
Seldom he smiles ; and smiles in such a sort,
As if he mock'd himself, and scorned his spirit
That could be mov'd to smile at anything.'

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No two contemporaries, perhaps, have ever hated each other more cordially than Lewis XIV. of France, and the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III. Many circumstances conspired to intensify this feeling. The French King had wished William to marry his illegitimate daughter, Mademoiselle de Blois ; but the proposal met with an indignant refusal from William, who said : 'The princes of Orange married the legitimate, but never the illegitimate, offspring of great kings.' Lewis was furious. He never forgave what he took as a personal insult to himself, and William in after-life strove in vain to efface his remembrance of this incident.

William of Orange was the only issue of the marriage of the Stadtholder William, with Mary, Princess Royal and daughter of Charles I.* A seven-months child, born eight

* She died of small-pox during a visit to England in 1660, and was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel. She prided herself so much on being Princess Royal of England that she never allowed herself to be called by her husband's title.

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days after the death of his father, he was constitutionally weak, and through life suffered much from dyspepsia. There can be little doubt, that much of the moroseness for which he has been censured, was the result of a weak digestion. He is said to have borne a strong resemblance to his mother, and if so, she must have been a very plain woman. Gaunt and frail, with round sloping shoulders, he was of medium height, and ungraceful carriage. His high forehead and large aquiline nose, were, however, somewhat relieved by bright, piercing eyes, which bespoke cunning, and seemed to penetrate the thoughts of those with whom he conversed. Thin, closely-compressed lips, and a squareness of jaw and chin, indicated a firm resolve and a will that was not to be trifled with. His general appearance, by no means striking, might indeed be called insignificant. He lacked presence, and his ungracious and almost boorish manner was the reverse of winning. He laughed most ungracefully, a serious fault in man or woman, and his chronic cough irritated those he conversed with. Cold, calculating, and parsimonious, his distant and reserved deportment seemed to repel all friendship. To the casual observer he did not look the hero he undoubtedly was, though there was yet something almost noble in his face. He entertained a truly royal dislike to contradiction, and, though above all petty meanness, was an arch intriguer and a thoroughly good hater.

It is not easy to describe the Prince, whom in their hatred of Popery, the English people afterwards elected to be their King. That he was one of the great men of the earth, none but the prejudiced will deny. But many of his best qualities were dimmed by a cold and unsympathetic nature which found its expression in a repellent manner, and hindered him from exercising any personal influence over those whom he sought to lead. Men followed his plans and appreciated their cleverness, but could feel no enthusiasm for their gloomy author. Yet cold as he was to Englishmen, he loved Holland and its people with the depth and

sincerity of the man of one great absorbing idea. To raise the renown of his fatherland and to bring down that of France, was the wish nearest his heart. In him a noble, manly spirit was ever in conflict with the sickly, frail body that contained it. He was absolutely unscrupulous, as evidenced by the superlative deceit to which he resorted in 1688. But his was no mere personal or ignoble ambition, for its object was the freedom and greatness of his country; and when he fought for Holland, the struggle was also for the liberty and Protestantism which Lewis XIV. sought to destroy. The cause of the Reformation was the cause of freedom, and it was evident that both must stand or fall together.

William was self-contained, proud, and ambitious as Lucifer; a statesman, a diplomatist, and yet, above all things, a devoted patriot. So able was he as a negotiator, that his allies, it was said, reaped as much benefit from his diplomacy as his own subjects. His courage was rather of the Wellington than of the Cæsar type, for as a leader, he lacked that depth of human sympathy, that sense of comradeship, which some master-minds inspire, and which cause them to be followed with blind devotion. There was none of that animal magnetism about him, with which some leaders are so charged as to infect all who come within the zone of their influence. He had no power to attract men to his cause by any personal spell or glamour, and he was more calculated to inspire confidence than enthusiasm. His was an unemotional fanaticism, so dumb that the crowd gave him credit for none at all. He was incapable of those generous emotions of the heart which must be at least simulated, if not possessed by men who aspire to influence and lead others. The fire that burnt within him was intense, but it sent forth no flame and imparted no heat to others. The glory which surrounds his name in history is solid and lasting, but it is not the military glory he so ardently coveted, and worked so hard to achieve. The

name of but one brilliant victory adorns his epitaph; yet he can never be forgotten in the Holland he saved from extinction, or in the England he rescued from priestcraft and despotism. William of Orange must be remembered in these islands with sincere gratitude and admiration as long as men prize civil and religious liberty. To him we owe, if not actually our liberty, at least our present system of Parliamentary sovereignty. Since he dethroned James II., it is no longer the will of a more or less despotic Sovereign, but the will of the people, which directs the policy of the kingdom. No great man had a larger number of bitter enemies in his lifetime, but in history, few have found more able, more brilliant advocates than William III. Yet to a large extent, his were the principles and policy so unblushingly propounded by Machiavelli. He drew the broadest distinction between the honour of a gentleman in his private capacity, and in his management of public affairs. The teaching of the astute Italian may or may not influence the conduct of politicians of to-day, but it did strongly and undisguisedly influence the proceedings of statesmen and rulers in the seventeenth century, and particularly those of the King to whose initiative we owe the Union of England and Scotland, and many of the institutions upon which our greatness has since been built up.

Too sickly when a child for much study, he had nevertheless acquired a considerable amount of knowledge through the care of a fond mother, and after her death, through the watchful solicitude of his grandmother. He learned to speak Dutch, German, French, and English, and to understand Latin, Italian, and Spanish. He was well versed in the science of government, and he had a fair knowledge of mathematics, which he studied with pleasure. He disliked all music except the drum and trumpet. He cared nothing for either poetry, literature, or dancing, and with the exception of painting, the fine arts generally had no more charm for him than they had

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for Marcus Antoninus. He admired fine pictures, but took no interest whatever in those who painted them, nor, indeed, in artists of any kind. By education a Calvinist, throughout life he proved himself a friend to Protestants of every denomination, and stoutly opposed all religious persecution. Those who knew him well, tell us that he was a pious predestinarian, and 'constant in the private worship of God.*' During the visit he paid to his uncle's Court in 1669, he made a favourable impression upon all he met. Very abstemious then, he resented being forced to drink at supper with the King and his tipsy companions.† Contemporary writers described him as having 'a manly, courageous, wise countenance,'‡ and as possessed 'of the most extraordinary understanding and parts.'§ Sir William Temple, writing of him in 1668, says, he had no vice, and refers to his good plain sense, his habit of rising early, his dislike of swearing and dissipation, and his love of study and of hunting. He dwells also upon his charity, religious zeal, and 'desire' (rare in every age) 'to grow great rather by the service than the servitude of his country.'||

Whilst still in his teens, his sound common-sense enabled him to see through the French King's designs, even before the experienced statesmen of the day. He seems, as a youth, to have regarded the growing power of France as a menace to the safety of Holland, and as a danger to religious and political liberty. He had implicit confidence in himself, and from early boyhood all he said and did proclaimed his intention to follow in the footsteps, and to emulate the renown, of his forefathers. No danger appalled, no difficulty daunted, no reverse could dismay, and no success demoralize this self-contained, unbending, unlovable Cal-

* Burnet.

† Reresby's 'Memoirs,' p. 83.

‡ Evelyn's 'Diary,' vol. i., p. 409.

§ 'Lord Arlington's Letters,' vol. ii., p. 310.

|| Sir William Temple; see Mackintosh, p. 312.

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vinist. He was absolutely devoid of personal vanity; he was not vindictive, and even when young, was reserved as he was prudent. His aptitude for business was considerable, and, endowed also with great tenacity of purpose, he dealt seriously with all the affairs of life. These were the qualities which gave to previous Princes of Orange so much weight and authority in Holland. In writing of William's progenitors, an English author of the day says, that, Henry IV. excepted, they were on his mother's side only sovereigns, but on his father's such as deserved to be so.*

Such was the Prince now called to rule over Holland and direct her destinies. Her future was in his hands, and never did some four millions of freemen commit their fortunes to safer keeping. Whatever were his failings, we forget them in our admiration of his single-minded, all-absorbing love of country. His devotion to what he felt to be his duty, and the noble courage with which, in Holland's darkest hour, he fought for what he believed to be right, are enough to obliterate from the pages of history all record of his faults. He was ungracious, but he always rode foremost in the battles he waged for the independence of a country far dearer to him than life.

William and Lewis differed in character as night differs from day on all points save one, and that was ambition. William, unostentatious in all he did, loved war for itself; Lewis, who was no soldier, loved it only for the gratification of his personal vanity, and as a means of effecting his ambitious projects. Though almost always defeated, William was well versed in the theory of war, and to him the camp was a real home, where, sickly as he was, it was a pleasure to him to share with his soldiers the fatigues and privations inseparable from active service. King Lewis, on the other hand, was strong and robust. Vain of his personal appearance, he loved the theatrical side of war, and had a childish relish for its 'pride and circumstance.'

* 'Feasts of the Gods,' written in 1708.

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He gloried in the 'triumphs' so readily accorded him by a vainglorious people and a sycophant Court. No amount of adulation was too much for him, even when he knew it to be false. He made war like a king on the stage, surrounded by well-dressed courtiers; William did so seriously, as a real soldier in the midst of camps and fighting comrades. William would have scouted the minister who should presume to style him 'the Great'—a title which Lewis assumed from the day of the insignificant skirmish which marked his prosaic passage of the Rhine. William would have laughed at the man who, courtier-like, pretended to regard that operation as an important feat of arms. To Lewis, France doubtless owes much of the reputation that gained for her the title of 'Great Nation'; but we cannot forget that it was he who sowed the seed which in course of time grew into the noisome weed of revolution. Had he never lived, the names of Marat and of Robespierre might be still unknown, and France might have been spared the humiliations inflicted upon her by Marlborough and Wellington.

To William, Holland owed her independence. To his far-seeing genius and well-balanced judgment, Europe was indebted for the 'Grand Alliance,' which was the means of confining France for nearly half a century within her ancient limits. Entrusted by his countrymen with the defence of Holland, he soon came to be recognised as the champion of European liberties. But he never learnt to know or understand the English people, and hated their system of government by party. Always regarding English politics as insular, provincial, and unimportant, he neglected them, and thereby created many enemies in his new kingdom. His ways and manners and estimate of things were not theirs. No community of sentiment existed between the ruler and the ruled, for they were strangers each to the other. Esteemed and liked, if not loved, in Holland as Stadtholder, he was as King in England disliked by all classes. It was nothing but

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England's dread and hatred of Popery that kept him on the Throne, so supremely uncongenial was he in every way to the people. He never associated with his English courtiers, whilst he loved to boose in the society of his own countrymen. He took no trouble to conceal either his warm regard for the Dutch adventurers whom he had imported, or his contempt for the English statesmen of the day. It must, however, be frankly admitted, that he had good reason for this feeling towards his new subjects.

CHAPTER XV.

HOLLAND'S POWER OF RESISTANCE.

She trusted to her wealth—With a strong Navy she neglected her Army—Greed of wealth and mercantile pursuits had made her men effeminate.

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HOLLAND, with her comparatively small population and contemptible army, was apparently powerless to meet the coming storm, although her commerce was great and her coffers were full. The theory so strongly held in England, that wealth can save a nation when threatened with extinction, is the greatest and most dangerous of all our present-day delusions. It received a severe shock in 1870-71, when rich France fell before poor Germany, but it still helps to soothe the politician in moments of anxiety as to the unpreparedness of his country to defend itself if seriously attacked. During peace, money enables a wise Government to prepare and organize the army and navy required for the national safety. With it, guns, ships, ammunition and all warlike stores can be obtained, and reserves provided. All this can be done by the Minister who is sufficiently wise, patriotic, and courageous to tell his countrymen the whole truth as to the condition of their defensive forces. But if—as in the case of Holland in 1672—this be not done in time of peace, if the provision of a suitable army and navy be postponed until the country is attacked by an enemy strong by land and sea, its accumulated wealth will avail it nothing. The attack will

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be made so rapidly, and most likely, so unexpectedly—as it was by France in 1672—that the unprepared nation will have no time to pull out its purse, still less to spend its contents to any useful purpose. As is generally the case at such a time in all civilized States, there were then in Holland many who refused to believe in the reality of the danger, and who persisted in crying, 'Peace, peace!' when war was even at their door. Regardless of the warnings they had received from their own Minister in Paris, they seemed anxious to believe only what was pleasant, and, up to the last moment, refused to admit that invasion was even a possibility. Strong at sea, the Dutch had allowed their army to dwindle into feeble insignificance. To save money, it had been so reduced in numbers, that when the French poured into Holland, some 25,000 very indifferent troops were all that could be found to meet the invaders. Even these, mostly old men disused with long peace, were badly trained and equipped, and lacked confidence in themselves and in their officers.* During the long period of eighteen years in which Holland was ruled by De Witt, age had carried off the experienced officers to whom she owed her freedom, and the many foreigners she had in her ranks could not be expected to take any deep interest in the cause of Dutch independence.

The Dutch mercantile marine numbered about twelve hundred ships, and to watch over what was then regarded as a colossal trade, Holland had ministers at all the great courts, and consuls in all the principal seaports of the world. Her commercial capital, Amsterdam, had become the richest of cities. The provinces of Holland alone contained 3,000,000 souls, and the other states were peopled in like proportion. In fact, the sterling qualities of the Dutch had raised a down-trodden Spanish province, into a State which, in many respects, rivalled the first in Europe. Fore-stalling the policy of England during the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century, Holland was content to be strong

* Sir W. Temple's Memoirs.

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at sea, whilst the army maintained for defence against invasion, was contemptible in numbers and poor in quality. The mercantile classes, by whom she was governed, were quick to perceive how necessary a strong navy was for her circumstances and position, but the need of a land army was not so apparent. They looked at the question from an exclusively maritime point of view, and all possibility of invasion had been eliminated from their calculations. Her merchants could not by any arguments be got to believe, that France would be unrighteous enough to invade their country without warning, or to attempt the overthrow of a nation that had given her no recent cause of offence. Thus it was, that their defensive forces were neglected, whilst they devoted all their energies to the accumulation of wealth, and to what may be termed domestic and party politics. Their sailors were as good as those of England, but the generation of landsmen which had grown up while the Louvestein faction ruled Holland, were more fitted to handle the yard-measure, than to wield the pike. Engrossed in money-making, they had forgotten the art of war on land. A long peace had lulled them to sleep, and they had false visions of a strength and security which they did not possess. They constructed dikes to keep out the sea, but they neglected the fortifications which should keep out the enemy. Greed of wealth was slowly killing that public spirit upon which alone a healthy naval and military discipline can ever be maintained. 'Oh shopcraft, how do you effeminate the minds of men!'^{*} Holland deliberately elected to trust for safety to paper treaties, and to the good faith of the States which signed them, rather than incur the cost and inconvenience of an army sufficient to make those treaties respected. The States-General deliberately entrusted the command of their fortified places to the unmilitary sons of peaceful burgomasters and city deputies, who, when summoned by some handful of French regular troops, generally surrendered without firing a shot.

^{*} 'The Siege of Mons,' a comedy of 1691.

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In this first move of Lewis's game for universal dominion, William, as Stadtholder, was forced to the front, a position he held until his death, and which thenceforward was occupied by Marlborough. In these early Dutch wars, Charles II. and his brother James were bribed to assist the French, and until the peace of Utrecht, England held the balance in the game. When she remained neutral, or still worse, when her King was paid to fight against Holland, all hope of liberty and free thought in Europe seemed futile. And for several years it seemed as if Lewis must win.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF THE SECOND DUTCH WAR.

Naval battle of Sole Bay—Noble death of Lord Sandwich—Churchill promoted for his service upon that occasion—He goes to Holland with Monmouth—Monmouth's parentage—De Witt: his murder—Lewis makes the great mistake of taking the advice of his civil minister instead of his generals.

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THE time selected by Lewis XIV. for the conquest of Holland was singularly propitious. Spain, grown weak, and ruled by a half-witted King, was content to send some six thousand troops to Ostend, with orders for them to act, if necessary, in the defence of the States-General. The Emperor Leopold was fully occupied with his endeavours to calm or crush the spirit of his Hungarian subjects, whom his intolerance had driven into revolt. He had neither the leisure nor the money—even if he had the inclination—to enter into any alliance for the protection of rebellious Holland against France. According to his views, the Dutch richly deserved punishment, whether as subjects who had risen against their lawful rulers, the princes of his house, or as irreconcilable enemies of his religion. He was consequently easily induced to sign a secret treaty with France, in which he undertook to remain neutral during the coming war.

It was during this war that Churchill first pushed himself to the front, and it is to be noted, that like most great generals he first attracted the notice of his superiors by reckless daring, contemptuous indifference to danger, love

of enterprise, and unconcealed craving for personal distinction. It was in the early campaigns of this war that he learnt from Turenne and other able French commanders that military science, which others may have known as well theoretically, but in the practice of which few have equalled, none have surpassed him.

During the winter of 1671-72, the English Admiralty made great exertions to fit out a fleet to act in spring with that of France, as agreed upon with Louis XIV. The dockyards were alive with workmen, and satisfactory progress was made. By the month of April, sixty vessels of the line and twenty fire-ships were assembled at the Nore, under the command of the Duke of York. The *Prince*, a ship of one hundred guns, carried his flag, whilst that of Lord Sandwich, the second in command, flew from the *James*, a ship of similar size. When this fleet put to sea, many gentlemen joined it as volunteers. This was a common and a praiseworthy custom in the days when a large proportion of soldiers were required on board every ship of war. Indeed, so usual was it that society questioned the courage of the lazy idler of good family who stayed at home, whilst his friends and brothers were boarding hostile ships, or fighting in some deadly breach abroad.* In our day it is the fashion to sneer at those who so thirst for distinction and revel in danger, that they volunteer to share the privilege of fighting for their country whenever and wherever they can secure it. But the soldier's heart warms to the volunteer, for the spirit of the hero is everywhere the same. The freemasonry of daring ignores all differences in rank and birth, and makes all brave men comrades, be they princes or peasants, soldiers or men of peace.

The French fleet, just half as strong as ours, put to sea at the same time under Count d'Estrées, and joined the Duke of York's command early in May, off St. Helen's in the Isle of Wight. Over three thousand troops were dis-

* 'Memoirs of Captain Carlton.'

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tributed as Marines throughout the English fleet. The Duke of York's flagship carried the King's Company of what is now the Grenadier Guards, in which John Churchill was ensign, Edward Picks lieutenant, and Sir Thomas Daniel captain. The orders given to the Duke of York were to find and destroy the Dutch fleet. He put to sea, but, as the weather was bad, he made for Sole Bay, near the little Suffolk town of Southwold, twenty-six miles south of Yarmouth.* Whilst at anchor there, Lord Sandwich, the experienced second in command, reported to the Duke, that the fleet generally, seemed more anxious to feast than to fight, and were consequently seriously exposed to surprise 'as the wind then stood.'† The fiery landsmen who accompanied the fleet chafed at his habitual caution, the outcome of knowledge and experience, and hastily concluded—as young men are apt to do—that his prudence arose from want of enterprise and daring. It was even hinted that Lord Sandwich lacked the courage of the English gentleman, the mettle of the English seaman. Evelyn says that both the Duke of Albemarle and Sir Thomas Clifford—neither knowing anything of seamanship—had looked upon his cautious skill as closely allied to fear. Sandwich was painfully aware of these suspicions, and the fact preyed heavily upon his mind. Before leaving London to embark he said: 'I must do something, I know not what, to save my reputation.'‡ He seems to have made up his mind to die in the first action, and, by the gallant manner of his death, to show how cruelly and unjustly he had been suspected. He detested this war with Holland, for he knew it to be an unholy war, prosecuted for un-English objects by King Charles and the 'infamous crew' who were his ministers.§

The prediction of Sandwich came true. The English

* It is about 125 miles from London.

† Kennet.

‡ Evelyn's 'Diary' of 31, 5, 1672.

§ Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals,' vol. ii., p. 187.

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and French fleets were surprised at anchor by De Ruyter, the greatest naval commander of his day. A bloody battle ensued, and at sundown both sides claimed the victory, the Dutch with most reason on their side. The hero of the day was the gallant but suspected Sandwich, who, by his noble conduct and skilful seamanship, saved our fleet from the disaster which neglect of his warning had made imminent. His was a glorious death, fighting the enemy all round as long as his ship would float, and refusing to leave her even when in flames. De Ruyter, in his report of the battle, wrote, that of the thirty-two actions he had fought, this was the hardest.*

We have no record of the part which John Churchill played in it, but he must have done well, for he was promoted over the head of the lieutenant of his own company, to be captain in the Lord High Admiral's regiment, † 6, 1672. of which the Duke of York was colonel.† This regiment was intended for sea-service, and was the first in which all the men were armed with muskets. Churchill's promotion over the heads of many seniors was naturally attributed to Court favouritism. The young ensign was known to have distinguished himself at Tangier, but he was also known as a lover of the King's mistress, and as a member of the household of the Royal Admiral, the father of his sister's children. Lieutenant Picks, of the King's Company, in a letter written some months after the battle, ‡ 1-11, 1672. complains that he has been passed over for promotion,

* A very fair account of this great but indecisive battle is given by James II. in the Macpherson Papers, vol. i., p. 60.

† It had been raised in 1664; Sir William Killegrew was colonel, and Sir Charles Lyttleton lieutenant-colonel. It was composed of six companies, each of 200 men. In 1689 William III. incorporated it in the 2nd Regiment of Foot Guards, now the Coldstream Guards. Four captains of this regiment were killed at Sole Bay, and Churchill was promoted to one of the vacancies. Sir C. Lyttleton, writing about the battle from Languard, † 6, 1672, says, 'Mr. Churchill that was ensigne to y^e King's Company' was promoted to be captain.—Hatton, 'Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 92.

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although twelve years in the army, and adds with ingenuous simplicity, that he was prepared to make a present of four hundred guineas to Sir J. Williamson—a Lord of the Admiralty—to whom his letter is addressed. He urges it is hard that he, the lieutenant, should be forgotten, when 'Mr. Churchill, who was my ensign in the engagement, is made a captain.'*

^u 4, 1649.

Charles now appointed his illegitimate son, James, Duke of Monmouth, to command the contingent with which he had agreed to furnish the French King for his invasion of Holland. Born in 1649, Monmouth was only twenty-three years of age when he embarked to assume this important position. His mother was Lucy, daughter of R. Walters, Esq., of Haverford West, in the county of Pembroke. She was a very abandoned woman, but her origin was not so mean as James II. and Evelyn would have us believe.† The latter describes her as 'a browne, beautifull, bold, but insipid creature,' 'whom I had often seene at Paris; she died miserably without anything to bury her.' The King met her, before the Restoration, in Holland, where, under the name of Mrs. Barlow, she was the mistress of handsome Robert Sidney, afterwards colonel of the 'Holland Regiment,' now the 'Buffs' or East Kent Regiment. It is by no means certain which of the two, the King or Sidney, was Monmouth's father, though his portraits show the heavy eyelids of the Stuarts. Evelyn says he was more like 'handsome Sidney' than the King, and James II. says the same. But James was an interested party, and his evidence must therefore be taken with caution. In any case, Charles recognised him as his eldest illegitimate son, and married him to the great heiress, Lady Anne Scott, whose name he took.‡ He was bred a Catholic, but, having

* Hamilton's 'Grenadier Guards,' vol. i., p. 166.

† Her family were entitled to arms.

‡ He had been for years known as Mr. Crofts, from the fact that Lord Crofts, one of the King's boon companions, took charge of the child when the unfortunate mother died from debauchery in Paris.

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no strong religious principles, he soon found it to be to his interest to pose before the English people as a stanch Protestant. His doing so at a time when the country was in the anti-Popery ferment caused by the announcement that James had joined the Church of Rome, gave him at once a great position with the people. He was well made, and his handsome, manly face was full of expression and charm. His address was engaging, and his manner distinguished.*

'Of all the numerous progeny, was none
So beautiful, so brave as Absalom.' †

But though he thus possessed every advantage of person and manner, his mental and moral qualities were essentially commonplace.

The French King joined his army at Charleroi in May. He took with him many waggon-loads of silver coin, of which he fully knew the efficacy in a war, in which most of the enemy's commanders were ready to be bribed. He expected to work as great wonders with this money in the reduction of Dutch fortresses, as with his vast siege-train of heavy guns, and we know that Rheinberg, which could have stood a long siege, was surrendered without resistance by its Irish governor after some discussion as to the amount he was to receive for his treachery. In two months Lewis had overrun and conquered the three provinces of Gelderland, Over-Issel, and Utrecht, had taken over fifty fortified cities or fortresses, and had captured more than 24,000 prisoners. The fall of Rheinberg, Wesel, Orsoy, and Burich spread dismay everywhere, and in the States-General, confusion reigned supreme. The Dutch funds fell to an alarming extent, the provincial bonds went down 70 per cent., and East India Stock to 25. The Hague mob became wild with fury, and De Witt and his colleagues were forthwith

For a long time the boy passed as Lord Crofts' son. When he was beheaded, his widow married Charles, third Lord Cornwallis.

* De Grammont; Evelyn; Pepys; De Sévigny.

† Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel.'

accused of treachery.* Both the brothers De Witt were attacked, and the Grand Pensionary was slightly wounded.†

In this great crisis all classes turned to their Prince as the one man who could save them. He was one of those to whom men instinctively turn when their hearts 'fail them for fear.' In every city of the Republic the people clamoured for the revocation of the 'Perpetual Edict,' and, notwithstanding the opposition of the De Witt faction, the States-General revoked it. This was the death-blow to the power and influence of the Louvestein party. A mob, the most unjust of judges, the most cruel of executioners, is always ready, in its passion and ignorance, to kick the man who is down, and with all the more rancour if he has previously been its favourite. De Witt soon learned the actual truth of this, for no terms of abuse or execration were now too strong to be hurled at him. He wished to resign, but William would not allow him to do so. Every fresh success of the French army, intensified the popular feeling against their former idol. He was rash enough to ostentatiously face their wrath upon the occasion of his brother's release from prison, and was brutally trampled to death and torn in pieces by the mob from whom he had derived his power. So died ignominiously a demagogue of rare ability who wished to see his country great, provided he was its ruler, and to see her free, provided her freedom was secured by the theories of government in which he was a fanatical believer. Upon one thing he was determined: Holland should be exposed to every risk, sooner than he should fall from power. He was a party man in the worst sense; yet he was brave and had convictions in defence of which he was prepared to risk everything. For the sake of power and office he was content to ally

* We can all remember the 'Nous sommes trahis' of the French in 1870.

† Of those who assaulted him, one was a man of good position, for whose life great intercession was made. The refusal to forgive him heightened popular feeling against De Witt.

himself with the avowed enemies of his religion and of his country.

When the invasion actually took place, Holland was rent with party strife. The power of the Prince of Orange was crippled by constitutional restrictions, and still more, by party intrigues and the bitter personal animosity of De Witt himself. The nation had no recognised head; and without a supreme ruler, Holland could not be saved. Many of the richest families abandoned their homes in despair, and fled for safety to Amsterdam and Hamburg, and so great became the general panic, that the States-General ordered the removal of the national archives from the Hague.*

Although the murder of De Witt was brutal and cowardly, it was, at the moment, of great national advantage to Holland. De Witt, always anxious to thwart William's military plans, to criticise his proceedings, and to excite popular opposition to his policy, would, so long as he lived, have made the young Prince's difficulties insuperable.

A month before De Witt's murder, William had been made Captain and Admiral-General by acclamation. He was now created Stadtholder. He brought to bear upon his new public duties all the knowledge of war it was possible to obtain from books. Taking a sound military view of the situation, he urged the immediate abandonment of all the small fortified places; first, because he knew they could not hold out if invested, and secondly, because their garrisons, useless where they were, would if collected together constitute an important addition to his field army. Ignorant of war, like all political assemblies, the States-General would not consent to this proposal, and these little garrisons, unable in any way to check the French invading columns, were captured one after the other. Maestricht and the chief towns of Brabant, which had been lately strengthened, alone held out.

The rapid progress of the French arms had a great effect upon the English people, and their anger rose high.

* Welwood's 'Memoirs,' p. 222.

Charles, who had himself become somewhat disturbed at the magnitude of the French success, ordered the 'Royal English Regiment' to leave the immediate theatre of operations for Ypres and Courtray, and desired Monmouth to return home. Nevertheless, in November he raised a second English regiment for service with the French army. It was drawn from eight other battalions, the Company from the 'Lord High Admiral's' Regiment being under the command of Captain John Churchill. Many men of good family took service as private soldiers with this new corps in the hope of distinction, and in order to obtain commissions as officers. Churchill's company marched from London to Canterbury early in November, and a month later embarked at Dover for Calais. The day after its disembarkation at that ancient city, it marched to join the French army, but soon took up winter quarters in Arras and Douay.

The campaign of 1672 had been disastrous to Holland. The Dutch levies could not stand before the well-trained regular French troops. The fate of the country hung in the balance, and Holland hovered on the brink of final extinction. Even the stout heart of William seemed at times to fail, and he spoke of saving himself the anguish of witnessing the final conquest of his country by meeting death 'in the last ditch.' To save what remained of Holland, he persuaded the people to open the dykes and flood the country, preferring to see it submerged, rather than become a French province. With the exception of the islands of Zeeland, the distant Province of Friesland, some higher land between Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and a few towns and fortresses which elsewhere rose like islands from the general inundation, Holland was in possession of the French army and the sea. At this supreme moment, Lewis offered to guarantee to William the sovereignty, under the protection of France and England, of what remained of Holland. But he answered proudly, 'I will never betray a trust, nor sell the liberties of my country which my forefathers have so long defended.' When all around him

despaired of the Commonwealth, he alone was calm and determined.

Had Lewis now acted upon the advice of Turenne and Condé, instead of upon that of his civilian Minister, Louvois, nothing could have saved Holland. Neither the genius and courage of her young Stadtholder nor the patriotism of her people would have availed. Turenne and Condé had urged Lewis, when he crossed the Rhine, to refuse ransom for his Dutch prisoners, and to employ them on the Languedoc Canal and in razing the fortifications of the cities he captured. If left standing, those works must be occupied, and to find garrisons for them, would seriously reduce the fighting strength of the field army. They pressed him to retain only a few of the most important fortresses as points of strength, and if necessary, of refuge, and as safe depots for stores, etc. Upon this purely military question, the civilian Minister's advice was followed; and whilst William got back all his best soldiers at so many guilders a head, the strength of the French army in the field was so reduced by the garrisons required for some fifty captured places, that Turenne found it difficult to collect even 10,000 men for active operations.*

* In nearly all the histories of Marlborough, it is stated that he took part in the capture of Orsoy, Rheinberg, Wesel, Emmerich and Utrecht, but those places fell in the months of May and June, when he was serving with his company on board the Duke of York's flagship.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHURCHILL DISTINGUISHES HIMSELF AT THE SIEGE OF
MAESTRICHT.

Winter quarters in the seventeenth century—Churchill's daring attack—Turenne calls him the Handsome Englishman—England forces Charles II. to make peace.

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IN the seventeenth century the roads throughout Europe were too bad to admit of military operations on a large scale between the beginning of November and the end of April. This was consequently a period of enforced inaction; and whilst it lasted, the troops left the field and went into 'Winter Quarters,' in the towns and villages. It was a common practice for a large proportion of the officers to obtain leave, and spend the winter with their families at home. Captain Churchill did this during the winter of 1672-73, and continued the practice in subsequent years.

The campaign of 1673 opened with operations which, begun during the winter months, extended well into spring. The hardships endured by the troops on both sides were excessive, and the losses from exposure were heavy. The Elector of Brandenburg, beaten at all points by Turenne, asked for peace, which was granted and signed in April, and the imperial troops, having suffered enormously, retreated into Bohemia.

This year Lewis made great efforts to put an army in the field, large enough to complete the subjugation of the United Provinces. Maestricht was invested on the 7th of June, and

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trenches were opened some ten days afterwards. The French King, who was present, although he hated tedious operations, set a brilliant example to his officers by a patient endurance of the trying fatigues and wearing labours which are inseparable from large siege operations. The attack was conducted by Vauban, who for the first time made use of parallels provided with large places-d'armes, capable of holding considerable numbers of men for the protection of the batteries.* The place, which was regarded by both sides as one of great importance, was held by a garrison of about 5,000 men. The Governour, M. Fariaux, a Frenchman in the Dutch service, was a soldier of experience and determination, and the defence he made did him much credit.

A week after ground was broken the siege works were sufficiently advanced to justify an attempt to effect a lodgment in the covered way. Charles had specially recommended Monmouth to the care and consideration of the French King, and the latter, anxious to please his royal pensioner, selected his son for this service of honourable danger. It is indeed stated, that the attack was postponed, so that it might take place during Monmouth's tour of duty as 'General of the day.'† Lewis took up a position ‡ 6, 1673. in the trenches to watch the result. The assaulting column, composed of detachments from several regiments, was augmented by numerous volunteers thirsting for honour and distinction, and amongst the number was Captain Churchill, who accompanied Monmouth. The attack was eminently successful, the counterscarp was gained, a lodgment was effected, and the Half-Moon in front of the Brussels gate was stormed, and occupied after half an hour's hard fighting, during which the enemy sprang two mines.

The next day, between noon and one o'clock, when

* This plan is said to have been first adopted by an Italian engineer in the service of the Sultan at the siege of Candy.—'Siècle de Louis XIV.,' chap. ii.

† 'Memoirs of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.'

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Monmouth was about to dine, news reached him that the Dutch were preparing for a sortie. He at once sent to Lewis for reinforcements, and hastened with Churchill and others to the Half-Moon, which had been taken the previous evening. Before he reached it, the enemy sprang a mine which killed several of its garrison, and under cover of the confusion the Dutch sallied out in considerable force to retake the work. The attacking party, composed of some of their best troops led by the Governour, soon found themselves in the midst of the working party, engaged in strengthening the lodgment which Monmouth had made the day before. Fariaux pushed home his attack with gallant determination, and, helped by a shower of hand-grenades, drove off with heavy loss the French and Swiss troops who formed the guard over the working party. Some musketeers who came to assist, could do but little, and the Half-Moon was almost entirely reoccupied by the Dutch, when Monmouth and Churchill, with twelve private gentlemen of the Life-Guards and a few others—all volunteers—reached the trenches.* At a glance, Monmouth took in the critical state of matters. The advantage so dearly won the day before seemed on the point of being lost. Instead, therefore, of making his way to the front by the circuitous route of the trenches, he leaped the parapet and led his small party across the open against the Half-Moon, in the face of a heavy fire. His party was small, for when he started for the scene of action, most of the gentlemen volunteers with the army were asleep in their tents, having been in the trenches all the previous night. Those actually with Monmouth, besides the twelve Life-Guardsmen, were Lord Arlington, Mr. Charles O'Brien, Mr. Villars, Lord Rocking-

* The names of these twelve gentlemen volunteers of the Life-Guards are given, as copied from the public records, in Cannon's 'Historical Records of the Life-Guards,' p. 41.

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ham's two sons with their kinsman Captain Watson, Sir T. Armstrong, Captain Churchill,* Captain Godfrey, Mr. Roe, the Duke's two pages, and three or four more of his servants. The Life-Guardsmen, throwing away their carbines, drew their swords, and all made for a barricade of which the enemy had taken possession.† The opening through it was so narrow that only one man could pass at a time, and there several were killed and wounded. Mr. Villars was sent back to head-quarters to urge forward reinforcements—the need of which was very apparent. Monmouth and his party, helped by a few French musketeers who now joined from the neighbouring trenches, held their ground until 500 fresh troops arrived, who soon cleared the Half-Moon. Churchill was amongst the many wounded, Lord Arlington had a shot in his thigh, and Sir Harry Jones, also a volunteer, was killed at Monmouth's side.‡

This adventure was one of the most important events in John Churchill's early life. It brought him prominently forward; his courage was talked of in the army, and his reckless daring became a common topic with the gossips in the antechambers of Whitehall. Lewis XIV., who witnessed the affair, thanked him publicly on the spot for the valuable service he had rendered, and promised to recommend him to the favour and protection of his own Sovereign.

* Arlington, in his letter to the Secretary of State, which I have mainly followed in this description, spells the name 'Cherchelle,' being evidently the way in which he heard it pronounced by the French officers then about him. This letter is dated 'From the campe before Maestricht, Jun. 26 (73).'—Foreign Office State Papers: France, No. 285, 1673—Rolls Office.

† By an order dated London, 30 5, 1674, twelve carbines, to replace those thrown away upon this occasion, were to be issued from 'Our stoares remaining within the office of Our Ordnance.'

‡ He commanded a regiment of Horse, which at his death was given to Monmouth.—Hatton, 'Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 108.

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In this affair, the French lost about 100 officers and 1,000 men, but it was such a success for the besiegers, that the townspeople soon forced the Governour to make terms, and after thirteen days of open trenches, Maestricht surrendered. The garrison, including 1,000 Horse, marched out the next day, 'wth bag and baggage, drums beating, Colours flying, match lighted, bullet in the mouth, &c., with pieces of canon and two mortar pieces.'*

But a change now came over the French dreams of conquest, and Lewis began to understand the real difficulties of the enterprise in which he had embarked. The roads were under water, the fields had been given back to the sea, and the towns alone remained above the flood. He liked glory, but he liked to win it easily, and he was not prepared to seek it in operations more suited to beavers and water-rats, than to Regular troops. Like the fair-weather creatures in red coats—I must not call them soldiers—who hurried home from the Crimea when hardships and privations began, he preferred the comforts of Versailles to campaigning fare in a flooded country; so, leaving Turenne to complete the conquest of Holland, he returned to Paris to receive the congratulations of his courtiers. Condé said of him very truly, that he had not the soul of a conqueror in him.

Europe now began to awake from the slumber into which it had been thrown by the diplomacy, the subsidies and the bribes of Lewis. William of Orange, on his part, left no means untried to arouse England and other countries to a sense of the dangers to which they were exposed by the inordinate ambition of the French King. His efforts were not in vain, for in August, Spain and the Empire guaranteed Holland against further attack, and most of the German princes followed their example. It was with the utmost difficulty that Turenne held his own against the

* Letter of Charles Hatton to his brother of 28-7, 1673.—Hatton, 'Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 108.

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host of enemies who now confronted him, and in Montecuculi he met an antagonist who was not to be trifled with.

When the troops went into winter quarters at the end of this year's campaign, Monmouth returned to England to be made much of by his reputed father, who loved him as much as that selfish creature could love anything, accompanied by Churchill, who met with a most flattering reception at Court. Monmouth told the King that Churchill had saved his life at the siege of Maestricht. His own immediate master, the Duke of York, made him successively Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Master of the Robes, and in the course of the winter, he was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel in the 'Admiral's Regiment of Foot.'*

Throughout this eventful campaign of 1673, Churchill had shown a determination to obtain distinction, cost what it might. He knew that for him, advancement in life was only to be secured by hard work and reckless daring. He could not hope to be pitchforked into high command like Monmouth, who was a Lieutenant-General at the age of twenty-three. Churchill had only himself to depend on, and he knew it. He deliberately played the game of 'neck or nothing' at which so many ambitious men have staked their lives—all they had to play with. How many gallant English gentlemen have found graves in every part of the earth who have gambled away their lives at this same lottery! If Churchill had not been brave by nature, he was one of those who would have been so from pure calculation, for he knew that there was no royal road to fame, though there might be to promotion. Moreover, he was amply endowed with that readiness of resource and calm-

* He paid six thousand crowns for the post of Gentleman of the Bedchamber, which amount, some say, was given to him by the Duchess of Cleveland. Sir Charles Lyttleton was the full colonel of this Regiment, which was afterwards incorporated in the Coldstream Guards.

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ness in danger—perhaps the most valuable of military instincts—which can only be tested in the field. Thus he succeeded to his heart's content, and won the great distinction of being noticed by Turenne, who nicknamed him the 'handsome Englishman,' and is said to have foretold for him a brilliant career. Upon one occasion a Dutch column attacked an outpost, from which the French colonel in command retired precipitately without fighting. The post was of sufficient importance to render its recapture necessary. Turenne wagered a supper and some wine, that his 'handsome Englishman' would retake it with half the number of men who had lately formed its garrison. The Marshal won his bet, and Churchill became the hero of the hour.

There had grown up in Europe during the autumn of 1673, a very general feeling of hostility to the French designs on Holland. The intriguing Bishop of Münster and the Elector of Cologne separated themselves from the cause of Lewis, and in October Spain declared war against France. England and Holland 'had been at war without being angry,' and there was a general cry for peace, and for the immediate recall of the British troops from Flanders. The subsidies granted by Lewis did not nearly cover the cost of the fleet maintained in the exclusive interests of France, and Charles was more than usually in need of money, which he knew he could only obtain from Parliament. Our seamen fought without heart, and dreaded their friends and allies the French, more than their foes the Dutch. Discontent at home was rife, and Charles was said to fear the embodiment of the militia, as much as he did invasion.* In the preceding year, public opinion had forced him to send a special mission to remonstrate with Lewis, and to impress upon him, that, in the English people's existing mood, he could not be allowed to complete the conquest of a country

* Sir W. Temple's Works, vol. ii., p. 375. London, 1750.

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which they regarded as the home of freedom and of Protestantism. The members of the mission, however, had no sympathy with this English feeling, and took care that Lewis should not be seriously hampered by any action of theirs, while, at the same time, they urged William to accept the terms Lewis had offered him, Buckingham frequently repeating to him, 'Do you not see that the country is lost?'

Parliament gravely censured Charles for his conduct in 4, 11, 1673. this business, and in November petitioned him against the Dutch war and the French alliance. They would not brook the continued employment of British troops in so unholy a cause. Monmouth's contingent was consequently broken up, and his own regiment was brought home in November. It was plainly stated in Parliament, that further supplies would not be voted, unless, indeed, the Dutch should refuse honourable and reasonable terms. Charles prorogued Parliament to prevent its further action in this matter, but when it met again in the following January, he was made to feel that he must make peace forthwith. Spain had thrown herself entirely into the cause of Holland, and now threatened to declare war against England, unless Charles made peace. The war had already cost our merchants the trade of the Northern seas, and war with Spain would cost them the trade of the Mediterranean. These considerations brought Charles and his advisers to their senses. Sir William Temple was sent for, and the negotiations for peace were confided to his skilled diplomacy. Few of our public men have combined as he did, such a strong, sound, national statesmanship, and so keen an appreciation of public affairs and knowledge of men, with so deep a love of literature and of philosophical research. Once again, in the interests of the State, he was obliged to exchange the quiet of his library in the country for the bustle of diplomatic intrigue in the city.

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Terms of peace were soon arranged with the Spanish Ambassador in London, and a treaty was signed at Westminster in February. The questions of Surinam and of the 'flag,' were satisfactorily settled. The States of Holland undertook that not only single Dutch ships, but whole fleets, should strike their Colours and lower their topsails to any fleet, or even to any single vessel, which carried the King of England's flag, as had been the custom in former times. Thus ended the most unpopular war we had ever been engaged in—a war from which England could reap neither honour nor material advantage.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TEST ACT.—CHURCHILL BUYS AN ANNUITY.

The Duchess of Cleveland gives him £4,500, with which he buys an annuity.

QUEEN KATHERINE had miscarried in 1669, and all hope that she would ever become a mother, was now finally abandoned. It then became evident that the Duke of York must, in the ordinary course of nature, succeed to the Throne, unless some strong measures were taken by Parliament to exclude him. Ashley, who led the Protestant party, together with Buckingham and others, talked of bringing in a Bill to legitimize the Duke of Monmouth and to declare him the King's heir. Although this measure did not meet with general approval, all Protestants were agreed that a law should be made to prevent any Roman Catholic from sitting on the English throne. Many cruel enactments had been already made to exclude Roman Catholics from office, and many good and loyal men had been thus driven from the army and the navy; but with the King's connivance, James had hitherto succeeded in evading these laws and their penalties, and continued to hold the office of Lord High Admiral and the command of one or two regiments. Though he well knew how hateful Popery was to the English people, he lost no opportunity of parading his change of faith before them. It was a curious trait in his character, that he appeared to glory in outraging public opinion on this and other points upon

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which the people felt earnestly. He deeply offended Parliament and the people, by the announcement of his intended marriage with the beautiful Roman Catholic Princess, Mary of Modena.* This marriage, and the long squabble between Charles and his Parliament regarding the illegal 'Declaration of Indulgence,' led to the introduction of a new Bill, so stringent, that James would have no alternative but to recant his faith, or to quit the public service. This new law, known as the Test Act, was primarily aimed at James, and was intended to exclude him from succession to the throne.

Both Houses of Parliament were bent upon passing it notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the King and his friends. Speaking in the Commons, Churchill's father said, 'No song, no supper'—no Test Act, no supplies—and this soon became the popular cry. The Bill meant that James must resign all his public offices. The King wanted money for his duchesses, as his pension from France did not even cover his war expenses. Poor, ease-loving Charles was driven into a corner; but he must have money, and, as he could only obtain it by compliance with the wishes of his Parliament, he had to yield. His 'faithful Commons' at once voted him over a million and a quarter sterling towards the expense of carrying on the war. James was either too honest or too much in fear of his confessor, to comply with the provisions of the Test Act. He was

²/₈-²/₈, 1673.

* She landed at Dover ²¹/₁₁, 1673. She was fifteen, and James forty, years of age. She had been reared in a convent, and so badly taught there, that until her approaching marriage was notified to her, she had never even heard of England. Upon meeting her husband, this infant bride conceived the utmost dislike to him, a feeling which in after years gave way to the most genuine affection. Her life was a sad and stormy one. Joined to an unwise and obstinate bigot, she had soon to realize the miseries of Court life in all its worst forms. Her husband, given to coarse amours, made her early life miserable; her frequent miscarriages, the hatred of the English people, and the cruel lies and suspicions to which she was exposed, robbed her life of all brightness or pleasure.

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consequently compelled to resign all his public offices, that of Lord High Admiral included.

The passing of this infamous Act had a most important bearing upon the life of the Duke of York, and consequently upon the career of John Churchill, as the fortunes of the two men, master and follower, were inseparably linked together until the plot began which ended in the Great Revolution.

Churchill spent the winter at home, and again fell a victim—doubtless a willing victim—to the wiles of his kinswoman, the Duchess of Cleveland. Extravagant in her style of living, she squandered on every passing whim the large sums of money bestowed upon her by the King. Her young lover, Jack Churchill, was poor, and she is said to have been most liberal to him. She had purchased for him the position of Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York,* and she is supposed to have now bestowed upon him, as a new mark of her affection, the sum of £4,500; but the authority for this statement is the Earl of Chesterfield, who never lost a chance of repeating any gossip that told against the fame or reputation of the man whom he disliked. But whether the Duchess did or did not supply the money with which an annuity was purchased in 1674, it is certain that Churchill came into possession of it about this time. The ordinary courtier of the period, who had suddenly found himself in possession of so much money, would have gambled with it, or spent it on some form of pleasure. But this strangely-constituted

* In a note on Burnet, Lord Dartmouth asserts that the Duchess had told one of her near relations, who had repeated the story to him, that Marlborough had received a great deal of her money 'for very little service done.' Nearly all commissions in the army and all the posts at Court were then paid for, the out-going man generally obtaining the money. About this time Sir William Temple refused the position of Secretary of State, because, amongst other reasons, he could not afford to pay down the £6,000, then the price of such an office. The King nominated whom he chose, but the man turned out received the amount at which the position he lost was commonly rated.

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young man, was already thinking more of the future than of the present. Bitter experience had taught him the miseries of poverty, and he determined to purchase an annuity, so that, come what might, he should at least feel himself above the daily sting of want. The money was accordingly handed over to Lord Halifax, who, in consideration thereof, settled £500 per annum upon him for life.*

His action upon this occasion showed a strength of character, and a rare power of looking ahead. This uncommon quality can be traced through all the public and private events of his life, his marriage alone excepted. His position had been one of dependence upon Royal favour, but the annuity gave him a new start. His friend Bishop Burnet says: 'He had no fortune to set up on; this put him on all methods of acquiring one.' The Bishop also says, that money had as much power over Churchill, as Churchill had over his master, James. Many have sunk beneath the weight of poverty, whom such an annuity would have helped to success, possibly to eternal fame! Want of money had engendered in Churchill that strict attention to economy from which parsimony is so often bred. Long practised frugality degenerates easily into penuriousness, and that again into miserly habits and avarice. It did so in his case, and afforded grounds for the biting invective of the Swifts and Manleys of his own day, and of the Macaulays, Thackerays, and other romance-writers of the present century.

Books have been written with the express purpose of proving, that, however great Marlborough may have been, he was a monster of ingratitude, and only rose to power by low and infamous methods. That he should take money from the woman he intrigued with, is often denounced as the worst and most ignoble action a gentleman could be capable of. But this was not the opinion entertained of

* The original documents connected with this transaction—dated 1674—are amongst the papers at Blenheim.

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the transaction by his contemporaries. It was regarded as quite natural that a handsome, young soldier should be selected by the mistress of the King as one of her lovers, and that, penniless as he was, she should make him large presents. There is no foundation for Mrs. Manley's story that when the Duchess became poor, the lover to whom she had been so generous in the day of her power, refused to lend her a few pounds when she lost at basset.* It was truthfully said of him, that from his youth up he had sucked the milk of courts, and that his grace of manner and unfailing courtesy were not unalloyed with a spirit of intrigue and duplicity which has always been a stumbling-block to his warmest admirers. But throughout this intrigue with Barbara Palmer, he did nothing more than was done by many others, by Monmouth for instance, who when in exile lived chiefly upon the bounty of his mistress, Lady Wentworth. Yet Monmouth has not been held up to everlasting obloquy. No English gentleman of to-day would act as Marlborough and Monmouth did, but their conduct was not regarded at the time as either disreputable or unusual, and it is by contemporary law and custom that we must judge them, and not by our own code of morality and honour.

* Even Macaulay, unscrupulous as he is in his accusations against Marlborough, rejects this story, although he did not hesitate to draw from the infamous writings of Mrs. Manley much of his information on other points which he gave the world as history. De Grammont says that one of Barbara Palmer's daughters whom Charles disavowed was Marlborough's child. This must refer to her daughter Barbara, who became a nun in Pointoise. Not counting Barbara, she had two daughters and three sons by Charles.

CHAPTER XIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1674.—THE BATTLE OF ENTZHEIM.

The English Army largely reduced—Churchill made Colonel of a regiment in the French service—The English contingent under Turenne distinguishes itself—The fighting of the English troops in the Little Wood at Entzheim.

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ALTHOUGH Charles had been forced by his people to make peace with Holland, he had no intention of breaking with his paymaster, the King of France. Parliament insisted upon the reduction of the army, and even threatened to disband the Guards. To avoid further discussion of the question, the King promised to send the Irish regiments back to Ireland, and said that he had already given orders to disband the Horse and Foot he had raised for the Dutch war. This, when carried out, reduced the strength of the army in England to about 6,000 men.*

In the treaty with Holland, it had been privately stipulated, that the British regiments in the French service should be allowed to die out by stopping the supply of recruits, and leave had been given to the Dutch to raise troops in

* Horse	1,000 men
The King's and Coldstream Regiments of Foot Guards	
—36 companies in all	2,160 "
The Duke of York's Regiment (in France)	550 "
The Holland Regiment	600 "
Twenty-nine Garrisons	1,522 "
Total	5,832 men

Hamilton's 'Grenadier Guards,' vol. i., p. 193. The use of the fife was introduced into the English army this year.

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England. Charles failed to carry out the first part of this engagement, for not only did he still encourage recruits to enlist in those regiments, but he actually pressed men for that purpose. The British troops remaining in the French service, were Monmouth's Regiment of Horse, and one Scotch and one English brigade of Foot.* Thus, the campaign of 1674 exhibited the unpleasant spectacle of British soldiers fighting one against the other in the ranks of the two contending forces by order of their Sovereign. But what did he care?

During this winter, King Charles asked his friend Lewis to appoint Churchill to be Colonel of the Regiment of English Foot which, by a private arrangement between the two monarchs, was to be regularly taken into the French service. In a correspondence on the subject, Louvois refers to Churchill as too much devoted to pleasure for this position. A man was wanted, Louvois said, who would give as much attention to the regiment as a lover would to his mistress. Churchill went to Paris in March to urge his case, and was presented at Court by the English Ambassador, who also pressed upon the French Minister of War the request of King Charles. The request was granted, and in April Churchill became Colonel of the 'Royal English Regiment' vice Lord Peterborough, resigned.† 3, 1674. The nucleus of 'Churchill's' Regiment, as it was thenceforward called, had been formed by drafts of fifty men from each of the three companies of the Foot Guards before their return home from Holland.‡

* Of these, the Royal Scots is now the sole representative in our army. Sir George Hamilton's, Churchill's and Monmouth's regiments of Foot formed part of these two brigades. Colonel N. Littleton commanded Monmouth's Regiment of Foot, which was disbanded in 1697.

† See letters of 1st 3, 1674, and of 2nd 3, 1674, from the English Ambassador, Sir William Lockard, at p. 87 of 'Lord Stanhope's Miscellanies,' and F. O. State Papers, No. 289, 1674—Rolls Office. Marlborough's commission as Colonel of this regiment is still in existence. It is signed by Lewis and countersigned by Tellier.

‡ War Office Entry Book, No. 512a—now in Rolls Office. This regiment was disbanded in 1697.

In the campaign of 1674 the French no longer swept everything before them as they did at the beginning of the war in 1672, for the Dutch army had been educated by William into self-confidence. The people had taken heart, and had become united, whilst abroad as well as at home, it was realized that in the young Prince of Orange, Holland had a ruler on whom she could rely. His faith in himself, in his cause, and in his country never wavered, and he was determined to fight to the bitter end. The year opened well for the Dutch, for the ill-success of the French in the previous year had also given heart to the wavering German princes. Lewis seeing that he could not hold all his conquests, and at the same time make way against so many enemies, fell back from his position on the Rhine, and, abandoning all Holland except Grave, took up the line of the Meuse from his own frontiers to Utrecht. This retrograde movement, carried out before the completion of his triumphal arch at Port St. Denis, must have been galling to his pride. The French plan of campaign was, that Condé with an army of about 40,000 men should face William, whilst Turenne with another army of about half that strength was to march into the Palatinate. Churchill's and the other English regiments in Lewis' pay, formed part of the latter, and none of Turenne's troops were oftener engaged, or gained more honour. We are told on good authority that the French Marshal himself, as well as his German adversaries, attributed much of his success to their firmness and courage.* In the month of June, Churchill took an active part in the battle of Sintzheim,† and again in October in the very hardly contested battle of Entzheim. The Duke de Bournonville, who commanded the Imperial army, crossed to the left bank of the Rhine at Mayence on the 1st September, with 30,000 men and thirty guns, and marched up the river to a position between Spire

¶ 6, 1674.

* Sir William Temple's Works, vol. i., p. 392. London, 1750.

† The British regiments of Hamilton, Monmouth and Lord Douglas also took part in it.

and Philipsburg. There he encamped, and began to prepare for the siege of the latter place. Turenne, learning that the bridge of boats which De Bournonville had begun to construct over the Rhine near Loussen, about six miles below Philipsburg, was nearly finished, sent out the Baron de Montclar with 1,200 Horse and 500 Dragoons to observe the enemy. He also sent forward Colonel Churchill to the defile of Rhinzabern with 500 Foot. The Governour of Philipsburg had been ordered to fire six guns if the enemy repassed to the right bank of the river. Upon this signal Montclar was to charge the enemy's rearguard, and Churchill was to support him. If four guns only were fired, it was to be taken as an intimation that the Imperialists were advancing towards Turenne's army, and in that case both Montclar and Churchill were to hasten back to camp. No signals were given, however, for owing to the close and wooded nature of the country, De Bournonville managed to cross to the right bank on the 21st September without being seen, and the movement was discovered too late to secure the French any advantage. The Imperialist General's plan was to march up the right bank and again cross the Rhine at Strasbourg. Turenne tried to forestall him, but failed to obtain possession of the place, and the Imperialists were enabled to cross there on the 26th September.* They also passed the river Breusch on the same day, and took up a position upon it near Entzheim, to the west of the Ill. This virtually gave them command of Upper Alsace, where provisions were still abundant, and whence they could invade France with ease. De Bournonville's army was already 40,000 strong, and the Elector of Brandenburg with 20,000 more was expected to join it in a fortnight. Turenne, on the other hand, had only about 22,000 men, in a country whose supplies had been exhausted by his troops, now two months in occupation of it. He

* Napoleon finds great fault with Turenne for this serious mistake. Mémoires de Turenne, suivis du précis des campagnes par Napoléon, 1877, p. 456.

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was charged to cover Hagenau and Saverne, both weak, but important places. His position was difficult and dangerous, and it was clear that he would have to quit Alsace when the Brandenburg contingent joined the Imperialist army. Retreat would entail the loss of Brisac and Philipsburg, the provinces of Lorraine and Franche-Comté would be retaken, and Champagne would be laid waste. This would mean the destruction of the allies of France in Germany, which of itself would give a serious shock to the military reputation of Lewis XIV.

Turenne, the great soldier, full of imagination and expedients, did not flinch. He clearly saw that his only resource was to attack De Bournonville before the Brandenburg Elector joined him. Having given his fatigued and over-marched soldiers a rest of three days in camp at Wantzenau—where the Ill joins the Rhine—he made a night march towards the enemy on the 2nd October. It rained heavily all the night, and the roads were deep in mud, but, notwithstanding this and other difficulties, at four p.m. the following day, his advanced guard reached Achenheim, a village at the junction of the Mutzig with the Breusch. Churchill and Montclar, whose march had also been retarded by the heavy rain and badness of the roads, rejoined the army just as it reached the river Breusch. Turenne at once pushed forward with some cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy, sending his Dragoons and about 1,500 British Foot under Lord Douglas to occupy the village of Holtzheim, beyond the little southern arm of the Breusch. In the plain, south of that river, he found the enemy—facing north—in occupation of a crescent-shaped position, with the village of Entzheim in the centre of the curve. De Bournonville's position was strong, but it was too far back from the Breusch. He did not even occupy the fords and bridges, but left a space between the river and his front line wide enough for the French army to form upon. His right rested on the 'Great Wood,' about fifteen hundred yards in width, which here skirts the left bank of the Ill.

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This wood was swampy and much cut up by watercourses. His left rested on the southern arm of the Breusch, between which and the river itself there is a marshy, thickly-wooded space about twelve yards across. Immediately in front of his left, was the 'Little Wood,' which he stupidly neglected to occupy until Turenne boldly pushed troops into it. It was about twelve hundred yards long and seven hundred wide, and was, in fact, the tactical key of the position. Throughout the battle the great struggle was for its possession, and in it Churchill's English mercenaries were engaged all day, and there occurred the chief loss on both sides.

The village of Entzheim was surrounded by a ditch, bordered with hedges, which formed a rectangular parallelogram about six hundred yards long and four hundred wide, while ravines and hedges stretching out from it to both flanks added much to its strength. The position was strongly occupied with Foot and bristled with guns; while the hedges, orchards and vineyards near the village, and along the front of the position, screened the defenders, and even their mounted troops, from view.

Turenne quickly perceived the mistake his enemy had made in not holding the line of the Breusch. He saw that, if he could but get his army across the river during the night, there would be room to deploy it into fighting formation between the river and the Imperialist position, and he believed that he could do this, possibly without even De Bournonville's knowledge. His enemy's army was numerically stronger, but it lacked the cohesion, and consequently the power, which the homogeneity of the French army gave to it. He was the sole commander of King Lewis' army, and his word was law. The army opposed to him was, on the contrary, made up of contingents from many electorates and provinces, commanded by their own princes, each of whom was more bent upon his own special aim, than upon common Imperial interests. Such a condition of things always leads to bickerings and jealousies, often to

grave complications which weaken the fighting efficiency of confederate forces; and Turenne's experience told him that he might count much upon the want of agreement known to exist among the many Serene Highnesses in the Imperial army.

Making all allowances, however, for the extent to which his knowledge of the enemy's army and of its generals seemed to warrant him in undertaking an enterprise that he would not have dared to attempt against Montecuculli, it can hardly be said that Turenne was justified in the attack upon which he now resolved. To cross an unfordable river and attack a superior force strongly posted behind it, was to defy all military theory. None but a master in the practice of war knows when to discard theory; and the instinct which prompts him to do so at the right moment, is the hall-mark of real military genius. It is this instinct which chiefly distinguishes the true general from the theorist, who though, perhaps, a clever writer upon war, could never be converted into a leader of men. The operation in question was one which embraced so many elements of danger and of failure, that it was only as a last resource that a general with an army of very inferior strength could have been warranted to make the attempt. That Turenne was not punished as he ought to have been, is, however, a strong argument in his favour, and proves how well he had gauged the weakness of his enemy's army, and the character of its commander.

All through the night, Turenne's troops, column after column, filed in silence over the bridges on the Breusch, and through the fords in the little southern arm of that river, and by daybreak on the following morning, the 4th October, the whole French army was formed in battle array, with its right resting on the village of Holtzheim. The Imperialists made no attempt to interrupt this difficult and dangerous night operation. Turenne, who had been in the saddle all night, moved forward his army in two lines as soon as it was light, and formed up, with his right

resting on the 'Little Wood' and his left on the village of Lingelsheim.

The French army numbered about 22,000 fighting men, with thirty guns,* that of the Imperialists consisted of about 35,000 men and fifty guns.

The morning opened with a thick fog, which soon turned into a heavy downpour of rain lasting all day. As the troops took up their appointed positions in line, Turenne moved about from one command to another, and showed himself to his men, who caught from him that electric feeling of confidence with which he never failed to inspire them, and for which, as well as for his peculiar gaiety of manner on the day of battle, he was renowned. It is unnecessary to follow the events of the day in detail, for the British troops were exclusively engaged at one point, the 'Little Wood.' Twice it was taken, and the French and English driven from it with horrible loss. After the second repulse, a violent storm suspended the fighting for awhile; but the temporary cessation of slaughter seemed only to intensify the fury with which Churchill's and the other British regiments returned to the attack for the third time, over piles of dead and dying. The battle, fought throughout in drenching rain, lasted from 9 a.m. until darkness separated the combatants and ended the mutual cannonade which was kept up, as long as the gunners on each side could see an enemy to fire at. The French and English in the end remained masters of the 'Little Wood,' but only after a vast expenditure of human life. Although technically the French won, it was in every way an indecisive battle. The French, who had been on the march in rain and mud for nearly forty hours before the battle, were too tired and hungry to pursue, even had they known of their opponent's retreat or

* The French regiments were not nearly up to their establishment. The squadron was only about 120, and the battalions not more than 600 strong each. This was an epoch of strong squadrons and strong battalions.

of his heavy losses. Both sides fell back simultaneously as soon as darkness covered their movements, each ignorant of the fact that his enemy had retreated. Turenne felt that his men must have repose and food, and of these he could only be certain by falling back behind the Breusch, where he had left his supply trains and baggage. The courage displayed by the troops on both sides in the 'Little Wood' was remarkable, but the battle was not creditable to either of the commanders engaged. The rashness of Turenne's passage of the Breusch and of his attack on the Imperial Army, has been already commented on. But De Bournonville's whole scheme for the battle was bad, and its execution was still worse. Fearing a renewal of Turenne's attack the next day, he abandoned his position during the night, repassed the Ill, and reoccupied his old camp at Illkirch, to which he had sent back all his impedimenta towards the end of the battle. In this hurried retreat he abandoned two guns, a large quantity of ammunition, and left more than 3,000 dead unburied on the battle-field. His wounded—most of whom died from neglect on the following day—were fully as numerous as his dead. He did not even take the trouble to gain intelligence of the French movements after the action. Had he known that Turenne had fallen back on Achenheim, he might have held his position and claimed the victory, for the twelve squadrons of Horse and four of Dragoons, left by Turenne to hold the battle-field when he retreated, might have been easily driven back. During the action the French took some standards, eight guns, and other trophies. They lost 2,000 killed and 1,500 wounded.

Churchill, writing to Monmouth some days after the battle, tells him that his regiment was hotly engaged, and lost ten officers—five killed and five wounded—out of a total of twenty-two.*

* In Monmouth's Regiment of Horse eight officers were killed and most of the others were wounded; in his Regiment of Foot two officers were killed and two wounded.—General Hamilton's 'History of Grenadier Guards,' vol. i., p. 194.

The English Ambassador reports that Lewis XIV. 'commended the courage of the King my master's subjects in that action.'* Turenne had his horse shot, and his aide-de-camp, Duras, Lord Feversham's brother, had three horses killed.†

The news-letters from Paris of this autumn describe how late the French army was in taking up its winter quarters.‡ The want of forage was much felt, and heavy storms made life under tents peculiarly trying. A correspondent, writing from Paris in December, mentions that he daily expects Colonel Churchill's arrival. His chief item of news is that the French expect to have two hundred thousand men in the field for the next campaign. Lord Duras, who had just returned from the army, is, he says, 'still here or at Court, where he is like to stay till he § 12, 1674. hath lost his money, for they play much there.'§

Turenne's winter campaign, which followed, is amongst his most brilliant achievements, and its details, which are not attempted here, are extremely valuable to the military student as a splendid example of what is technically known as the offensive-defensive.

* Fourth Report of Historical MSS., p. 238.

† Historical MSS., Appendix to Seventh Report, p. 492.

‡ Rolls Office, F. O. State Papers, France, 1674.

§ *Ibid.*

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CHURCHILL SERVES WITH THE FRENCH ARMY.

He spends his winters at home—Turenne's character—Charles receives large sums from Lewis—Churchill made Colonel in the English Army.

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WE know little of Colonel Churchill's proceedings during the years 1675 to 1677, beyond the fact that he spent the summers with the French army on the Rhine, and shared in all its hard-fought victories. The following letter from a French lady at Metz, written to him in 1711, proves that he was also so employed during the summer of 1677:

'It would not be easy to forget a nobleman like you, and it is to me an indispensable duty to remember all my life the kindness you showed me at Metz thirty-four years ago. You were then very young, my lord, but you already gave hopes by your excellent qualities of that courage, refinement of manner, general bearing and conduct which have, with so much justice, qualified you to command all men. And what is still more to your honour, my lord, all the world, friends and enemies, bear witness to the truth of this which I have the honour to write to you. I make bold to tell you that your generosity in dealing with me made itself felt then, for those who came to burn and lay waste my lands of Mezeray, in the plain, spared them, alleging they had been ordered to do so by a great personage.'*

* Given in the original French, vol. i., p. 8, of Coxe. The writer was a Madame St. Just.

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During Churchill's frequent winter and spring journeys backwards and forwards between Turenne's army on the Rhine and England, he usually stayed some days in Paris. We find repeated notices of these short visits in the correspondence of the time. His fluency in the French tongue secured him an entry into Parisian society, and enabled him to enjoy it in a way that was open to few contemporary Englishmen.

His winters at home were meanwhile spent at Court in attendance upon the Duke of York. In the winter of 1674-5 there were private plays at Court, in which all the actresses were ladies. The Princesses Mary and Anne, Lady Henrietta Wentworth—afterwards mistress to the Duke of Monmouth—Lady Mary Mordaunt, the virtuous Mistress Blague, and Mistress Sarah Jennings, who acted the part of 'Mercury,' all took part in them.* The Duke of Monmouth, Viscount Dunblane, and other noblemen, often danced at these performances. Mrs. Betterton, the best actress of the day, was employed to teach elocution to the Princesses and Sarah Jennings. She also superintended the 'business' of each piece. 'Mithridates,' and the 'Masque,' entitled 'Calisto, or, The Chaste Nymph,' by Crowne, for which Dryden wrote the epilogue, were amongst the plays acted this winter.

Besides attending at Court, Churchill was occasionally engaged during these winters in military duties. In the army records of the time we find him mentioned now and then as a member of courtsmartial assembled in London, and he frequently attended reviews of the troops held either on Putney Heath, at Hounslow, or in Hyde Park.†

* Evelyn's Diary, 12, 1674. The good Margaret Blague, afterwards married to Sidney Godolphin, was a strange phenomenon at this coarse and dissolute Court. It was not until the Restoration that female performers were introduced on the English stage, and until that epoch there was practically no scenery used in our playhouses. The play became a most popular amusement during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother.

† For one which took place in Hyde Park about this time, we find the Master-General of the Ordnance directed to produce '8 field
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In April, 1675, the Commons—who sat that year in the Banqueting House, Whitehall—pressed the King to recall the British troops serving under Turenne, and had this demand been acceded to, Churchill would not have shared in the battle in which Marshal Turenne fell, and where the English regiments in the French service fought so hard to avenge his death.* It was under this renowned Captain—the greatest strategist of his age—that Churchill learnt the art of war. No pupil could have had a more competent master, and no master could have had an apter pupil. The French have well said that Marlborough learnt from a French General how to destroy French armies. It was Turenne's pupil who inflicted upon France those crushing defeats from which she never recovered until the transcendent genius of Bonaparte brought back victory to her standards.

Marlborough's tutor in war will for ever be accorded a high place amongst the greatest soldiers of all time, and as long as nations have any feelings of gratitude, France will continue to cherish his memory. A born leader of men, of ancient and princely lineage, nature had liberally endowed him with the qualities of the hero. His was a grand and lofty character, and although not free from the frailties of ordinary men, he was in moral worth far

pieces, viz., four demi-culverings, and four saker brasse ordnance and two mortar pieces with all their carriages and furniture thereunto belonging, together with two waggons, two tumbrells, and four tents, attended with a competent number of gunners, fifty pioneers with their respective officers.' Eight a.m. was the time fixed for the review. In May, 1675, Churchill's regiment, in which his brother Charles was then a captain, was ordered to be incorporated in that of Monmouth's. It is curious to find how often young gentlemen were then allowed to hold commissions in the army and in the navy at the same time. George Churchill was a lieutenant and Jasper Churchill an ensign 'in His Royal Highness the Duke of York's regiment of Foot,' whilst they were both serving afloat as naval officers. The Right Honourable Sir Thomas Chicheley, Knight, was then Master-General of the Ordnance.

* See note by transcriber on letter No. 345 of Venetian Transcripts, No. 30, 1674-5, in Rolls Office.

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above all his contemporaries. He was killed near Sanspach, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and it is much to his credit that he died poor, although he had numerous opportunities of becoming rich. His consummate strategy, brilliant tactics, extreme activity, and the mixture of daring and caution with which he compensated for inferiority in numbers, remind us of Wellington in the Peninsula. Strict integrity and lofty patriotism were common to both Turenne and Wellington; but whilst the Englishman's task was more difficult, he was also made of sterner stuff. If he could not claim to possess the affection of his soldiers, he would have scorned the man who, at fifty years of age, changed his religion to please his King. Turenne once aspired to be the leader of the Huguenots in France, but he seems to have changed his views when he found that the Protestants were subdued, dispersed, and incapable of concerted action. Upon his return to Paris in 1667, he realized that his religion was a serious, if not a fatal bar to his advancement. He accordingly resolved to turn Catholic, and it is even said that he made the bestowal of a Cardinal's hat upon his nephew one of the conditions upon which he agreed to renounce the faith in which he had been reared. Turenne, educated in the strictest form of Calvinism, and taught to hate the Church which had so cruelly persecuted his co-religionists, thus became a Catholic from interested motives. Yet no French historian points the finger of ridicule or reprobation at him for having done so. How differently would English party writers have treated Marlborough had he changed his religion to please his master, James II.!

In November, 1676, the French Ambassador in London ⁴⁶ 11, 1676. wrote to Louvois that the Duke of Monmouth was anxious about the recruiting of his regiment in the French service. He was not satisfied with the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding it in the field, and wished, as James did also, to replace him by Colonel J. Churchill. Courtin said that a Mr. Macarthy, a nephew of the Duke of Ormond, was also

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anxious for the position, but he did not think him to be so well qualified as Churchill.

During all these years King Charles was at his old game, selling the interests of his country to his cousin of France. In the Archives of the French Foreign Office, there is a receipt, still preserved, for 'cent mille escus monnaie de France,' which was the second quarter of his salary. It is signed, 'Done at Whitehall the 25th September, 1676,' 'Charles R.*' Courtin informs Lewis in his letters, that the English members of Parliament are openly clamouring for French money. He assures his master, that the thousands so spent have been well employed, and that those who give nothing in England are badly served. Such was the morality of King, ministers, and courtiers, amongst whom Marlborough spent his younger days. Even the honoured name of Algernon Sidney figures on the list of those who took Lewis's money, but John Churchill's name is not there, and it is as certain as anything can well be, that at no time of his life did he ever take a bribe to the injury of England.

Charles at this time suffered most in public estimation on account of his brother's change of religion. He said himself that all his troubles might be traced to this cause, and added, that, 'all England has been in motion and apprehensive that I have other designs, or am taking measures for changing the Government and religion of my country. This is the rock against which I must guard myself; and, I assure you, I need everything to enable me to resist the continual efforts of the whole English nation; for, in fine, I am the only one of my party, except it be my brother.'†

In the winter of 1677-8 Charles made Churchill Colonel of a regiment of Foot in the English army. The date of his commission was altered so as to make him junior to Colonel Legge, James's prime favourite.

* French Archives of Foreign Affairs, vols. c., ci.

† Barillon's letter to Lewis XIV. of 1, 11, 1677.

CHAPTER XXI.

MARRIAGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

It was no love-match—Sir W. Temple—Mary's religious education—Her personal charms—She is unwilling to marry William—The marriage a serious blow to Lewis XIV.

THE Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, was this year married to her first cousin, William of Orange. The event, though it did not at the moment seem to be one of unusual importance to England, had a profound influence not only upon the Duke of Marlborough's career and upon English history, but also upon the future of Protestantism and liberty throughout Europe. It was no love match on either side. Policy and personal ambition alone influenced the bridegroom, who thought it would help him in his struggle to defend Holland; while as for the poor, weeping bride, she was allowed no voice in the matter, but had to marry an ungainly little foreign Prince whom she did not like, and had not yet even learned to esteem.

There had been negotiations about this marriage as far back as 1674, and the King was then so anxious to bring it about, that he sent Lord Ossory to Holland to arrange it. William had also seemed inclined for it at first, but he afterwards drew back, thinking that the match was not a sufficiently good one.* When the matter was first mooted, Lewis XIV. did all he could through his paid agent, 'Madam Carwell,' to strengthen James's opposition to it on religious

* Lord Ossory's letter in Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. ii., p. 447.

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grounds, and even went so far as to flatter him with the hope that his daughter might marry the Dauphin.

In 1674 the probability that Mary should ever be Queen of England was small indeed, but three years later matters wore a changed aspect. Protestant Britain from north to south had become alarmed at the bare possibility that James might succeed his brother as King, and the Test Act was the result. Its immediate effect was to give the Princess Mary a political importance she had never possessed before. Her father had no sons, and were he finally excluded from the succession, the crown would by right devolve upon her at the death of Charles II. She had, therefore, become an eligible match for an ambitious prince, and William showed how fully he understood this, by reopening the question of the alliance in conversation with his trusted friend Sir William Temple. That able diplomatist, who was one of the few Englishmen, if not the only one, whom William ever trusted implicitly, urged the match, and gave a reassuring and satisfactory account of the appearance, temper, and unaffected piety of the Princess.* She had been carefully trained in the Protestant faith by H. Compton, afterwards Bishop of London, who had instilled into the minds of both the princesses, Mary and Anne, an intense hatred of priestcraft, and was accordingly detested by the whole of the Roman Catholic party.

William was aware of Charles's antipathy to the Protestant party and of his leaning towards the Church of Rome.† He also knew how strongly his proposed marriage with Mary was opposed by his enemy Lewis XIV., and how deeply English Protestant sentiment had been wounded by the marriage of both Charles and James to Roman Catholic princesses. Thus he concluded that the marriage of James's eldest daughter to one who was already regarded as the champion of religious liberty, could not fail to prove acceptable to all classes in Great Britain.

* Sir William Temple's 'Memoirs.' † Harris's 'Life of William.'

After much discussion with Temple, the Prince set out for England, landed at Harwich, proceeded at once to Newmarket, where the Court was then residing, and was well received by Charles in the palace which he had lately built.

William was most anxious to judge for himself if Mary really was all that his friend Temple had described her, and Charles, to please his nephew, curtailed his intended stay at Newmarket by several days, and went to London. There they met, and William found that Temple's description of the Princess was in no way exaggerated. He was extremely pleased with her, as, indeed, he had every reason to be. She was tall, handsome, graceful, and good. Her piety, deep and real, sprang from a sincere, honest heart, thoroughly imbued with the faith she professed. She was a sincere believer in the constant care of an ever-present God, whose hand she recognised in all the events of her life. It was her Maker, she felt, who directed all she did, and she bowed, therefore, to every duty imposed upon her as the result of His commands.

But this strange Prince was not a suitor at all calculated to attract a girl still under sixteen years of age. Taciturn and reserved to the verge of moroseness, sullen in expression, ungracious in conversation, he was essentially unlovable.* We know him now as one of the world's most remarkable men, but it is no wonder that the child about to become his wife, should have wept bitterly at the prospect before her. Queen Catherine, to console her, contrasted Mary's position with her own when she left Portugal to marry a prince she had never even seen. 'Yes, madam,' sobbed her niece; 'but, remember, *you* were coming *into* England, *I* am going *out* of it.'

Mary was James's favourite daughter, and he looked upon this match with peculiar abhorrence, but his objections were somewhat lessened by an increase of income for life which the King gave him from the profits of the Post-office. Charles hoped by this marriage to regain favour

* See Chapter XIV. for a description of his character and appearance.

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1677.

with the people, who, he thought, would regard it as a pledge that both he and his brother meant to stand by the Protestant cause.* Moreover, Charles knew how thoroughly the sympathy of England was with the Dutch and against the French, for as Courtin told Lewis, 'the English hate us, and only desire a pretext to show openly their animosity.'

4, 11, 1677. Churchill was present at William's marriage, which took place at eleven o'clock on the night of Sunday, the Prince's birthday, in Mary's bedroom in St. James's Palace, and Charles found scope for his coarse wit as he himself drew the curtains round the bride and bridegroom with the shout of 'St. George for England.'

No royal marriage has in a like degree influenced the whole current of English history, for the Revolution to which it led, ranks in our national annals with the Reformation and the Norman Conquest. The marriage was fraught with the deepest interest for all who loved freedom. Had it not taken place, it is difficult to see how the nation could have ever rid itself of James II., or how the Crown could have been settled on the Protestant princes of the House of Hanover. Charles little thought, when he ordered his brother to give the Princess Mary in marriage to William, that he was virtually placing the English crown upon William's head, to the exclusion of James, and of his male heirs for ever! It was a sad blow to Lewis XIV. All his scheming and bribery had ended in the marriage of the heiress-presumptive to the English Throne with his most deadly enemy. Lewis, said the English Ambassador in Paris, received the news, 'as he would have done the loss of an army.'

For the next eleven years, the palace of Loo was the common meeting-place of all Englishmen, who, dreading the re-establishment of Popery in England as fatal to liberty, had already begun to plot against James.

* Letter from Barillon to Lewis of 11, 1677. See Dalrymple, vol. i., p. 179.



Richard Henry & Son

London: Richard Henry & Son, 1854.

CHAPTER
XXI
1871

with the people, whom he thought would regard it as a pledge that both he and his mother meant to stand by the Protestant cause. However, Charles knew how dangerous the sympathy of England was with the Dutch and against the French, so as Courtin told Lewis, "the Assembly hate us, and only desire a pretext to show openly their animosity."

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No royal marriage has in a like degree influenced the whole current of English history, for the Revolution to which it led ranks in our national annals with the Reformation and the Norman Conquest. The marriage was treated with the deepest interest for all who loved freedom. Had it not taken place, it is difficult to see how the nation could have ever rid itself of James II., or how the Crown could have been united on the Protestant throne to the Throne of France. Charles little thought when he consented to the match to give the Princess Mary a queen's life, and was actually placing the British crown upon William's head by the mediation of Louis. But his task was not done. It was a great blow to Louis XIV. at the wedding and before, and ended in the desertion of his ally, the French, from the English Throne with the most disastrous results. Louis and the English Ambassador at Paris looked on each other as he would have done the last of his race.

For the few years which the power of Louis was the common rallying-point of all Tories, who, despising the re-establishment of Liberty as dangerous as fatal to liberty, had already begun to plot against France.

* Letter from Baffin to Lewis of 4. 11. 1671. See *Diary of Lewis*, vol. i, p. 179.

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Robynell House.

London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1894.

Chapter
XIII
1871

With the people who in 1871 would regard it as a
crime, that was the case in 1871. The story of
the "Fugitive Slave" was a story of a man who
had been a slave, and who had been a slave for
many years. The story of the "Fugitive Slave" was
a story of a man who had been a slave, and who
had been a slave for many years. The story of the
"Fugitive Slave" was a story of a man who had
been a slave, and who had been a slave for many
years.

Chapter XIV
1872
The story of the "Fugitive Slave" was a story of a
man who had been a slave, and who had been a
slave for many years. The story of the "Fugitive
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and who had been a slave for many years. The
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and who had been a slave for many years. The
story of the "Fugitive Slave" was a story of a man
who had been a slave, and who had been a slave for
many years.

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Holywell House.

London: Printed by J. J. & J. J. 1874

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CHAPTER XXII.

THE JENNINGS FAMILY.

The birth and birthplace of Sarah Jennings—Her forebears—Sarah's mother—Her sister Frances, Lady Tyreconnel.

IN this year John Churchill married Sarah Jennings.* Marriage, always a momentous affair, affected the character and fortunes of Marlborough in a very special way. It was during one of his annual visits to England at the end of the year's campaign—probably in the winter of 1675-76—that he met this extraordinary woman, then a girl of fifteen, and was fascinated by her wit and startling beauty. He was at the time still much under the Duchess of Cleveland's influence, and it was said that he was only able to free himself from her meshes by a stratagem, which supplied her with a new and handsome lover in his place.

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The birth of Sarah Jennings is thus registered in the abbey church of St. Albans: '1660, June, Sarah dā of Richard Jennings, Esq^r., by ffrances his wife, was borne the fifth day of June, and baptized the 17th of the same.'

Her exact birthplace has been variously stated by historians. She herself fixes it, by naming St. Albans as her 'native town.'[†] From the abbey churchwardens' book it

* Henry St. John, one of the chief conspirators in the plot which destroyed Marlborough's power, was born this year.

† In the deed by which she endowed the Marlborough Almshouses for old soldiers in that place. At p. 5, vol. i., of Mrs. Thomson's 'Memoirs of the Duchess,' there is the following note which corroborates this statement that she was born in St. Albans, and not in Holywell

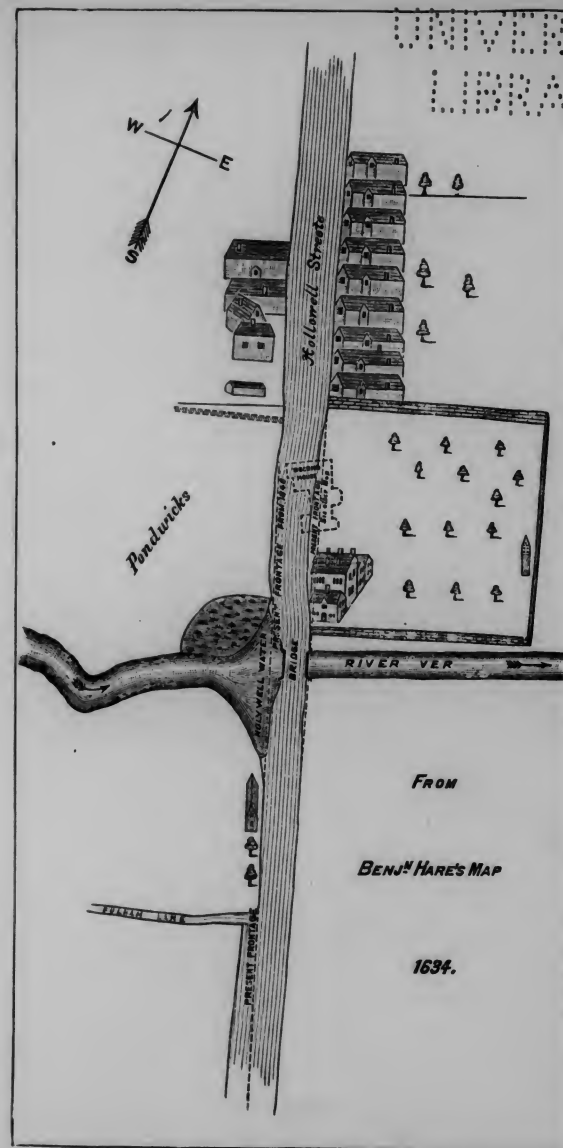
1678.

appears, that when she was born her parents lived in a house in the middle ward rated at £30 per annum, which shows it to have been a house of some pretensions. They also owned an old house at the end of the town, called Holywell House, but they did not occupy it at the time of her birth. When Churchill built new Holywell House in 1684-85, he pulled down the old one, which had stood on the road, close to the bridge over the river Ver.* It had been built in the sixteenth century by Sir Ralph Rowlat, who had obtained possession of the Holywell property, and also of the manor of Sandridge, upon the dissolution of the monasteries.† His daughter Elizabeth married Bernard Jenyns, of Fanne, Godalming, and of Brabœuf, Guildford, both in the county of Surrey, and by this marriage the

House, outside that place: 'A member of the highly respectable family of a former Rector of St. Albans distinctly recollects that it used to be the boast of her aunt, an old lady of eighty, not many years deceased, that she had herself been removed, when ill of the small-pox, to the very room in the house where Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, was born. This was a small building, since pulled down, and its site is now occupied by a summer-house between what is called Holywell Street and Sopwell Lane, in St. Albans, and within the space afterwards occupied by the pleasure-grounds of the great house at Holywell.'

* The new house was surrounded by well-laid-out grounds and gardens; there was a fine pond, in which, Chancy, who wrote in 1700, tells us, were 'trout and other fish, for convenience of his table.' It was finally sold in 1837, and was eventually pulled down in 1846. Some remains of the stables still exist as out-houses to the cottages built between the present restraighened road, and the old diverted one. Some of the ornamental windows shown in the Gothic bay on our left of the picture may still be seen in the neighbouring farm-houses, having been sold when the house was pulled down in 1846. In the grounds of this mansion was a holy well, from which the place derived its name. In it, tradition alleges, the nuns of Sopwell used to dip their hard bread to make it eatable.

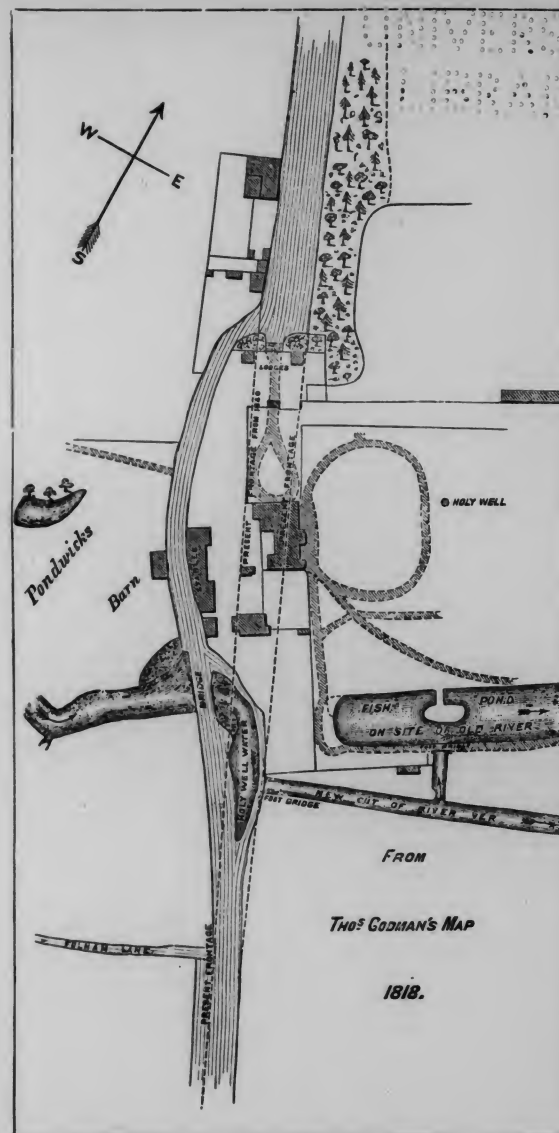
† He was a Master of the Mint to Henry VIII., and died March, 1544, and was succeeded by his son Ralph, who died 28, 4, 1571. Both were buried in St. Albans.—Parish Register. It was upon the son's death, without issue, that the property went to Elizabeth Rowlat, who had married Bernard Jenyns.



PLAN OF HOLYWELL STREET IN 1634.
To face p. 154, Vol. I.

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PLAN OF HOLYWELL STREET IN 1818.
 To face p. 154, Vol. I.

ARMULIOO
VTIEREVINU
YRA9BLL

Holywell and Sandridge estates passed to the Jenyns family. By a strange coincidence their son, Ralph Jenyns, acquired the manor of Churchill, in Somersetshire, where he died in 1572.

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1678.
10, 4, 1572.

Sir John Jenyns, Sarah's grandfather, was High Sheriff of Herts in 1625, and sat in two Parliaments for St. Albans.* About the year 1610 he built a fine brick mansion, Water End House, at Sandridge, on the north bank of the river Lee.† He was made a Knight of the Bath by James I. at the same time as his own son, afterwards Charles I. Sarah's father was Richard Jennings, Esq., of Sandridge, Herts, of Churchill, Somerset, and of Fann and Brabœuf, Surrey, and he was patron of the living of Sandridge.‡ He had been Member of Parliament for St. Albans in 1642, and again from 1661 to the time of his death, seven years afterwards. Sarah refers to him as owning 'property in Somersetshire, Kent, and St. Albans, of about four thousand pounds a year.'§ With that indifference to the spelling of family names which was common even down to the beginning of this century, we find the name spelled at various times 'Jennens,' 'Jenens,' 'Jenyns,' 'Jennyngs,' and 'Jennings.' The heads of the family had been squires for many generations, and had remained Royalists throughout the 'Great Rebellion.'

Born in 1619;
died in 1668.

If a comparison were instituted between the families of the two lovers, it would be found that the lady came of the more ancient lineage. The Jennings were, without doubt,

* That of 1628 and of 1640—the Long Parliament.

† It was about one mile south-west of Ayot St. Peter.—'History of Hertfordshire,' by Cussans. There is a tablet in St. Peter's Church, at St. Albans, to the memory of his daughter Anne, who died 8, 12, 1656. On it he is described as of Holywell, in St. Albans. He had a very large family by his wife Alice. He died in 1642, and she in 1663.

‡ The Parliamentary Commission of 1650 reported this living to be worth £35 a year, and to be in the gift of R. Jennings, Esq.

§ 'Private Correspondence,' vol. ii., p. 112. As already stated, he had, before Sarah was born, sold his property in Somersetshire—the Manor of Churchill—in 1562, to Sir John Churchill, Master of the Rolls, and first cousin to Marlborough.

entitled to bear arms from an early period, but, as was commonly the case, they possessed no crest until the reign of Henry VIII., when one was granted to 'Sir John Jennyns, Knt., of Churchill, Co. Somerset.' This 'crest and helm' was confirmed to him by deed of 1563.*

The mother of Sarah Jennings was Frances, daughter of Sir Gifford Thornhurst, Bart., of Agnes Court, Old Romney, Kent.† Tory writers have asserted that she was an infamous woman of mean origin. Like the mother of Prince Eugène, she also was said to be a sorceress. She is referred to by Mrs. Manley as 'The famous Mother Shipton, who, by the power and influence of her magic art, had placed a daughter in the same station (as Arabella Churchill) at Court.'‡ These outrageous slanders, for which Swift is mainly responsible, had their origin in party spite alone.§ Mrs. Jennings was respected in her own county, as may be seen by this extract from a letter written by a neighbouring lady to Sarah in after-life: 'I must own my affection to the memory of your noble mother, who honoured me with her love, and bestowed upon me many

* This deed, dated 7, 5, 1563, is now at Blenheim Palace. Sir John Jennings is recorded as a lunatic in the pedigree given in Mr. E. Green's 'Manor of Churchill.'

† Agnes or Aghne Court is now a farmhouse. Sir Gifford Thornhurst had married Susanna, daughter of Sir A. Temple, Knight, of Chadwell, Essex; he died in 1627 without male issue. His widow married secondly, Sir Martin Lister, Knight. The marriage license of Sarah's mother and father runs thus: '1643, Richard Jenyns, Esq., of St. Albans, bach., 24.—Frances Thornhurst, of St. Martin's-in-Fields, spinster, 18, her father dead, consent of mother, now wife of Sir Martin Lister, Knight,' etc.

‡ 'The New Atalantis.' See also 'Oliver's Pocket Looking-glass, 1711.' Sarah's mother was the Damereta of Mrs. Manley, and the 'Mother Haggy' of 'The Story of the St. Albans Ghost.' There is a picture of her at Althorp; the face and expression are most unpleasant.

§ 'The St. Albans Ghost,' published in 1712, is a coarse pamphlet, devoid of wit, and is from beginning to end a scandalous libel on the Duchess of Marlborough and her family. In Swift's journal it is thus mentioned: 'I went to Lord Masham's to-night, and Lady Masham made me read her a pretty twopenny pamphlet called "The St. Albans Ghost." I thought I had writ it myself, so did they; but I did not.'

costly favours,' etc.* She was an intimate friend of Elizabeth, Lady Anglesey, and lived with her for years in London after she left St. Albans. A number of Lady Anglesey's letters to her have been preserved, and they show how highly she was esteemed by her friend. The following is a specimen:

'Saturday, Novemb. 19th, 1692.

'My dearest frances I hope y^u do not take it ill of me y^t M^{rs} Middleton troubles y^u for it was never in my thought nor had I seen her when she sent y^u her letter: nor can I now see her I am so ill with a cold and nothing will cure or make me happy but y^e sight of y^u. I am in new mourning for a brother's widow of mine: So I cannot be pleased but to have y^r presence if y^u will save my life com to the greatfull hart of her I acknowledg she is y^r most obliged true friend & servant

E. ANGLESEY.†

'Mrs. Middleton w^od be at y^e aldermans if she may. My Lord Marlbury has behaved himself so well he has y^e praise of all y^e world.'

This letter is addressed: 'These ffor the honble M^{rs} Jennings at her house in St Albans hartford sheir.'

Like her famous daughter, the mother had a violent and uncertain temper, as may be gathered from the following correspondence. In one of the letters, written during the time Colonel Churchill was courting Sarah Jennings, we read of a violent quarrel, apparently ending in blows, between mother and daughter: 'Mrs. Jennings and her daughter, Maid of Honour to the Dutchesse, have had

* The writer was Mary Wittewronge, daughter-in-law of a neighbouring knight of that name, who lived at Rothamsted Park, near St. Albans. Appendix, vol. i. of Mrs. Thompson's Life of Sarah.

† She was daughter of Sir James Altham, Knt. Her husband was Arthur Annesley, son of Viscount Valentia; born 1614, died 1686. He was created Earl of Anglesey. He held many high offices in Ireland, and afterwards in England. He was a man of letters and a great English historian. He refused to go with Charles and James in their violent measures against liberty, and was dismissed from the office of Privy Seal in consequence.

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²³/₁₂, 1676.

so great a falling out that they fought: the young one complained to the Dutchesse that if her mother was not put out of St. James's, where she had lodgings to sanctuary her from debt, she would run away; so Sir Alleyn Apsley was sent to bid the mother remove, who answered, with all her heart: she should never dispute the Duke and Dutchesse's commands, but with the Grace of God she would take her daughter away with her so rather than part with her, the mother must stay, and all breaches are made up again.'

What a state of society! A month later the feud between mother and daughter was renewed, with the result described in this further letter:

'Mrs. Sarah Jennings has got the better of her mother, who is commanded to leave the Court and her daughter in itt, notwithstanding the mother's petition that she might have her girle with her, the girle saying she is a mad woman.'*

The following letter from Sarah, written early in her married life, describes another serious altercation she had just had with her quarrelsome mother:

'Saturday night.

²⁵/₁₂, 1676.

4, 1, 1677.

'I have thought very often sence I left my deare Mother what was the reason of all that disorder and ill-humer the night and morning before I came away, and if I thought I had don any thing that you had reason to take ill, I should be very angry with my self, but I am very sure I did not intend any thing but to pay you the duty I ought and if against my will and knowledg I have committed any fault, I hope you will forgive it and I beg you will consider how often I stop'd the coach as wee came home and beg'd you to come in which I could doe for noe other reason but for feare you should get your death and what reason had you when you came home to say soe

* These two letters are from Lady Chaworth to her brother, Lord Roon. See Historical MSS. Commission, Twelfth Report, part v., 1889, pages 32 and 34.

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many cruell things to me and bety Moody which I can't but take to my self, the post is going and I can say noe more but that I hope I shall see you or heare from you very soone and I that I will ever bee your most duty full Daughter whatever you are to me.

CHURCHILL.

'for Mrs. Jenyns at her hous in St Albans hartfordshire.'*

Many of Sarah's letters to her mother are amongst the Blenheim Palace papers. They are couched in affectionate and respectful terms, and most are addressed: 'For Mrs. Jenyns at the Countess of Anglesy's hous London.'

The mother left her manors, lands, and personal property to Sarah for her sole and separate use, so that her 'dear son-in-law, John Earl of Marlborough, tho' I love him with all my heart, shall not have any benefit,' etc.† The expression in her will of a fervent faith in Christ proves how unfounded are all the calumnies about her scepticism and witchcraft, which Tory writers published to annoy the daughter whom they hated. But it must be admitted that, in the violence of her temper, in her cross-grained disposition and erratic conduct, we find traces of that species of insanity which I believe to have been inherited by her daughter Sarah.

Sarah's grandfather, Sir John Jennings, had many children, most of whom died in infancy. He was succeeded by his son Richard, Sarah's father. Her brother John, his heir, died in 1674, and was succeeded by her other brother Ralph, who also died without issue, when the property devolved upon his three surviving sisters,

Buried
27, 9, 1674.

Ralph, born
¹/₈ 10, 1657;
buried ¹/₈
7, 1677.

* The exact copy of this letter is given as a fair specimen of her spelling and mode of writing in early life.

† The will of Sarah's father was proved in 1668, and her mother's will, dated ¹/₂ 2, 1691-2, in 1693-4. The father's burial in St. Albans Abbey is recorded in the parish register of 8, 5, 1668. He is there styled Esquire, and burgess of the Parliament for St. Albans. He was born 1619, and married 1643. The mother in her will desired she might be buried 'att the Aby Church att St. Albans as near as I can be conveniently laid by my first four children.' She did not mention her daughter, Lady Tyrconnel, in her will.—Spencer House Papers.

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Frances,
born 1648;
died 1730-1.

Frances, Barbara, and Sarah. The year following Barbara died, and her only child dying in 1679, Frances and Sarah inherited the property, share and share alike.* In 1684, John Churchill bought up the share of his only surviving sister-in-law, and became sole proprietor of the Hertfordshire property of his father-in-law, Richard Jennings.† This Frances was twelve years older than Sarah, and had joined the household of Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, about 1663-4.

The Maids of Honour of that period were very wild, and the mad freaks of Frances Jennings, with Miss Price, another Maid of Honour, are duly recorded in the pleasant pages of De Grammont.‡ Frances Jennings married, in 1665, Count George, eldest son of Sir G. Hamilton, of Dunnalong, county Tyrone, and grandson of the second Earl of Abercorn.§ He was then Captain of

* On the wall of the north aisle of St. Albans Abbey Church is a tablet to the memory of Barbara, with a high-flown inscription, describing her many virtues. She had married Edward Griffith, Esq., of St. Albans, by whom she had one child, also called Barbara, who only outlived her mother one year, and was buried in the same grave. The mother died in London 23rd 1678-9, in the twenty-seventh year of her age; the daughter died 23rd 1679. Griffith was subsequently secretary to Prince George of Denmark, and later on became a 'Clerk-Comptroller of the Green Cloth.' He died 11th 2, 1710-11.

† The deed of sale, dated 1684, is by Dame Frances Hamilton, wife of Richard Talbot, Esq., 'one of the daughters and co-heirs of Richard Jenyns, late of St. Albans,' etc.—'The Manor of Churchill,' by E. Green, F.S.A., p. 5.

‡ See Pepys' 'Diary' for 21, 2, 1664-5.

§ The Hamiltons were then Roman Catholics. It was Sir George's brother Anthony who wrote the De Grammont 'Memoirs' in French. Count George did good service with the British troops in the French army. He was at the battles of Sintzheim, Entzheim, and Mulhausen in 1674. He distinguished himself at Einsheim, where he was severely wounded. He was with Turenne at the time of his death, and afterwards rose to be a major-general in the French army. He left three children (all daughters) by his wife Frances; the first, Elizabeth, married, in 1685, Richard Parsons, first Viscount Rosse; the second, Frances, married, in 1687, Henry Dillon, eighth Viscount Dillon; and the third, Mary, married, in 1688, Nicholas Barnwell, third Viscount Kingsland. At the Irish Court they were known as the Three Viscountesses.

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the King's Troop of Guards, and one of his sisters was a Maid of Honour. He was a Roman Catholic, and Frances Jennings upon her marriage conformed to his religion. In 1667, together with many other loyal Roman Catholics, he was compelled to resign his commission by the law which forbade all members of that faith from holding posts in the public service. Leaving England, he entered the French army, with a strong recommendation from King Charles to Lewis XIV. He was killed during the retreat of the French on Saverne, after the Battle of Zebernstiege in 1676.

Frances Jennings, 'la belle Jenyns' of De Grammont, was very beautiful, with a lovely pale complexion and brilliantly fair hair. 'Nature had given her charms which it is impossible to describe, and to which the Graces had given the finishing touches. Her face gave one the idea of Aurora, or the goddess of Spring.* The amorous James, Duke of York, made serious love to her, but was repelled with that proud contempt which distinguished the conduct of both these sisters at Court. After three years of widowhood, she married in 1679 a lover of her girlhood, Colonel, or, as he was commonly called, 'Lying Dick' Talbot. A strong Roman Catholic, of an old English family long settled in Ireland, he had been a faithful attendant upon the Royal brothers when in exile during the Commonwealth. For years after the Restoration, he had been Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York while Frances Jennings was one of the Duchess's ladies. A steadfast adherent to the House of Stewart, Richard Talbot had even proposed to Charles II. to assassinate Cromwell with his own hand, and had made a journey from Holland to England with that avowed object. He was subsequently committed to the Tower for a similar design upon the Duke of Ormond, whose administration of Ireland displeased him. His brother was made Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and he was created Earl—and after-

* The De Grammont 'Memoirs.'

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wards, in 1689, Duke—of Tyrconnel by James II. He had originally commended himself to James as a tall, handsome young fellow, 'who wore good clothes, and was of a clear and ready courage.' If not famous, he is still remembered in Ireland as the brutal Lord-Lieutenant who, during his three years of office, established the Government under which Protestants of every denomination were robbed and cruelly ill-treated, many being put to death.* His ambition was only equalled by his avarice, and as Lord-Lieutenant he was able to indulge both those passions. He was the originator of the 'Brass,' or, as it was then commonly styled, 'Gun' money, the remembrance of which is perpetuated in the well-known Orange toast to 'the pious, glorious, and immortal memory of King William III., who saved us from Popery, slavery and knavery, *brass money* and wooden shoes.' Tyrconnel died of apoplexy—some said of poison—during the siege of Limerick, in 1691. His widow, Frances, lived for some years at James II.'s Court in France, and then settled in Ireland, where she made good her claim to part of the Tyrconnel estate. She died in 1731, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

* The Parliament assembled in Dublin in May, 1689, disappeared after the Battle of the Boyne the following year. Its proceedings, and the policy pursued by those in power at the time, are worthy of a careful study. In the few weeks it sat it repealed the Acts of Settlement, confiscated the property of 2,600 Protestants by name, and allowed only two months to any of them who wished to do so, to come forward and stand their trial.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SARAH JENNINGS : HER APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER.

Her education—Her love for Churchill—Accused of venality—Her love of money—Kind acts done by her—Her payments for a history of Marlborough's career—Her instructions to those she employed for that purpose—A minute by her on the villainies of Kings Charles II. and James II.—Her temper—Her want of religion—Her pride in being the wife of so great a man—Her sentiment about his love-letters—Anecdote of her violence—Her influence over the Princess Anne.

As a child, Sarah Jennings had frequently resided at Court when her elder sister Frances was in waiting upon the Duchess of York.* During these visits to St. James's, Sarah became the playmate of the Princess Anne, her junior by nearly five years. An attachment soon sprang up between the two girls, and Anne loved to have Sarah constantly with her. Sarah also attracted the notice of Mary, the Duke of York's second wife, who was only two years her senior, and whilst still quite a child she became Maid of Honour to that beautiful but unhappy Princess.

Though less lovely than her elder sister, Sarah was still radiant with beauty, and possessed a graceful figure, and great power of fascination. Numerous portraits enable us to admire her distinguished but scornful style of beauty; there was 'sweetness in her eyes, invitation in her looks,' wrote Sarah's most scurrilous assailant when describing her appearance.† Sir Godfrey Kneller has recorded for

* Anne Hyde died 31^{st} 1671, and James married Mary of Modena at Dover 2^{nd} 1673.

† 'The New Atalantis.'

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us her small regular features so full of life, her pretty mouth expressive of disdain, her slightly turned-up nose with its open, well-shaped nostril, her commanding air, the exquisite pose of her small head, always a little inclined to one side, her lovely neck and shoulders, and her rich, straw-coloured hair, which glistened in its profusion as if sprinkled with gold-dust. Colley Cibber, who as a servant, waited at table when the Princess Anne, with her attendant, Lady Churchill, dined at Nottingham in 1688, says: 'All his senses were collected in his eyes, which during the whole entertainment wanted no better amusement than of stealing now and then the delight of gazing on the fair object so near him.*' He goes on to say: 'If so clear an emanation of beauty, such a commanding grace of aspect, struck me into a regard that had something softer than the most profound respect in it, I cannot see why I may not without offence remember it.' And again: 'I remember above twenty years after, when the same lady had given the world four of the loveliest daughters that ever were gazed on, their still lovely mother had at the same time her votaries, and her health very often took the lead in those involuntary triumphs of beauty.' Over those with whom she talked she exercised a charm, a fascination, that held them enthralled as much by her graceful wit as by her seductive beauty. But the adorer who worshipped at her shrine, was, without quite knowing how, soon made aware of the imperious temper that smouldered within her, always ready, if stirred, to burst forth as if from a hidden volcano, and annihilate the offender. Her portraits, however, do not convey this idea, and no one could imagine from them that so stormy a spirit lay hidden beneath such a lovely exterior.

Her education had been much neglected, but like many clever people brought up at courts, where all that is wittiest as well as most learned is to be found, she had acquired more practical knowledge than was possessed by

* See his 'Apology.'

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many classical and philosophical scholars. In conversation she was bright and quick, although on paper she expressed herself in long, involved, and often ungrammatical sentences. Her handwriting was bad and indistinct, and when an old woman she referred to it, as 'my ridiculous hand.*' She spelled as incorrectly as both the queens, Anne and Mary, as her husband, and as most of the exalted people of her time. She had never been taught arithmetic, but yet she contrived to master the most complicated accounts by some curious process of her own.†

To draw her character is no easy task. As she was when a girl, so she remained as a young mother, as Queen Anne's favourite, as wife to the greatest man of his day, and in old age as his widow. Neither time nor increased knowledge of the world ever changed or in any way softened her. She was essentially an unimaginative, unimpressionable woman, with no illusions about men or about events either human or Divine, and without sentiment of any kind, except perhaps where her husband was concerned. His love for her was deep, pure, unselfish and passionate. All his letters, meant for no eye but hers, breathe the same loverlike devotion. They make the reader feel, that from first to last, his one great dread was, that she might cease to love him. She did love him sincerely, but in her own haughty and tigerlike fashion. There was nothing demonstrative about her affection, but such as it was, she gave him her whole heart. In most of the relations of life both were egoistical and covetous, yet their marriage was absolutely uninfluenced by mercenary considerations. Their mutual attachment was stronger even than their undoubted worldliness.

Both were commonly charged with venality by numerous and powerful enemies. We are told that within the palace itself there was a busy market for Government offices; that Queen Anne's own relations were kept at a distance, whilst

* 'Marchmont Papers,' vol. ii., p. 79.

† Lady M. Wortley Montague, vol. i., p. 74.

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patronage was monopolized by one woman to whom there was no access but by the golden road, etc.* At that time no person with places at his disposal, made any more scruple of selling them than of receiving his settled salary or the rents of his estate, and it was a matter of common notoriety, that Secretaries of State as well as Cornets of Dragoons, bought and sold their commissions. King Charles himself had to buy from Lord Brandon the command of the King's Troop of Life Guards, which he wanted for his son Monmouth, and Prince Rupert paid Lord Mordaunt £3,500 for his Company and the governorship of Windsor Castle. But there is absolutely no proof whatever that Marlborough or his wife ever sold any employment or favour beyond the two trifling places of which she herself tells.† On this subject she says: 'A little before I succeeded Lady Clarendon in the post of first lady of the bedchamber to the Princess of Denmark, Her Highness wrote to me that she intended to take two new pages of the back-stairs, but that she would not do it till my Lady Clarendon was gone, that I might have the advantage of selling those two places.'‡ She gives the fullest particulars of this matter, and goes on to say: 'I solemnly swear, as I hope for happiness here and hereafter, that besides the case of the pages to the Princess which I have told you of, I never did receive the value of one shilling in money, jewels, or any such thing, either directly or indirectly, for the disposing of any employment, or doing any favour during my whole life, nor from any person whatsoever, upon any such account, and that if there is any man or woman upon earth that can give the least proof to the contrary, I am contented for the future to be looked upon both by friends and enemies as one of the vilest of women, worse than Abigail herself, when I consider her as instrumental in doing the greatest mischief

* Cunningham's 'History of England,' vol. i., p. 258.

† 'The Conduct,' p. 306.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

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that a nation can suffer.' She adds: 'Soon after the Queen came to the crown, I was the cause of having the strictest orders made against taking of money for the disposing of places that were ever known at the Court, which, however consistent it was with having any designs of my own of making money that way, I leave anyone to judge.'*

We are bound to accept this solemn statement as absolutely and literally true, in the absence of evidence, still less of proof, of any sort or kind to the contrary. She published the 'Conduct,' from which much of this is extracted, in 1742, when, as she adds, most of those she had appointed to places were still alive. Had her statement been in any tittle untruthful, many would have been only too glad to expose her. That none ever did so, is strong negative evidence in support of her solemn statement, and as she very convincingly says, had there been any truth in these charges, her enemies, when they came into power, would most certainly have found someone, by the offer of substantial rewards, to inform against her. But 'they never pretended to name or to appeal to any one person for a proof of what they laid to my charge.'† Even her bitter enemy, Harley, bears witness to her unimpeachable integrity in the management of the Queen's money affairs, and when dismissed from office, Anne pronounced her honesty to be above suspicion. Nevertheless, her love of money is undoubted, a taste which she shared with her husband. To amass wealth was a pleasure that increased with her years; and the mode in which she distributed it in her will, is well worth the consideration of those who wish to understand her curiously complex character. She left Lord Chesterfield a large sum of money to mark her approbation of the manner in which he opposed the Court. 'She was scarcely cold, however,' writes the cynical Horace

* Vol. xliv., p. 2, of Coxe's MS. in the British Museum. Also 'Conduct,' pp. 311, 312.

† 'The Conduct,' p. 311.

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Walpole, 'before he returned to the King's service.* She also left William Pitt £10,000, to record her sense 'of his merit in the noble defence he made for the support of the laws of England and to prevent the ruin of his country.'

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She did many kind acts in her old age, and helped friends with money whom she knew to be in difficulties. Hugh Earl of Marchmont, one of her executors, had been long distinguished with whatever affectionate esteem she was then capable of feeling, and when his father died, she wrote pressing him to accept £1,000, being, she said, the half of what she meant to leave him in her will. To make the arrangement more acceptable to him, she hoped that he would, if he preferred it, regard the money as a loan.† She helped Lord Stair with £5,000 to extricate him from debt, and desired in her will that he should not be asked or pressed for it.‡ She paid Dr. Hook £5,000 for being her amanuensis and editor in the publication of her 'Conduct.'§ She gave that vainest of avaricious men, Pope, £1,000 as 'a favour,' without doubt on the tacit understanding, if not upon some more formal agreement, that he was to suppress the lines in which he had scathed her as 'Atossa,' and vilified her husband. His lines on Marlborough are bad in every respect. They are slipshod, unmanly, unfeeling, untruthful, and unworthy of a great English poet. By his acceptance of this money Pope proved himself possessed of all the sordid qualities he so emphatically condemned in his inimitable 'Moral Essays.' In fact, he sold, for money, immunity from the blighting bitterness of his venomous pen. His subsequent intention to publish these lines, only frustrated by his death, furnishes a characteristic instance of that perfidious double-dealing in which he so often indulged. Such was this self-appointed censor, this preacher

* Horace Walpole's 'George II.' Her will was dated 11th August, 1744.

† 'Marchmont Papers,' vol. ii., p. 207.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 108.

§ Hook was a Quietist, and when he endeavoured to win her over to Popery, she dismissed him summarily.

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of a morality he did not practise—at least, when money was to be made by sinning against it.* The fact was, he loved money no less than Marlborough. Bolingbroke, one of the Duke's bitter political enemies, tells us that he intended, as executor to Pope, to burn all the poet's papers which reflected upon Marlborough or his wife.† But Bolingbroke was a magnanimous gentleman, and, alas! we cannot say the same of his friend the poet.

Sarah, both as spinster and wife, knew what poverty meant, and it should not be forgotten, that for the first five or six years of her married life her husband's means were small. Their Court salaries were insignificant, his army pay did not amount to much until he was given a regiment in 1685; and besides these sources of income, he had only the annuity of £500 which he had purchased from Lord Halifax. Indeed, he was far from being well off until he obtained command of the armies abroad in 1703. But he was always a frugal man. His wife wrote of him: 'From the very beginning of his life he never spent a shilling beyond what his income was.' 'He never squandered money.'‡ In her will she left £10,000 to two literary men to write her husband's life, on the condition that they introduced no line of poetry into the work. Poetry was in her mind inseparably connected with Pope, whom she had every reason to detest, whilst in her curiously constituted and unlearned mind, she no doubt despised his calling also. She wished, moreover, to show that no imagination was needed to enhance Marlborough's fame, as truth and justice, unaided by fancy, were alone

* See 'Marchmont Papers,' vol. ii., p. 334, for letter from Bolingbroke on this subject. See also vol. iii., pp. 85-93, of Courthope's edition of Pope.

† 'Marchmont Papers,' vol. ii., p. 332. Pope's friends refer often to his habit of equivocation; his enemies called it by a harsher word. His apologist says: 'It is impossible to acquit him of equivocation and double-dealing amounting to perfidy.'—See Courthope's Pope, vol. iii., p. 85.

‡ From a paper by the Duchess of Marlborough in Spencer House.

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necessary for the narration of deeds like his. In her later years, she was ever on the watch to guard his reputation, and she evinced the keenest anxiety that he should be handed down to posterity as the greatest man of his age. She prepared his voluminous papers with this object in view, and said, that were she a man, she could desire nothing better than to write his history herself.* 'Could you not,' she added, 'write from his correspondence the most interesting story in the world?' Her husband was bitterly and unjustly slandered, and the more aggressive his enemies and accusers became, the louder and more vindictive grew his wife's language. She just tolerated his friends, but she detested with diabolical intensity every living creature who thwarted him, maligned his character, or dared to belittle his achievements.

The following curious minute, though not in her handwriting, was evidently written from her dictation.† It has no heading or date, but is docketed, 'Some instructions to the historian for beginning the Duke of Marlborough's history.' It commences thus: 'I have determined to give the materials in my possession to the gentlemen that are to write the Duke of Marlborough's history. They are Mr. Glover and Mr. Mallet.' She adds, they 'are to finish it as soon as they can, with the approbation of my executors and the Earl of Chesterfield.' 'I hope the history will be writ as soon as 'tis possible, for while I am living I shall be able to answer any questions that they may have occasion to ask, for I would have nothing in it but what is the real truth.' She then remarks upon the large sums England had at times to pay for wars that ended in failure, whereas those conducted by her husband were crowned with success.

When Sir Robert Walpole was poor and unknown, she helped him with money and obtained employment for him. He was grateful at the time, and thanked her in the most obsequious terms. Subsequently she learned to dislike and despise him for his hard drinking, debauched tastes,

* Lady M. W. Montague.

† Spencer House Papers.

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coarse language, and ill-bred manners. His government by corruption was odious to her, and she loved to contrast him, his ways and his actions, with the stern patriotism of her son-in-law Sunderland, with the integrity of her devoted friend Godolphin, and with the polished address and the pure married life of her great and gifted husband. Horace Walpole in after-years revenged her abuse of his father, by scattering broadcast every species of malicious sarcasm and ill-natured story about her. Few study Sarah's own version of her life, whilst his witty letters are universally read; and as long as he could make a telling hit, or clothe his animosity in a racy epigram, he troubled himself little as to the accuracy of his details.

Late in life, when writing to a friend, she expresses a $\frac{3}{4}$ 11, 1718. hope that her strong Whiggism may not be objected to. She could never, she says, change her principles on that score, for as soon as she could understand anything at Court, she perceived the good reasons there were for holding them. 'I knew that King Charles and King James were with remarkable titles taking money of the King of France to betray their own honour and country, and the last of these Kings sent a man into prison for saying that he was a Roman Catholic, who I saw goe twice a day to mass. And at the same time I saw that neither of these Kings could indure a Whigg, and were very fond of the Torys, which made me think with reason that the first were very *rascalles* (?) men; but I have learnt that there is no great difference in partys, and I now have very great abhorrence for both. . . . But as to what is called the Whigg notion, that I will never part with; that Parliament should punish ill ministers, and by that means oblige weak or bad princes to keep their coronation oaths, and for their rewards I think they should bestow them as they please, without being imposed upon by the tenders of either party.'*

Her feelings of like and dislike were always in the super-

* Historical MSS., Appendix, Ninth Report, p. 474.

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lative, and she showed no indulgence towards the faults of those she hated. Her temper prevented her from calmly discussing any subject, for she could not brook contradiction. Like Swift, she rated those who did not agree with her as enemies, for, without knowing it, she divided the world into two camps of friends and foes. In dealing with those around her, she could not counterfeit indifference, nor would she even suffer it from others. She was too open and downright, and too violent a hater, to have any duplicity in her manner. She was free in conversation, and cared little for what others thought of her or her opinions, firmly believing that she herself was always in the right.

She may be said to have lived at Court from the age of twelve. She was educated in a society where almost all were debased and corrupt, and it was wittily said, that if men had gone into mourning for the immorality of their wives, sisters, and daughters, half the Court would have been continually in black. Yet her virtue was above suspicion, not because of any religious principle, or deep sense of right or wrong, but because she was too proud to sin against the laws of morality, and because she loved her husband with a fierce and exclusive earnestness all her own.* In the history of her long life, it is difficult to find many commendable acts which were due to consideration for others, or to any purely virtuous impulse. Her love for and marriage with a poor, and comparatively obscure officer, was the one unworldly step in her life. She never seems to have been influenced by virtue for its own sake, or by any lofty conception either of honour or of right. Capable

* Evelyn, lamenting over the depravity of the Restoration epoch, is able to point to one really good and religious woman about Court, his friend Miss Blagge, then Maid of Honour to the Queen. She afterwards married Godolphin, who subsequently became the well-known peer and Minister of Anne's reign. Miss Howard, also a Maid of Honour, who became Lady Silenius, was equally celebrated for her virtue and piety. The two sisters, Lady Ranelagh and Mary, Countess of Warwick, were also remarkable then as good and virtuous women in that depraved age.—Overton's 'Life of the English Church.'

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of kindness, and even of generosity to those who for the time were her favourites, she was yet in all her instincts an essentially worldly and unlovable woman. To the pursuit of personal advantages, she brought a quick, active intelligence, and an amount of solid, stern resolve, seldom found in her sex. Hers was no meek heart, and she had little reverence for God or man. At Court she had seen much of the self-seeking Bishops and Deans of her day, and had learnt to view with contempt Churchmen like Swift, whose one aim was preferment. No belief in revealed religion, or dread of future punishment, restrained her will or influenced her conduct; she seldom mentioned religion except to scoff at it, and it was only from a contempt for Romanism, and from an intense hatred to priestcraft, that she spoke and wrote of herself as a Protestant. True, but not tender, she lived for forty-four years with her husband as happily as her domineering nature would have allowed her to live with anyone. But she never shared his strong faith, nor allowed him to exercise any influence over her mind in spiritual matters. She seems to have died as she had lived, ridiculing all belief in God and immortality. She was a sceptic in religion, but hers was the scepticism of indifference; and if she did not believe in the Divinity of Christ, she at least created none of the sham gods of modern philosophy. When eighty-two years of age, she wrote: 'Though the philosophers prove nothing, to my understanding, certain, yet I have a great mind to believe that kings and first ministers souls when they die go into chimney-sweepers. And their punishment is that they remember they were great monarchs, were complimented by Parliament upon their great abilities, and thanked for the great honour they did nations in accepting the Crown, at the same time that they endeavoured to starve them, and were not capable of doing them the least service, though they gave them all the money in the nation.*' In a letter to

* 'Marchmont Papers,' vol. ii. This letter is a very fair specimen of Sarah's involved style of writing.

the Princess of Orange written in March, 1688, Anne endeavours to defend her lady-in-waiting from the charge of irreligion. This letter is interesting also as Anne's estimate at that date of Lady Churchill's character: 'Sorry people have taken such pains to give so ill a character of Churchill. I believe there is nobody in the world has better notions of religion than she has. It is true she is not so strict as some are, nor does she keep such a bustle with religion; which I confess I think is never the worse, for one sees so many saints mere devils, that if one be a good Christian, the less show one makes the better, in my opinion. Then, as for moral principles, 'tis impossible to have better; and without that, all that lifting up of the hands and eyes, and often going to church, will prove but a very lame devotion. One thing more I must say of her, which is, that she has a true sense of the doctrine of our Church, and abhors all the principles of the Church of Rome; so, as to this particular, I assure you she will never change.'

As years went by, and the husband of her choice grew famous—the central figure in Europe—Sarah's pride in his renown equalled in intensity the love she had always felt for him. The depth of that pride is exemplified in the answer she gave when, as a widow and still handsome, the 'proud Duke of Somerset' asked her to marry him. 'Were I only thirty,' said she, 'I would not permit even the Emperor of the world to succeed in that heart which has been devoted to John, Duke of Marlborough.'

That at one time in her life at least she felt like other women, is evident from the tender satisfaction with which as an old woman she loved to dwell upon the remembrance of those young days before the pure, though even then, haughty love of the girl had been buried in the worldly aims of the callous society-woman. She destroyed most of her own letters to her husband, preserving only those from him, but in a bundle of his papers I found the following scrap in her handwriting: 'Wherever you are,

whilst I have life my soul shall follow you, my ever dear Lord Marlborough; and wherever I am, I shall only kill the time [until] night that I may sleep, and hope the next day to hear from you.* This bears neither date nor address, but it was, I think, written in 1692, when he had been committed by William to the Tower.

In the care with which, all through her stormy life, she preserved the early letters of her lover, we find an evidence that even in her cold capricious breast there ever burned some spark of that romantic sentiment, of those true and tender feelings which make the whole world kin. A bundle of papers at Blenheim Palace is endorsed in her handwriting: 'Copies of my letters to Mr. Churchill before I was married and not more than fifteen years old. There is in this packet several letters of his, all read over in 1743.† It is further endorsed thus by her: 'Letters from Mr. Churchill before and after I was married, which I desire Grace Ridley may have to burn without reading them.—Read over in 1736, and again in 1743.' The bundle is again endorsed in the same handwriting: 'Read over in 1743, hoping to burn them, but I could not do it.' These last six words go far towards redeeming her memory from the sweeping condemnations of those who describe her as absolutely without any soft, womanly corner in her heart whatever.

She was a woman for whom book education would have done much. It would doubtless have somewhat curbed her impetuous temper, and taught her reason. But that she could control herself when she fully realized that it was in her own interest to do so, is fully proved by the power and influence she obtained over the Princess of Denmark. It was only when she foolishly imagined she was strong enough to stand alone without the Queen's support, and when, in consequence, she ceased to exercise that watchful control over her mad temper which she had previously

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

† This was the year before she died.

maintained, that she lost her dominion over Anne. But though able to curb her temper when she would condescend to try, she was no match for such astute plotters as Abigail Hill and Harley. Strange to say, she never seems to have understood how hurtful to Marlborough's best interests were these defects in her, and she never sought to correct them from other motives, because she mistook her angry outspokenness for honesty of purpose. She could brook no delay in the fulfilment of a wish; whilst he, on the other hand, worked with extreme calmness and method towards the attainment of any object he had in view, believing, as he said, that 'patience will overcome all things.*' The scurrilous pamphlets which his political opponents put forth enraged her, but, as a rule, affected him so little, that, referring to one of them, he writes: 'The best way of putting an end to that villainy is not to appear concerned. The best of men and women in all ages have been abused. If we can be so happy as to believe ourselves, so as to have no reason to reproach ourselves, we may then despise what rage and faction do.†

What a contrast was there between her temper and his! Few great men in history possessed his cool imperturbability and calculated self-command. No amount of provocation could ruffle that calm exterior, or, when he had become a great man, betray that cautious tongue into any rash or unguarded expression. His wife remarks upon it, as an extraordinary and unprecedented occurrence, that when he received the unworthy and ungrateful letter in which Queen Anne dismissed him from her service, he flung it 'in a passion' into the fire.

The stories of the Duchess's violence are numerous. Here is one: During an altercation with the Duke, which took place one day whilst she was at her toilet, she burst into an uncontrollable fit of passion. Beside herself with rage, she cared not what she said or did; and the more

* A letter from Marlborough to Godolphin.

† This letter refers to 'The Memorial of the Church of England.'

provoked by his imperturbable calmness, she was determined to make him feel where she knew he could be most easily wounded. Now among her many charms, her lovely hair was an especial object of his admiration. The woman is rare indeed, in whom rage could so overcome vanity as to cause her to injure permanently her own good looks in order to spite a husband she loved. But Marlborough's wife was such a one, and when he left the room, she cut off some of her long and beautiful tresses, and placed them where he must see them. They disappeared, and she never knew what had become of them until after his death, when she found them in a cabinet where he kept his most cherished treasures under lock and key. As an old woman, she loved to repeat this anecdote against herself, and always cried when relating it.*

Adversity exercised no chastening or softening influence upon her temper, which became worse the older she grew. During one of those outbursts of passion in which she was wont to revile the Queen, the Duke told a person who was present, not 'to mind what she said, for she was used to talk at that rate when she was in a passion, which was a thing she was very apt to fall into, and there was no help for it.' Upon another occasion, when referring to his wife's temper and strange behaviour to the Queen, he said: 'There was no help for that, and a man must bear with a good deal to be quiet at home.†

The Duke, however, when present, exercised some control over her, and it was not until he died that the violence of her temper, as it is described by her contemporaries in the reign of George II., assumed the character of madness. One who knew her well describes her as deficient in wisdom and greatness of mind.‡ In her extreme old age, the man whose goodwill she thought to have secured by the round sum she had paid him, said with more correctness than generosity, that she found 'all her life one warfare upon

* Lady M. Wortley Montague's letters; Horace Walpole.

† Burnet, vol. vi., pp. 30, 31.

‡ Speaker Onslow.

earth.* She had no tact. Each fresh victory gained by her illustrious husband, served only to intensify her ferocity, and the higher the position he won for her, the more unbridled became the license of her bitter tongue. Prosperity and riches served but to accentuate her failings. The spoiled beauty of a Court, the petted favourite of her Sovereign, the wife of the foremost man of his day, she yet enjoyed no real happiness, and knew neither peace, nor repose. Feared and detested, she spent her life in quarrels, and Godolphin tells us, he rejoiced when she was long absent from Court, as he was thus spared the altercations which entered largely into her every-day life.† When at last she died at a great age, hated and hating, with no faith in God or man, she was tormented by the maddening reflection that the calumnies which had been maliciously heaped upon her and upon her husband, would be handed down as truths to future generations.

Prior to Queen Anne's accession she occupied the insignificant position of Bedchamber-Woman, but in one short day, from being a person who until recently had been forbidden the Court, she became its ruler, endowed with more power than any other subject in the kingdom. And how did she bear this access of good fortune? To her credit be it remembered, that she loved England and liberty, and if she used her opportunities to advance the interests of her family, no instances are recorded of unworthy men being preferred to office through her influence. Yet, at one time her authority was such, that she could make and unmake ministers, and all men bowed before her.

Sarah always spoke out what was in her mind at the moment, with a quick impetuosity more creditable to her honesty than to her worldly wisdom. As she said herself: 'You know my way is to tumble out the truth just as it comes in my head.'‡ But the result of this habit was disastrous to her, for it eventually so wrecked her

* Pope.

† Cunningham, p. 77.

‡ Letter in 1726 to Dr. Hare.

power and influence with the Queen, that she lived to see her husband degraded and held up to scorn by hired libellers; and after his demise to realize, that even her own children loathed her and desired her death. Well might she write in her old age, that men who wished to know the value of Court favour and the vanity of human ambitions, should read her history.

A careful study of her life shows plainly, that whilst many of her actions display a strong taint of the insanity she had inherited from her lunatic great-grandfather, her ability, on the whole, has been much overrated. For although the book in which she professed to describe her 'Conduct' at Court is cleverly put together, and there is a taking and defiant swing about its pages which is peculiarly her own, most of her utterances display more temper than wisdom.

Chance made her the early playmate of a weak-minded Princess, and the poor, unknown Colonel whom she married for love afterwards became the foremost man in Europe. Had she never known the Princess Anne, and had she accepted one of the rich courtiers who wished to marry her, Sarah Jennings would now be as little known to history as the other maids of honour, whose mad freaks scandalized the moral and dignified Evelyn, and at the same time, supplied Pepys with so much material for his incomparable 'Diary.'

It would be impossible to deal fully with Marlborough's history, if that of his wife were omitted. Her intimacy with Queen Anne, and the commanding influence it gave her after the death of King William, materially affected the greatest events of his life. The part she played, not only in his private life, but in his public career, cannot therefore be ignored.

Her temper and her doings often tried him sorely, but his devotion to her never wavered. All his letters to her breathe the passionate affection and admiration of the lover. In one he says: 'I do assure you, upon

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my soul, that I had much rather the whole world should go wrong than that you should be uneasy.' He then refers to her 'dear letters,' and adds, that she is 'dearer to him ten thousand times than ever she was before.* Upon one occasion she went to Margate to see him off for Holland, and at the end of his voyage he wrote: 'It is impossible to express with what a heavy heart I parted with you when I was at the waterside. I could have given my life to have come back, though I knew my own weakness so much that I durst not, for I should have exposed myself to the company. I did for a great while with a perspective glass look upon the cliffs, in hopes I might have had one sight of you.† When this letter was written, he had been married nearly a quarter of a century.

No two women could be more dissimilar in character and disposition, than Queen Anne and her imperious favourite. The Queen was a great stickler about all matters of etiquette, and had a Royal solicitude for trifles. The length of a tie or the cut of a wig was with her a question of importance which demanded serious discussion. Sarah cared nothing for these things. All she cared for was power, and she had it as long as she continued to be first favourite. Through her influence Marlborough virtually ruled England. But her influence did not last. She never accurately gauged Anne's disposition. Her peculiar temperament rendered it impossible for her to stoop to the flattery which is so dear to personages of Queen Anne's mental calibre; and, above all, she lacked the unflagging patience, self-abnegation, and self-restraint, which are indispensable qualifications in a Royal favourite. She fell from her high position through her own unfitness to retain it, and her husband fell with her. Not all the fame he had achieved, nor all the services he had rendered England, could secure him even command of the army when the Queen's favour had

* Correspondence of Sarah, vol. i., p. 2.

† Cox, vol. i., p. 158.

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been transferred from his wife to the cunning and soft-tongued Abigail. In that age of Court intrigue, to stand well with the Sovereign was essential to success in public life. William certainly selected Marlborough for the command in Holland, although he did not like him; but he did so because he felt that he could not undertake it himself. Highly as he valued Marlborough as a soldier, it is probable that appreciation of his military capacity influenced William in this selection less than the conviction that Marlborough alone, through his influence with Anne, could effectually push the war which William had so much at heart. In other words, it was Sarah's influence over Anne which secured Marlborough this command, and it was consequently to his wife that he was indebted for his first great opportunity.

CHAPTER XXIV.

JOHN CHURCHILL'S COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

Churchill's first meeting with Sarah—Their love affair encouraged by Mary of Modena—Their love-letters—Their respective families object to the match—Engagement broken off for a time—His father urges him to marry Catherine Sedley—Sarah and he marry, but there is no record of their marriage—Names of their children.

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JOHN CHURCHILL and Sarah Jennings met for the first time in the Duchess of York's drawing-room in St. James's Palace, and danced together upon that occasion—she being then in her sixteenth year, and he twenty-five. We learn her age from the following endorsement in her own handwriting on the back of one of his love-letters. 'I was fifteen when this was written.' It has been generally admitted that it was a case of 'love at first sight' on both sides.

He was without doubt the most likely man then at Court to captivate any woman, and especially to throw a spell over the heart of a very young girl. He possessed every quality, but riches, most calculated to endear him to the opposite sex. Besides, she was flattered by her conquest of the Duchess of Cleveland's handsome and fascinating lover.

Sarah's love for him must have been intense, for in no other way can we account for this wayward Court beauty accepting the hand of a poor officer, a mere needy soldier of fortune. But she was very young, and her imagination as well as her heart was really touched.

The Duchess of York countenanced, if she did not

actually encourage, the love affair, though the two families concerned were bitterly opposed to so imprudent a marriage. The Jennings' property in Herts was settled upon Sarah's brother, and her parents could afford her no allowance or portion of any sort. They naturally expected their beautiful daughter to make a great match, and she had already had many suitors—amongst others, the Earl of Lindsey, afterwards Duke of Ancaster, who is referred to as 'Your Grace's lover' in a letter written to her long after.* Sir Winston Churchill's lands were small and much encumbered. He was in needy circumstances himself, and barely able to support his wife, still less to provide for his son.

There was certainly nothing prudish in the Court manners of the day; and lovers were allowed great freedom and were permitted to meet when and where they liked, without the restraint of a duenna or third party of any kind. In their daily intercourse, men and women used words and expressions which would now sound not only coarse, but indelicate. It was no unusual thing for a maid of honour to receive a lover in her bedroom; and we are told that during this courtship Colonel Churchill took especial pleasure in tying and untying the garters of Mistress Jennings.† The following letter from the French Ambassador gives an amusing account of English Court society of that period. Writing from London to the Minister Louvois, in September, 1676, ²⁴⁻²⁶ 1676. Courtin refers to a little party he was about to give to four ladies of the Court, one of whom was Sarah Jennings. He says the ladies' lovers were also to be invited, in order to have plenty of dancing, whilst he played at ombre, and he thus describes the fashions of the day: 'There is nothing so dainty as the English woman's *chaussure*; their shoes fit them with great nicety; their skirts are short, and their silk stockings very clean and tidy. English ladies

* Letter of May, 1710, from Mrs. Maynwaring. See 'Private Correspondence of Duchess of Marlborough,' vol. i., p. 314.

† Bolingbroke.

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do not mind showing a great deal of their legs, which are perfect pictures. Green stockings are most in vogue, with black velvet garters, fastened above the knee by diamond buckles. Where there is no silk stocking, the skin is very white and satiny.*

Amongst the papers at Blenheim Palace is a bundle of Churchill's love-letters. Unfortunately only a few of Sarah's answers have been preserved; they are in a package endorsed by her, 'Some copies of my letters to Mr. Churchill.' Those given in this chapter are selected as most likely to interest the reader. As far as possible, they are given in their proper chronological order. They are all undated and unsigned, and begin abruptly without any conventional 'Dear' or 'Dearest heart,' etc. There is frequent allusion in them to the violent headaches from which, like Cæsar, Marlborough suffered all through life. He sometimes refers to them as so bad that he was entirely prostrated and felt as if he were about to die. He frequently begs her to make appointments for meetings, and often asks that she will see him in her 'chamber.' In one of his earliest letters he writes: 'At night I shall have the happiness, I hope, to see you in the drawing-room. I cannot remember what it is that I said to you that you took so ill; but one thing I do assure you, that I will never say or do aught willing that I think you may take ill. Ah, my soul, did you love me so well as I, you could never have refused my letter so barbarously as you did; for, if reason had bade you do it, love would never have permitted it. But I will complain no more of it, but hope time and the truth of my love will make you love better.'

From Colonel Churchill to Mistress Jennings.

'If your happiness can depend upon the esteem and love I have for you, you ought to be the happiest thing breathing, for I have never anybody loved to that heat I do you. I

* Archives of French Foreign Office.

love you so well that your happiness I prefer much above my own; and if you think meeting me is what you ought not to do, or that it will disquiet you, I do promise you I will never press you more to do it. As I prefer your happiness above my own, so I hope you will sometimes think how well I love you; and what you can do without doing yourself an injury, I hope you will be so kind as to do it—I mean in letting me see that you wish me better than the rest of mankind; and in return I swear to you that I never will love anything but your dear self, which has made so sure a conquest of me that, had I the will, I had not the power ever to break my chains. Pray let me hear from you, and know if I shall be so happy as to see you to-night.'

From Colonel Churchill to Mistress Jennings.

'I was last night at the ball, in hopes to have seen what I love above my own soul; but I was not so happy, for I could see you nowhere, so that I did not stay above an hour. I would have writ sooner, but that I was afraid you went to bed so late that it would disturb you. Pray see which of these two puppies you like best, and that keep, for the bitch cannot let them suck any longer. They are above three weeks old, so that if you give it warm milk it will not die. Pray let me hear from you, and at what time you will be so kind as to let me come to you to-night. Pray, if you have nothing to do, let it be the latest, for I never am truly happy but when I am with you.'

From Colonel Churchill to Mistress Jennings.

'I have been so extreme ill with the headache all this morning that I have not had courage to write to know how you do; but your being well is what I prefer much above my own health. Therefore pray send me word, for if you are not in pain I cannot then be much troubled, for were it not for the joy I take in the thought that you love me, I should not care how soon I died; for by all that is good I love you so well that I wish from my soul that that minute

that you leave loving me, that I may die, for life after that would be to me but one perpetual torment. If the Duchess sees company, I hope you will be there; but if she does not, I beg you will then let me see you in your chamber, if it be but for one hour. If you are not in the drawing-room, you must then send me word at what hour I shall come.'

From Mistress Jennings to Colonel Churchill.

'If your intentions are honourable, and what I have reason to expect, you need not fear my sister's coming can make any change in me, or that it is in the power of anybody to alter me but yourself, and I am at this time satisfied that you will never do anything out of reason, which you must do if you ever are untrue to me.'

From Colonel Churchill to Mistress Jennings.

'You complain of my unkindness, but would not be kind yourself in answering my letter, although I begged you to do it. The Duchess goes to a new play to-day, and afterwards to the Duchess of Monmouth's, there to dance. I desire that you will not go thither, but make an excuse, and give me leave to come to you. Pray let me know what you do intend, and if you go to the play, for if you do then I will do what I can to go, if the Duke does not. Your not writing to me made me very uneasy, for I was afraid it was want of kindness in you, which I am sure I will never deserve by any action of mine.'

From Mistress Jennings to Colonel Churchill.

'At four o'clock I would see you, but that would hinder you from seeing the play, which I fear would be a great affliction to you, and increase the pain in your head, which would be out of anybody's power to ease until the next new play. Therefore, pray consider, and without any compliment to me, send me word if you can come to me without any prejudice to your health.'

Sir Winston and Lady Churchill were anxious that their eldest son should marry a woman of fortune, and

fixed upon their kinswoman, Catherine Sedley, then about twenty-five years of age, as a suitable wife for him. She was not good-looking and she squinted, but her father, Sir Charles Sedley, was rich, and able to provide well for her. Colonel Churchill saw how useful her money would be to him, a fact which his parents made the most of in urging this match upon him. She is described by Barillon as clever, but very plain, and extremely thin. She inherited much of her father's wit, and was renowned at Court as the witty Maid of Honour. But the project came to nothing, and when the match was finally broken off, she became the acknowledged mistress of James, who made her Countess of Dorchester upon his accession to the throne. ^{§§} 1, 1686. She hated priests, and loved to turn them into ridicule, and they feared and hated her in return.* When at the Revolution Queen Mary turned her back upon her, the affronted but witty mistress exclaimed: 'I beg your Majesty to remember that if I broke one of the Commandments with your father, you broke another against him.'† Most of James's mistresses were so ugly, that his witty brother said they were prescribed by his confessor as a sort of penance for his sins. Catherine Sedley, in reference to herself, to Susan Lady Bellasis, and to Arabella Churchill, declared: 'I know not for what he chose us; we were none of us handsome, and if any of us had had wit he was too dull to find it out.'

When this negotiation with Catherine Sedley reached the ears of Sarah, her anger knew no bounds, and the letters she wrote to her lover on the subject show what an adept she was even then in bitter invective. She upbraided him angrily for his alleged inconstancy, at once declared the engagement to be at an end, and loftily advised him 'to renounce an attachment which militated against his worldly prospects.' She announced her intention of going to Paris with her sister, Lady Hamilton.

* She eventually married Lord Portmore, and died 26, 10, 1717.

† Note by Lord Dartmouth.

There is in her letters no semblance of regret at what she conceived to be his altered intentions. The following is one of them: 'As for seeing you, I am resolved I never will in private nor in public if I could help it; and as for the last, I fear it will be some time before I can order so as to be out of your way of seeing me; but surely you must confess that you have been the falsest creature upon earth to me. I must own that I believe I shall suffer a great deal of trouble, but I will bear it, and give God thanks, though too late I see my error.'

The continued objections of his family, seem at length to have influenced him in favour of the Sedley marriage, and for some time at least, the question of settlements was under discussion. For the moment he apparently realized how imprudent it would be for a man in his position to marry a penniless girl, and the more completely to break off his engagement with Sarah Jennings, his friends urged him to go abroad for a time on the plea of ill-health. This is referred to as follows in a letter from Barillon to Louvois: 'I assure you he (Churchill) pursues Sarah Jennings, Madam Hamilton's sister, who is the prettiest of the Duchess of York's Maids of Honour, and whom the Duke of York is always ogling. At a ball given by that Princess, Sarah Jennings had a greater wish to cry than to dance. Churchill, who is her lover, says he is in consumption, and that he must have change of air in France. I wish notwithstanding, that I was as well as he is. The truth is, he wishes to get out of this love affair. His father wants him to marry a relation, very rich and very ugly, and will not consent to his marriage to Mademoiselle Jennings. He is believed to be also somewhat worldly himself.'

Such was, of course, the generally-accepted story at Court, but we now know what his real feelings were in this affair. He was fully aware that, from a worldly point of view, his parents were right, and he was wrong; but his love was too strong for his wisdom, and he could neither bring himself to marry the ugly Catherine Sedley

for her money, nor to give up the beautiful girl whose affections he had won. Yet this is the man of whom our great historical novelist writes: 'In the bloom of youth he loved lucre more than wine and women.'*

The hasty, indignant and petulant letter in which Sarah broke off the engagement was too much for him. It drew from him an earnest appeal that she would forgive him, believe in his constancy, and renew their plighted troth.

In one of the many letters in which, at this time, the lover declares his undying devotion, he adds: 'Do but have patience but for one week. You shall then see that I will never do aught that shall look like a fault.' On this she wrote in after-life: 'This letter was writ when I was angry at something his father and mother had made a disagreeable noise in the town about, when they had a mind to have him marry a shocking creature for money.'†

Henry Savile, who was one of Churchill's intimate friends, writes to his brother from Whitehall, where he was in waiting: ‡ 'Mr. Sedley's marriage with Jack Churchill § 5, 1677. neither is, nor I believe ever will be, any more talked of, both the Knight§ and the Colonel being willing to break off fairly, which important matter (betwixt you and I) is referred to me by both parties, and for both their goods I think it is best it should cease.'||

Having finally broken off negotiations with Mistress Sedley, he again writes to Sarah: 'As for the power you say you have over yourself, I do no ways at all doubt of it, for I swear to you I do not think you love me, so that I am very easily persuaded that my letters has no charms for you, since I am so much a slave to your charms as to own to you that I love you above my

* Macaulay's 'History,' vol. iii., p. 438.

† Blenheim Papers. That 'shocking creature' was his kinswoman, Mistress Sedley.

‡ Savile was eight or nine years older than John Churchill.

§ Sir Winston Churchill.

|| Copied from the Spencer House Papers. I have since found it also in the Camden Society Papers of 1858.

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own life, which by all that is holy I do. You must give me leave to beg that you will not condemn me for a vain fool that I did believe you did love me, since both you and your actions did oblige me to that belief, in which heaven knows I took so much joy that from henceforward my life must be a torment to me for it. You say I pretend a passion to you when I have other things in my head. I cannot imagine what you mean by it, for I vow to God you do so entirely possess my thoughts that I think of nothing else in this world but your dear self. I do not, by all that is good, say this that I think it will move you to pity me, for I do despair of your love; but it is to let you see how unjust you are, and that I must ever love you as long as I have breath, do what you will. I do not expect in return that you should either write or speak to me, since you think it is what may do you a prejudice; but I have a thing to beg which I hope you will not be so barbarous as to deny me. It is that you will give me leave to do what I cannot help, which is to adore you as long as I live, and in return I will study how I may deserve, although not have, your love. I am persuaded that I have said impertinent things enough to anger you, for which I do with all my heart beg your pardon, and do assure you that from henceforward I will approach and think of you with the same devotion as to my God.'

From Mistress Jennings.

'I am as little satisfied with this letter as I have been with many others, for I find all you will say is only to amuse me and make me think you have a passion for me, when in reality there is no such thing. You have reason to think it strange that I write to you after my last, where I protested that I would never write nor speak to you more; but as you know how much kindness I had for you, you can't wonder or blame me if I try you once more, to hear what you can say for your justification. But this I must warn you of,—that you don't hold disputes, as you have done always, and

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to keep me from answering of you, and yourself from saying what I expect from you, for if you go on in that manner I will leave you that moment, and never hear you speak more whilst I have life. Therefore pray consider if, with honour to me and satisfaction to yourself, I can see you; for if it be only to repeat those things which you said so often, I shall think you the worst of men, and the most ungrateful; and 'tis to no purpose to imagine that I will be made ridiculous in the world when it is in your power to make me otherwise.'

From Colonel Churchill to Mistress Jennings.

'It is not reasonable that you should have a doubt but that I love you above all expression, which by heaven I do. It is not possible to do anything to let you see your power more than my obedience to your commands of leaving you, when my tyrant heart rates me to make me disobey; but it were much better it should break than to displease you. I will not, dearest, ask or hope to hear from you unless your charity pities me and will so far plead for me as to tell you that a man dying for you may hope that you will be so kind to him as to make a distinction betwixt him and the rest of his sex. I do love and adore you with all my heart and soul—so much that by all that is good I do and ever will be better pleased with your happiness than my own; but oh, my soul, if we might be both happy, what inexpressible joy would that be! But I will not think of any content but what you shall think fit to give, for 'tis you alone I love, so that if you are kind but one minute, that will make me happier than all the world can besides. I will not dare to expect more favour than you shall think fit to give, but could you ever love me, I think the happiness would be so great that it would make me immortal.'

From Mistress Jennings to Colonel Churchill.

'If it were sure that you have that passion for me which you say you have, you would find out some way to make yourself happy—it is in your power. Therefore press me

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no more to see you, since it is what I cannot in honour approve of, and if I have done too much, be so good as to consider who was the cause of it.'

From Colonel Churchill to Mistress Sarah Jennings.

'When I left my father last night, and proposed to come and speak with you, I did not believe that you would have been so unkind as to have gone away the minute I came in, fearing that I might else have spoke to you, which indeed I should have been very glad to have done. I beg you will give me leave to see you this night, at what hour you please. Pray let me hear from you, and if you do not think me impertinent for asking, I should be glad to know what made you go away.'

From Mistress Jennings to Colonel Churchill.

'I am willing to satisfy the world and you that I am not now in the wrong, and therefore I give you leave to come to-night—not that I can be persuaded you can ever justify yourself, but I do it that I may be freed from the trouble of ever hearing from you more.'

From Colonel Churchill to Mistress Jennings.

'When I writ to you last night I thought I writ to one that loved me; but your unkind, indifferent letter this morning confirms me of what I have before been afraid of, which is that your sister can govern your passion as she pleases. My heart is ready to break. I wish 'twere over, for since you are grown so indifferent, death is the only thing that can ease me. If that the Duchess could not have effected this, I was resolved to have made another proposal to her, which I am confident she might have effected, but it would not have brought so much money as this. But now I must think no more on it, since you say we cannot be happy. If they should do the first, I wish with all my soul that my fortune had been so considerable as that it might have made you happier than your going out with your sister to France will do; for I know 'tis the

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joy you propose in that, that makes you think me faulty. I do, and must as long as I live, love you to distraction, but would not, to make myself the happiest of men breathing, press you to aught that you think will make you unhappy. Madame, methinks it is no unreasonable request to beg to see you in your chamber to-night. Pray let me hear presently two words, and say I shall; and, in return, I swear to you if you command my death I will die.'

Endorsed in the Duchess's writing:

'A letter in which he says something of some proposals made to the Duchess.'

From Mistress Jennings to Colonel Churchill.

'I have made many reflections upon what you said to me last night, and I am of the opinion that could the Duchess obtain what you ask her, you might be more unhappy than if it cannot be had. Therefore, as I have always shown more kindness for you than perhaps I ought, I am resolved to give you one mark more—and that is, to desire you to say nothing of it to the Duchess upon my account; and your own interest when I am not concerned in it, will probably compass what will make you much happier than this can ever do.'

From Colonel Churchill to Mistress Jennings' Waiting-woman.

'Your mistress's usage to me is so barbarous that sure she must be the worst woman in the world, or else she would not be thus ill-natured. I have sent a letter which I desire you will give her. It is very reasonable for her to take it, because it will be then in her own power never to be troubled with me more, if she pleases. I do love her with all my soul, but will not trouble her, for if I cannot have her love I shall despise her pity. For the sake of what she has already done, let her read my letter and answer it, and not use me thus like a footman.'

Addressed:

'For Mrs. Elizabeth Mowdie.'

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From Mistress Jennings to Colonel Churchill.

'I have done nothing to deserve such a kind of letter as you have writ to me, and therefore I don't know what answer to give; but I find you have a very ill opinion of me, and therefore I cannot help being angry with myself for having had too good a one of you; for if I had as little love as yourself, I have been told enough of you to make me hate you, and then I believe I should have been more happy than I am like to be now. However, if you can be so well contented never to see me as I think you can by what you say, I will believe you; though I have not other people; and after you are satisfied that I have not broke my word, you shall have it in your power to see me or not—and if you are contented without it I shall be extremely pleased.'

From Colonel Churchill to Mistress Jennings.

'To show you how unreasonable you are in accusing me, I dare swear you yourself will own that your going from me in the Duchess's drawing-room did show as much contempt as was possible. I may grieve at it, but I will no more complain when you do it, for I suppose it is what pleases your humour. I cannot imagine what you meant by your saying I laughed at you at the Duke's side, for I was so far from that, that had it not been for shame I could have cried. And for being in haste to go to the Park, after you went I stood near a quarter of an hour, I believe, without knowing what I did. Although at Whitehall you told me I should not come, yet I walked twice to the Duke's backstairs, but there was no Mrs. Mowdie; and when I went to my Lord Durass's, I would not go the same way they did, but came again down the backstairs; and when I went away, I did not go in my chair, but made it follow me, because I would see if there was any light in your chamber, but I saw none. Could you see my heart you would not be so cruel as to say I do not love you, for by all that is good I love you and only you. If I may have the happiness of

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seeing you to-night, pray let me know, and believe that I am never truly pleased but when I am with you.'

In a letter endorsed in Sarah's writing, 'This letter was when he was to settle the time of marrying me with the Duchess,' he evinces anxiety lest she should lose the goodwill of Mary of Modena. He writes: 'I am sure if you love me you will not at this anger the Duchess.'

In another letter he says, with reference to a present he sent her: 'I hope you will like the waistcoat; I do assure you there is not such another to be had in England.' He says elsewhere: 'You complain of my unkindness, but would not be kind yourself in answering my letter, although I begged you to do it.' The wife of James II., must have been fond of early rising, for in another loving epistle he says: 'I hope you so wise as to value your own health before your duty to the Dutchess, so that you did not walk with her at five this morning.'

Strange to say, there is no actual record of their marriage, which was celebrated in secret, owing to the opposition of the two families, and was not announced till some months afterwards. The Duchess of York was alone cognizant of it at the time, and was possibly the only witness of the ceremony. She gave the bride valuable presents, and proposed some pecuniary arrangement—referred to in these letters—to enable her to marry, which was at first rejected by the haughty Maid of Honour. It is not possible to fix the exact date of the wedding, but it took place in the winter of 1677-78. This is borne out by the following endorsement in Sarah's handwriting on a letter addressed to her as M^{rs}. Jennings, by Churchill, on Friday, $\frac{1}{2}$ 4, 1678, from Brussels: 'I believe I was married when this letter was writ, but it was not known to anyone but the Duchess' (of York). This letter begins: 'I writ to you from Antwerp, which I hope you have received before now; for I should be glad you should hear from me by every post.'*

* See next chapter for the whole text of this letter.

Eight children were born of this marriage, of whom two died in infancy. The following transcriptions of entries in the Duchess of Marlborough's Bible, now at Althorp, relate to the other six :*

'The 15th September 1712 at two in the morning the Earl of Godolphin dyed in the Duke of Marlborough's house in St. Albans, who was the best man that ever lived.'

'Henrietta was born the 19 July 1681 about ten in the morning her god mothers and god father was my mother, my sister Godfrey and Sir John Churchill.'†

'Anne was born the 27 day of Feb: her god mothers and god father were, the Princess of Denmark, Lady Sunderland and Lord Rochester.'‡

'Jack was born the 12 of January 1686 about six o'clock in the morning, his god mother and god fathers, Mrs. Strangeways, Lord Tyrconnell and Lord Godolphin.'

'Betty was born the 15 of March 1687, her god father and god mothers, Lord Renston, Lady Scarborough and Lady Freckwell.'

'Mary was born the 15 of July 1689, at 2 o'clock in the morning: her god father and god mothers The Prince and Queen and Lady Darby.'

'Charles was born the 19 of August, 1690, between six and seven o'clock in the morning, his god mother and god fathers, Lady Fitzharding, Lord Dorset, and Mr. Russell.'

No mention is made in this Bible of their first child 'Harriot,' who was born in 1679, and died before July, 1681, when the second Harriot, or Henrietta, was born.

For the first seven years of their married life her soldier-

* The Bible was printed at Oxford in 1685.

† Her 'sister Godfrey' was Arabella, Marlborough's sister, who had married Colonel Godfrey.

‡ The year was either 1683 or 1684, as she was nearly sixteen when married in January, 1700.

husband had no chance of displaying his genius for war, and even at the Battle of Sedgemoor he only held a subordinate position. For all these years he was little more than the favourite and confidant of James, Duke of York. When James came to the throne, Churchill proved himself to be a skilful negotiator in the service of a master whose missions, however, never rose above the level of intrigue. It was an age of intrigue, in which no man seemed capable of pursuing a straightforward line of action. 'I never knew a man lost on a straight road,' said the great Achar, but John Churchill, and all the Englishmen who played any considerable part in the events of the time, seem to have been incapable of taking a straight path in the conduct of public business.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHURCHILL AS A MARRIED MAN; HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH
WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

Churchill in the confidence of the two Royal Brothers—Parliament meets in January, 1678—Charles threatens France with war, but Churchill does not believe in it—Churchill goes to Flanders to command a brigade—William discovers the ability of Churchill, and makes friends with him—Charles makes peace with Lewis for a consideration.

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THE newly-married couple spent their first winter, and then the spring of 1678, at Mintern, in Dorsetshire, with Churchill's parents, who had bowed to the inevitable, and had become reconciled to the match which they had striven to prevent. It is evident from his letters that his mother's temper was occasionally sorely tried by the overbearing and insolent behaviour of her daughter-in-law; indeed, it was no easy task to keep the peace between these two quarrelsome women. But his poverty made him glad—even under such conditions—to secure a home for his wife, whom he had not then the means to establish in a house of his own. He appears to have contemplated hiring a house near London, because he was anxious to remove her from the Court and its temptations. But he abandoned this idea from want of means, and from the great horror which he had of spending more than he could afford. Sarah in one of her letters gives as the reason, that she was 'soon after made Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Denmark.' But Anne was not married until 1683, so it is evident that his wish to

withdraw his young wife from Court extended over the first five years of their married life.

Whilst staying with his father at Mintern, Churchill made frequent journeys to London for his turn of waiting upon the Duke of York. He left his wife behind upon these occasions, but always kept up a steady correspondence with her during his absence. The following letters, unsigned and undated, are some of those he then wrote to her:

'Here is no news to send you: however, I will not omit one post of writing to you; for as you are always in my thoughts, I would when I am from you be perpetually conversing with you by letters, and repeat to you what I so often have sworn to you,—that you are dearer to me than my own life; but I find you are not of the same mind, for when you write you are afraid to tell me that you love me. Waiting this week has tired me so, that to-morrow I do not intend to go abroad, but the next [day] I intend to go to see a house which, if I think you will like it, I shall see about taking it, for I never will willingly do anything that I think you will not approve of.

'My duty to my mother, and love and service, if you please, to everybody else.'

'Saturday.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at Sir Winston Churchill's house at Mintorne, to be left at the post-house at Dorchester, Dorsetshire.'

Endorsed in the Duchess's writing: 'When this letter was writ, Lord Marlborough intended that I should always live near London and never see the Court, but soon after made me lady of the bedchamber to the Princess of Denmark.*'

'These two last days I have been mightily afraid of having got an ague, but I hope it will prove to be nothing but a great cold, for it does now lie so extremely in my head that I can hardly look upon the paper to write; but you are so dear to me that I will never omit writing, for fear you should think it proceed from unkindness, which I

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

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can never be guilty of to you. I will not complain, but it is now three weeks and above since you writ to me. On Monday I come down in the coach with my sister, so that I desire that the coach may be on Tuesday at Salisbury, and if you are well I do not doubt but that you will be so kind as to meet me there. My duty, pray, to my father and mother. It will be absolutely necessary for you to be at St. Albans for a fortnight after you come from my father's. Therefore pray write to your mother to know if she approves of it. I have already spoken to your sister Hamilton about it, and she tells me that your mother will be overjoyed at it; but, however, it is fit you should write to her about it. So, my dearest dear, till Tuesday farewell.

'Saturday.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at Minsterne, to be left at the post-house at Dorchester, Dorsetshire.*'

From the time of his marriage until the accession of James, Colonel Churchill was much in the confidence of the two Royal brothers, but he was kept in ignorance of their designs against the liberties of the people and the Protestant religion.† They only divulged their plans for the re-establishment of the ancient faith to Roman Catholics, though they frequently employed him upon secret missions of importance, as the ease with which he spoke French and his natural ability fitted him for foreign negotiations. He thus had many opportunities for acquiring skill in diplomacy, and in the management of men, an experience which stood him in good stead in his later career. These foreign missions often brought him into contact with William of Orange, and an intimacy was established between them that proved of great advantage to both at the time of the Revolution.

The underhand proceedings of Charles in relation to

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

† Dalrymple, vol. i., p. 208: Letters from James to William of 1st 4, 1678, and 1st 4, 1678. Also Lediard.

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the marriage of the Princess Mary had so incensed Lewis, that he at once stopped his pension, and ordered an army to march into Flanders. Parliament had been prorogued until April, 1678, as part of the consideration for the money paid by Lewis to Charles; but now, as a counter-stroke to the stoppage of his pension, Charles ordered Parliament to reassemble for business in January, 1677-78.

When Parliament met, Charles announced that he had ²/₁ 4, 1677, made an alliance with Holland for the protection of Flanders, and that it was his intention to help the Dutch and their allies in their resistance to French aggression. He had, he said, in accordance with the desire expressed by both Houses, already ordered the English regiments then in the pay of Lewis XIV. to quit the French army. This policy required a strong fleet at sea, and an increase of about 30,000 men to the land forces, and for these objects a large money vote was necessary.* But Parliament was not in a mood to grant this at once, as it was shrewdly suspected that the King meant to use these troops and the money for other purposes. The House of Commons would only vote supplies on terms so humiliating to Charles that he could not with any dignity accept them.

The utter rottenness of society and the internal demoralization of public life at this period are well illustrated by the proceedings in this Session of Parliament. The French King pulled the strings, and gave or promised bribes all round. All through the winter and spring, Lewis was again engaged in a very secret negotiation with Charles. The exact sum which the latter was to receive for the sale of England's

* The army was to be raised to twenty-six battalions of Foot, of 1,000 men each, four regiments of Horse and two of Dragoons, each of 490 men. All the old companies were to be increased to 100 men each; Lord Craven's (now the Coldstream Guards), the Lord High Admiral's, and Lord Mulgrave's (now the Buffs) were to be raised from twelve to twenty companies each. The Lord High Admiral's regiment was originally raised for sea-service in 1664, and consisted of six companies of 200 men each, all armed with muskets, which was unusual, as in the ordinary Foot, one-third of the men were still armed with pikes.

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honour and interests, was well haggled over. Lewis thoroughly understood the distrust with which the English people regarded their King, and how much they dreaded the proposal to supply him with an army, lest it should be used against them. Thus, while he was intriguing with Charles, his agents were bribing the leading members of both sides in English politics, to thwart Charles if he should manifest a serious intention to follow any course hostile to French interests.

¶ 2, 1678.

At length, after much debate, and with undisguised misgivings, the House of Commons voted a million to enable 'his Majesty to enter into actual war against the French King.' So far, all the threats of war by Charles, as well as his secret negotiations, had failed to make any impression upon Lewis. French troops were still pressing forward in the Low Countries, where several strong places had already fallen. War between England and France seemed now almost inevitable, but Churchill never believed in it. He knew the minds of both the Royal brothers too well to accept their assurances on such a point. In March he was recalled to London by the Duke of York, and upon his arrival, he wrote the following letter to his wife, whom he had left at Mintern: 'I hope from me you expect no news but what concerns myself. I got to town by a little after three, very weary. However, I drest myself, and went to the Duke for to know what he had to command me. He told me that the reason that he sent for me was that he did believe that there would be occasion to send into Holland and Flanders, and that he would have me here to be ready to go. By the French letters on Saturday they expect to know whether we shall have peace or war; but whatever happens I believe you may be satisfied that I shall not be in danger this year. Mrs. Fortry tells me that she will write to you this night, and send you all the news she knows. Your pendants are done, but the Duchess has not yet given order to Mr. Allen to pay for them. I believe you will like them, for they are to my mind very

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fine for the price.* Mr. Villiers has not money to pay for my place, so that the Duke has consented to Mr. Fortry's buying, in case we agree. I have my ring from my Lord Ossory, which I will keep till I see you, hoping you will like it, it being, as all things that I have in this world, at your command. So assuring you that I do, and ever will as long as I live love you, and only you.

'My duty to my mother, with my love and service to everybody else. Thursday.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at Sir Winston Churchill's house at Mintorne, to be left at the post-house at Dorchester, Dorsetshire.'†

His orders came at last. He was to proceed to Flanders on the part of the King, with power to settle the strength of the land and sea forces to be maintained by each of the Powers who were allied against France.‡ Those Powers were also to state the lowest terms upon which they would make peace. In a letter to William, James describes the object of Churchill's mission as intended 'to adjust all things with you and the Spaniards concerning our troops.' He goes on to say, that Churchill was fully instructed on the subject of his mission. In company with a Colonel Duncan, he sailed from the Downs in the frigate *Solebay* on Friday morning, and reached Flushing that same night.§ He was well received at Brussels, where rumour said that the Duke of York was expected to arrive shortly, to assume command of the English contingent.||

Soon after his arrival in Holland, further orders from the King reached him. He was directed to arrange with William for the safety of the four British battalions that

* These were some of the presents the Duchess of York gave Mrs. Churchill on her marriage.

† Blenheim Palace Papers.

‡ Sir Jos. Williamson's notes in F. O. Papers in Rolls Office, No. 31 of 1676-78. This is taken from papers dated 7th and 8th April, 1678, and is apparently in Marlborough's handwriting.

§ Dom. Papers, Car. II., Rolls House.

|| F. O. Papers in Rolls Office, No. 307 of 1678. The news-letter containing this is dated the Hague, 1st 4, 1678.

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had been pushed forward, unsupported, to Bruges.* Being seasoned troops they were especially valuable to an army so largely composed of recruits, and it was feared that the French, knowing this, might by a sudden forward movement, take the place before arrangements could be made for its defence.† Monmouth, who had been appointed to command the English contingent, had landed at Ostend in March. He reported to the King, that until the British regiments arrived, the only garrison there was some 400 Spaniards, whom he described as 'miserable creatures.'‡

11 4, 1678.

In a letter to his wife from Brussels, Churchill says he wrote to her 'from Antwerp, which I hope you have received before now; for I should be glad you should hear from me by every post. I met with some difficulties in my business with the Prince of Orange, so that I was forced to write to England, which will cause me to be two or three days longer abroad than I should have been. But because I would lose no time, I despatch all other things in the meantime, for I do, with all my heart and soul, long to be with you, you being dearer to me than my own life.' He goes on to say that he hoped to leave Brussels on Sunday, and to reach Breda the day following for a conference with William of Orange, who was then staying there. From thence he would write again: 'Till when, my soul's soul, farewell.'

11 4, 1678.

William had already begun to realize the expediency of cultivating the friendship and goodwill of leading Englishmen. It was, therefore, natural that he should wish to make a favourable impression on Churchill, and to greet him with all the cordiality of which his cold nature and stiff manner made him capable. He was already in corre-

* The 1st Foot Guards—twelve companies—under Lord Howard, had landed in March at Ostend, from whence they were pushed on to Brussels in August. Our Minister at the Hague says in a letter of 11 3, 1678, '20 companies of 100 apiece are now passing over to Flanders, beyond the 2,800 already there.'

† Dalrymple, vol. i., p. 208. James to William, 17 4, 1678.

‡ Fifth Report of Historical MSS., p. 17.

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spondence with many of those who had most influence with Charles II., and had begun thus early to impress and influence the men who regarded a Protestant King as essential to the preservation of English liberty. It may even be said, that the general scheme of his plan for the Revolution ten years afterwards, was concocted at this time. It was doubtless during this mission that William became aware of Churchill's tact and talents, and also of the fact that he was a genuine soldier, a skilled diplomatist, and a sound man of business; that he was, in fine, a man who would be something more than a mere pawn in the great game which William already hoped to play in England, and therefore one whose goodwill was worth securing.

Many messengers passed between Whitehall and Churchill whilst he was employed on this mission. It ended in a Convention made by him on the part of the King with the Prince of Orange. In the following letter, William refers to the successful conclusion of the Convention:*

'A la Haye, ce 3 de May, 1678.

'Je ne vous dirai rien de la manière que nous avons ajusté les choses avec Mr. Churchill, puisqu'il vous en informera. Mr. de Godolphin est arrivé hier au soir, je suis bien marri de n'avoir peu effectuer si promptement ce que le Roy désiroit, et ce qui est si nécessaire. Mr. l'Ambassadeur Hyde et moy vous en informeront au long. Je n'ose pas vous en dire d'avantage. J'espère que de vostre costé vous faites ce que vous devez, pour moy je ne manquerai jamais du mien n'y d'estre toutte ma vie entièrement à vous.'†

In his heart Charles neither wanted war, nor was he anxious to obtain more power than he possessed. It

* To Lord Danby, F. O. Papers in Rolls Office. State Papers: Holland, No. 307 of 1678.

† This letter is in Mr. A. Morrison's collection. It is endorsed:

'Prince of Orange, 78, 3 May.—Clerk's writing.

That he dares not say more.—Duke of Leed's or Danby's writing.'

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was his brother who urged him ceaselessly to rule despotically without a Parliament; but his own love of ease and of a quiet life made him fear to embark upon measures which he felt must embroil him with his people, and give him trouble.* Whilst, therefore, every outward preparation was made for war with France, Charles was engaged in secret negotiations for peace, in the course of which Lewis worked so skilfully upon his customary impecuniosity, that a bargain was easily struck, and a secret treaty was concluded through the agency of the French Ambassador in London.† It thus came to pass, that whilst Temple was arranging in Flanders with the Dutch and Spaniards for the vigorous prosecution of a war against France, the two kings had concluded an arrangement, which, in spite of outward and visible hostility, bound them together as friends.

In accordance with the terms of this secret treaty, agreed upon as early as the month of March, Charles promised, for a consideration of 6,000,000 livres (£240,000 sterling), that if Holland, in the space of two months, failed to accept the terms offered at Nimeguen, he would disband his lately-raised army, and remain neutral during the war between France and the allies of Holland. He also promised not to call his Parliament together for the following six months. This treaty was only known in England to James and Lord Danby. It was in Charles's own handwriting, for, as Barillon wrote to his Court, 'none of his subjects are bold enough to sign it.'‡

1½ 5, 1678.

* Dalrymple, vol. i. Barillon's letters to Lewis XIV. In one of 18, 4, 1678, he says: 'I do not believe he (Charles) cares much for being more absolute than he is' (p. 194).

† Paul Barillon d'Anconcourt, Marquis de Branges, was the Ambassador of France in London at this time.

‡ Dalrymple, vol. i., p. 212. The original treaty is now in the Archives of the Foreign Office in Paris. It is given in full in Dalrymple. See also letter from the Lord Treasurer to our Ambassador in Paris, dated 25, 3, 1678, in Harris's *Life of William*, p. ii. of Appendix.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ENGLISH PREPARATIONS FOR A WAR WHICH THE KING HAD NO
INTENTION TO DECLARE.

The Army largely augmented—Formation of grenadier companies—
The discipline of the troops—Feeding the Army in the field.

ON Churchill's return home in May he found a considerable force under arms for service in Flanders. Several new regiments had been raised, and the popular feeling in favour of war with France had become very strong among all classes. Monmouth was already in the field at the head of the English troops in Holland, a position which the Duke of York coveted greatly. James's thoughts were constantly upon the succession in the event of his brother's death, and if, whenever that took place, he could only be in command of the army, he believed he could easily secure it.*

The British regiments in the French service were recalled, recruits came pouring in from all sides, and in six weeks about twenty thousand had been enlisted. But the pay of the private soldier, when compared with the wages of the labourer, was relatively much better then than it is now. 'We are beating up drums every day for new levies, and soldiers come in plentifully and cheerfully.'† The greater part of the new army was encamped on

* Dalrymple, vol. i., pp. 203, 204.

† Rawdon Papers; letter from Lord Conway to his brother of 1½ 1, 1678.

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Hounslow Heath, where many then saw for the first time the 'new sort of soldier called grenadiers, men dexterous in flinging hand "granados."* They wore furred caps with coped crowns like janizaries, which made them look very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools; their clothing being likewise pybald, yellow and red.† There were at first only two or three grenadiers in each company, but in 1678 they were collected and formed into a separate company in each battalion. 'Horse grenadiers' were also formed at this time, the men being armed with muskets and bayonets. The peculiarity of their dress continued far down into the eighteenth century, even after the use of hand-grenades had been discontinued, and is referred to in the following verse of the well-known song, 'The British Grenadiers':‡

'Then let us crown a bumper,
And drink a health to those
Who carry caps and pouches,
And who wear the looped clothes.
We give it from our hearts, my boys,' etc.

Although recruits were easily obtained, it was not easy

* Each grenadier carried three grenades in a pouch, each grenade weighing 3 or 4 lbs.

† Evelyn, vol. i., p. 497. The men wore 'fox tails' at 3s. 6d. apiece in their hats. See Mackinnon's 'Coldstream Guards,' vol. ii., p. 280.

‡ By warrant of 1st 4, 1678, the following arms were issued to the grenadier company of the Coldstream Guards (the company consisted of 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, and 100 privates): 103 fusees, with slings to each; 103 cartridge boxes, with girdles; 103 grenadoe pouches; 103 bayonets; 103 hatchets, with girdles to them; 3 halberts and 2 partisans.—Mackinnon's 'Coldstream Guards,' vol. ii., p. 275. The clothing of each private of Foot cost £2 13s.; of Horse, £9; and of each Dragoon, £6 10s. The other companies of each battalion were, in 1678, armed thus: 60 men with muskets and dagger-shaped bayonets made to fit into the muzzles; 10 with light firelocks; and the remaining 30 with pikes sixteen feet long. The lieutenants carried partisans, the sergeants halberts. The pike, as an arm for the rank and file, was only laid aside in our army in Anne's reign. They were carried by captains and subalterns until about the end of the eighteenth century.

to maintain discipline, as Parliament was still extremely jealous of the army. There had been several mutinies amongst the troops encamped at Blackheath,* and although many of the mutineers were sent to the Tower, numbers continued to desert. Even when the army was being organized for service abroad, it was most difficult to check desertion. We read of a man being tried by the civil power and hanged; yet when others were ordered to embark, they ran away by scores.† From Lord Morpeth's regiment 200 deserted; and a lieutenant, having surrendered his commission, warned his men to ponder over what they were about to do, for they were being deceived as he had been, into the idea that they were intended to fight the French, whereas they were about to be used to enslave their own country. They flung down their arms and bolted to a man.‡

In the military correspondence of the time we read of the difficulty there was in supplying food, especially bread, for the army in Flanders. Supplies were then invariably provided under contract by rich Jews or mercantile firms abroad. In August Monmouth writes to the Lord Treasurer from Brussels: 'To gitt all things necessary for the Foot that is to march into the field, and that which is the most necessary, I am afred I shall feal of which is the bred, for I told the Prince if hee would have thess battalions that ar wth mee come to the army hee, or the Duke of Ville-hermosa must give them bred.'§

* 'Hatton Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 111.

† He was hanged at Tyburn, 1st 7, 1678.

‡ 'Hatton Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 166.

§ Mr. A. Morrison's collection of letters.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHURCHILL EMBARKS FOR ACTIVE SERVICE IN HOLLAND.—THE
PEACE OF NIMEGUEN.

The French King's breach of faith—Charles again threatens war—
Peace made and the Army largely reduced.

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MATTERS having been secretly arranged between Lewis and Charles, the former made a separate peace with Holland. But when the time arrived for carrying out its provisions, he would not surrender the Spanish towns in Flanders which he had stipulated to restore. Holland was most indignant at this gross breach of faith; all Europe sympathized with her, and war was again on every tongue. In England public feeling ran so strongly against France, that Charles had to bow before it. He once more despatched Sir William Temple to the Hague, with orders to make a new treaty of alliance with Holland for an immediate war against Lewis XIV. It is, however, clear that he took this step in the hope of being able to 'screw more money out of Lewis, and to obtain further subsidies from Parliament. James knew and approved of all Charles's negotiations with Lewis, yet he wrote constantly to William of Orange to assure him of his desire for a war with France. His letters display a dissimulation quite in keeping with the opinion commonly entertained of his character.* His real policy was the closest possible alliance with Catholic France, but he hoped

* See vol. i., p. 234, etc., of Dalrymple, where these letters are given.

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by a pretended zeal for war against her, to ingratiate himself with the English people, who, as he knew, hated the French, and sympathized deeply with Protestant Holland.

Lewis had paid agents both in Holland and in England, who kept him informed of all that went on in both countries. He was furious with Charles for his double-dealing. In order to estrange England and Holland, he disclosed the fact of his secret treaty with Charles, and to punish him he stopped his pension, rejected his overtures for another secret treaty and refused his request for a fresh gift of money. It was now Charles's turn to be angry. He felt that he had overstrained the endurance of his paymaster, and that he had been completely outwitted. Enraged with Lewis and with himself, he entered warmly into new plans against France. The enrolment of recruits began afresh, and all England rang once more with the sound of warlike preparations. Churchill, writing to Sir C. Lyttelton in July, says there are 'no nuses, but now $\frac{1}{2}$ 7, 1678. we are again very furious upon the war: so that I hope it will not be long before I have orders to come over.' A few days later, to the same correspondent, he writes: 'It is $\frac{1}{2}$ 7, 1678. generally believed we shall have war.'*

That same week he was again sent to Holland to arrange details with the Dutch, and William, writing from the Hague to Lord Danby, says: 'I will tell you nothing of $\frac{2}{3}$ 7, 1678. how we have arranged matters with Mr. Churchill, as he will tell you of it himself.' The agreement then drawn up, was, amongst other things, to regulate the 'precedency' of the superior officers in the allied army when it took the field. In it Churchill is described as 'Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of the Duke of York,† Gentleman of H.R. Highness's Bedchamber, and representing his Majesty Charles II.‡'

The following letter from Churchill to his wife was

* Historical MSS., Second Report, p. 36.

† The Admiral's regiment.

‡ MS. in British Museum, 29,937, vol. i., f. 289.

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evidently written upon his return to England, when awaiting in London orders for embarkation. Its date must have been about August, for that is the date of a letter from James to William in which he conveys the same news regarding the immediate embarkation of troops for Ostend.*

§ 8, 1678.

'Your enclosed for Mrs. Fortry I gave Joan (?) as soon as I had it, and she has sent it again to her. You are very unjust to me in making a doubt of my love, since there is nothing in this world I desire so much as to be able to give you proofs of how well I love you, for by all that is good and holy, you are dearer to me than my own life, for could I follow my own inclinations I would never be from you. On ^{Tuesday} ~~Thursday~~ is appointed by the King and my Lord Treasurer for renewing proposals for the bread for the army, and I hope that day it will be decided that I shall have it, so that I am resolved, God willing, to be at Salisbury on Wednesday night, where I desire the coach may be for me. Here is no talk now but of war, but I hope it will end in peace, so that I may have my desire of being with you. My duty and service to everybody.

'Saturday. Pray let my father know that if he has writ, his letters are miscarried, for I have not heard from him since he went. You may tell him that last night there was ordered 18 troops of Horse and 15 troops of Dragoons to go over with all expedition; and they say that three regiments of Foot more shall follow very speedily.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at Sir Winston Churchill's house at Mintorne, to be left at the post-house at Dorchester, Dorsetshire.'†

Affairs dragged on in an undecided way for some months, but at length Churchill, always ready to embark, received the following commission from his old comrade-in-arms, the Duke of Monmouth, who had been once more appointed to command the army in the Low Country:

'You are forthwith to repair to the Army in Flanders, to command there as eldest Brigadier of Foot, And your

* Dalrymple, vol. i., p. 246.

† Blenheim Palace Papers.

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Brigade is to consist of the two Battalions of Guards, one Battalion of the Holland Regiment, and the Regiments of Her Royal Highnesse and Colonel Legg.*

'Given under my hand at Whitehall this 3d day of Septembr, 1678.

' Monmouth.

' To Coll. Churchill.'†

Before embarking, Churchill wrote the following letter to his wife: 'Yours of the last of August I have received, and am extremely pleased with your kind expressions in it; and I do assure you in return it shall be my study to take satisfaction only in what pleases you. You may rest satisfied that there will be a certain peace in very few days. This news I do assure you is true; therefore be not concerned when I tell you that I am ordered over, and that to-morrow I go. You shall be sure by all opportunities to hear from me, for I do if possible love you better than I ever did. I believe it will be about the beginning of October before I shall get back, which time will appear an age to me, since in all that time I shall not be made happy with the sight of you. Pray write constantly to me. Send your letters, as you did before, to my house, and there I will take order how they shall be sent after me. So, dearest soul of my life, farewell.

'My duty to my father and mother, and remember me to everybody else.

'Tuesday Night. My will I have here sent you, for fear of accidents.' [Unsigned.] Endorsed in the Duchess's writing: 'Lord Marlborough, to ease me when I might be frightened at his going into danger.'

§ 9, 1678.

The ship in which he and Brigadier-General Sir John Fenwick embarked for Holland was driven by head-winds into Margate, where he wrote again to his wife:‡ 'The

* This brigade was to be 'the first,' and the regiments of which it was to consist are now the Grenadier and Coldstream Guards, the 'Bufs,' or East Kent Regiment; her Royal Highness' Regiment was a Dutch corps, and that commanded by Colonel Legge was the Duke of Ormond's Regiment, afterwards disbanded.

† Blenheim Palace Papers.

‡ *Ibid.*

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cross winds have forced us into this place, where we shall stay till to-morrow morning. I could have wished that I might have met with the same orders that Mr. Berkeley has, which is to come back. I have writ to the Duke to desire that I may not stay any longer than I needs must, so that I hope very quickly to have orders to come back, till when I am sure I shall not be happy, for nothing but the being with you can give me true comfort. You may be sure the minute I come for England you shall not only hear from me but see me. Pray remember to everybody. Margett, Sept. 8, 1678.' [Unsigned.] Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill at Mintorne, to be left at the post-house in Dorchester, Dorsetshire.'*

Sunday.

He thoroughly understood Charles's character, and his expectations, based on that knowledge, were quickly realized. He had been but a short time in Holland when preliminaries of peace were agreed upon by Lewis and William, and our young Brigadier-General was enabled to rejoin his wife at home.

The Conference which sat at Nimeguen ended in a general peace, called after that place.† The English troops returned home in March, 1679.‡ Most of the lately-raised regiments were disbanded, and the country was for a time flooded with idle and disorderly men. The system then pursued of suddenly raising, and as suddenly disbanding regiments, led to great abuses, misery and crime, so much so, that when any corps was to be disbanded, orders were usually sent to the nearest troops of Life Guards or Horse to patrol the roads in the neighbourhood for the protection of the inhabitants.

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

† The Peace of Nimeguen, between France and Spain, was signed 10, 8, 1678; between France and Holland and the Low Countries on 17, 9, 1678; and between France and the German Empire, as well as between the latter and Sweden, on 5, 2, 1678-9.

‡ Hamilton's 'Grenadier Guards.' They consisted of 16 battalions—about 10,500 men; 27 troops of Horse—about 1,600; and 12 troops of Dragoons—about 950. The total force was about 13,000 men.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE POPISH PLOT.

Titus Oates—Act of Parliament to prohibit Roman Catholics from all public employments—Parliament dissolved—James banished to Brussels—Churchill goes with him—James's dread that Monmouth will be preferred by the English people—The King seriously ill—James and Churchill go home in consequence—Monmouth banished to Holland—Churchill offered a seat in Parliament.

In the autumn of 1678 Titus Oates, a navy chaplain who had been dismissed for immoral conduct, divulged a conspiracy for the assassination of the King, which is known in history as the 'Popish Plot.' He communicated on oath all he knew about it to a justice of the peace, Sir Edmond Godfrey, and about a fortnight later, the dead body of that worthy knight was found on Primrose Hill. He had evidently been murdered, though not by footpads, for his pockets had not been rifled, and it was generally believed that he had met his death at the hands of the Catholics implicated in the plot. Throughout the country, and in London especially, the excitement was intense. The Protestant majority called aloud for vengeance, and a large reward was offered for the discovery of the murderers. The King in a speech to the House of Lords, 11, 1678, not only proclaimed his readiness to uphold the laws for the security of the Protestant religion, but undertook to arrange for its maintenance and protection under his successor, provided the right of succession according to English law and custom was rigidly safeguarded. But Parliament, though well packed with courtiers, showed an

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earnest desire to probe the Popish plot, and the prejudice against the Duke of York was much increased by the trial and conviction for high treason of Coleman, secretary to the Duchess. In the end a cruel law was passed by which Papists were disqualified from sitting in either House of Parliament, his Majesty's subjects, under severe penalties, were forbidden to attend any church 'where the Romish worship is celebrated,' and the year ended with a proclamation for the disarmament of all Roman Catholics.

Charles's second, or, as it was commonly called, the Long or Pensioning Parliament, was now eighteen years old. The Commons had been elected by the people in the exuberance of enthusiastic loyalty upon the restoration of their King by Divine right. Parliament was, however, no longer the tractable body it had been at first. It was loyal, but essentially Protestant, and it was determined that England should never be ruled by a Roman Catholic. It had just impeached the Lord Treasurer, Danby, and it seemed resolved to have some victims for the past twelve years of disgraceful misgovernment. Charles wishing to save Danby and to rid himself of a Parliament that had become his master, dissolved it, to the dismay of Shaftesbury and the Protestant party. A new Parliament was called, but Charles never afterwards obtained another so lenient to his crimes, so blind to his social depravity, and so anxious to forgive and to forget the past.

²/₃ 1678.
¹/₆ 3, 1678.

The hostility of the new Parliament to James soon became apparent, and its tone was more defiant than that of its predecessor. The people had been worked into a frenzy by rumours of plots against the Protestant religion, and their representatives, though less violent, were determined to have their way. It is difficult now to realize how intense was the hatred of Roman Catholics which the murder of Sir E. Godfrey, together with the discovery of the 'Popish Plot,' had aroused. There can be no doubt that there had been a serious conspiracy for the complete extirpation of Protestantism in England, and that

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some fanatics had plotted the assassination of Charles in order to put James on the throne. But the Protestant faction made the most of the perjuries of Oates and others in order to aggravate the popular feeling against Popery, the object being, by fair means or foul, to exclude James from succession to the throne. Parliament declared the King's life to be in danger from the Papists, and as a precautionary measure begged him to forbid his brother the kingdom. Much against his will, Charles felt it necessary to comply with this request, and banished James to Brussels in March, who went there accompanied by the Duchess, ¹/₄ 3, 1678. Lord Peterborough, Colonel and Mrs. Churchill, and some other attendants.* Anne was at first kept at home by order of the King, but was allowed to rejoin her father in the following August. The King soon found how great was his mistake in dissolving the Long Parliament, for that which replaced it was by no means inclined to grant him supplies unless he would entirely abandon his brother. He consequently dissolved it, and summoned another to meet ¹/₂ 7, 1679. in the following October. The elections went everywhere against him. The western counties, especially Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, were strong in their openly expressed opposition to James, to his religion, and to the arbitrary power which he was known to favour, while society and the country at large, were divided into two hostile factions, to whom the nick-names of Whig and Tory were now for the first time given.

James occupied the house in Brussels in which King Charles had lived before the Restoration. There the Princess Anne was allowed her own Protestant chaplain, and with the Churchills and her servants was permitted to have religious services according to the rites of the Church of England. To the credit of James, it must also be added that he had not up to this time attempted to induce her to change her religion.[†] Indeed, the advice of

* James and his household reached Brussels ²/₆ 1678-9.

† Life of Anne, London, 1721, vol. i., p. 12.

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her Broad Church, if not free-thinking friend and companion, Sarah Churchill, who had already obtained a great influence over her mind, would have been of itself a powerful antidote to Roman Catholic tendencies.

James took a gloomy view of his position in Brussels. 4, 4, 1679. 'I see so little likelihood,' he writes to Legge, 'of things going well in England, or of my being sent for back, that I would have you think of getting my carriages sent to me, as it is very inconvenient being without them.'*

1/2 8, 1679. In another letter, a few months later, he asks to have his fox-hounds and huntsman sent to Brussels, as there are plenty of stags about, and the country, he adds, 'looks as if the fox-hunting would be very good.' By degrees a little Court collected round him in his exile, and we read of Sarah's widowed sister Frances, of Lady Bellasis, Lady Wentworth and others being of his party.†

Whilst in Brussels, James kept up a constant correspondence with his brother, and with his friends in England. When ordered abroad he seems at once to have thrown himself into the arms of France, looking to Lewis for help whenever the English Throne should become vacant. Churchill did not, we are assured, mix himself up in the party intrigues of the day, though he was frequently sent to Paris and London by his royal master on secret missions. He was at home in May, 1679, and he carried back to James a very kind letter from the King.‡ He was again in London in August. James plied his brother with repeated applications for permission to return home. He knew that his banishment was due to the plots of Monmouth and the Protestant party, who wished him to be out of England whenever the King should die, and if this could be accomplished, he believed it to be their intention to pro-

* MSS. British Museum.

† Letter of 1/2 5, 79, from Sir R. Bulstrode at Brussels; F. O. Papers in Rolls Office, Flanders, No. 119.

‡ Dalrymple, i., p. 298. Churchill returned to Brussels, Tuesday night, 16, 5, 79. Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 33.

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claim Monmouth King, as the son and heir of Charles. It was this which made absence from England so terrible to James, for he well knew the strength of the Anti-Catholics, and their determination to exclude him from the throne if possible. He found with dismay, that Monmouth was steadily gaining in favour with the English people, and, still worse, that it began to be reported, that he had been born in wedlock, Charles having, it was said, married his mother before the Restoration. The leading people about the Court, mostly Roman Catholics, loudly contested the truth of this story, for, according to their views regarding 'Divine right,' to change the order of succession would be nearly as great an act of sacrilege as Cromwell's murder of Charles I.

In August the King was suddenly taken so seriously ill that Sunderland, Halifax and Godolphin thought it necessary to confer with Hyde, Feversham and the King's mistress, 'Madam Carwell,' as to what should be done. They decided to ask Charles to allow them to send for his brother. His answer was, 'Yes.'* James was accordingly summoned home, and left Brussels in haste, taking with him only Lord Peterborough, Churchill, Mr. Doyly, a barber, and two footmen out of livery. He was disguised in 'a blacke peruque only, and a plaine stuffe suit, wth out his starre and Garter, and rode post to Calais.† Upon reaching Dover, Churchill, wearing the scarf of a French officer, pretended to be the chief person of the party. The postmaster, however, recognised him and the Duke of York also, though he pretended not to do so, seeing that they were disguised. James and Churchill outrode the others, and reached the Barbican in Smithfield late on Sunday evening.‡ There they took a hackney coach, and drove to the house of Sir Alleyn Apsley, the Treasurer of James's

* Ranke, vol. vi., p. 40.

† Carte MS., ccxxxii., fol. 23. The description of this journey is well told in a letter dated 1/6 9, 1679, from Lord Longford to the Earl of Arran.

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Household, where they slept.* They reached Windsor early the next morning, when James, on his knees, asked his brother's forgiveness for his sudden arrival. He had been previously warned to act as if he thought Charles were entirely ignorant of the cause of his reappearance at Court. His story was, that hearing of the King's illness, he had come home forthwith, but now that his Majesty was quite recovered, he was ready to go back at once to Brussels if the King wished it. Charles received his brother with every mark of affection, but soon realized that he dared not retain him in England whilst popular feeling was so strong against him. Nineteen-twentieths of the people were ardent Protestants, and bitter haters of Popery, while the great majority were strongly attached to the English Church. The sudden reappearance of James at Windsor revived amongst them the fear and hatred with which they regarded him.

Whilst in England upon this occasion, Churchill wrote the following letters to his wife:† 'I did not write to you from St. Omer, having but just time to write what the Duke commanded me to Worden. By this you will find that we are landed in England, so that now we shall not be long before we shall be at Windsor, from whence you shall be sure to hear from me by the first opportunity, for I hope I am not deceived in the belief I have that you love me, which thought pleases me more than all other things in this world, and I do assure you that whilst I live I will never give you any reason to do other than love me, for I had much rather lose my own life than to lose you or your love. Pray do not fail of

* Sir A. Apsley lived in St. James's Square; he was a devoted Royalist, who, after the Restoration, made large sums in handling the money voted by Parliament for the navy. James, as Lord High Admiral, confided this public money to his keeping. He was Falconer to the King and M.P. for Thetford from 1661 to 1678, and died 1683, aged 67.

† Blenheim Palace Papers. These letters are neither signed nor dated.

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writing every post to me. If you give them to Colonel Worden he will take care to send them safe to me. So, having no more at present, I rest, assuring you that you shall always find me what I now am, truly and wholly yours. My service, pray, to all my friends.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at Brussels.'

'I write this although I do not know when it will come to you, only to tell you that this morning I am a-going for France. As soon as I come for Paris you shall be sure to hear from me. When you write to me you have but to direct them to your sister, and she will give them me. Pray tell Colonel Worden that I do not write to him because there is yet no resolutions taken, but I believe they that bring this may bring news. You must be sure to come for England when Lady Anne comes. I am in haste, therefore excuse me that I say no more than that I am, what I desire to be as long as I live, only yours. Thursday morning.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at Brussels.'

During his short stay in England, as mentioned in this letter, James had sent Churchill to Paris on a secret mission to his patron, Lewis XIV. Churchill carried with him a letter in which James described him as 'master of my wardrobe, to whom you may give entire credit.*' The object of the mission was to forward the secret treaty already alluded to, upon which Charles was then engaged with Barillon. Letter dated
14 9, 1679.

Charles would have liked to keep James in England, provided the arrangement in no way incommoded him, for self was always uppermost in his thoughts. But if James's presence were to cause him trouble by exciting popular clamour against the Court, then James and his interests must go by the board. He soon found that this would be the case, as his brother's reappearance had already brought upon him a very general suspicion of favouring Popery. James's idea of kingship was the same as

* Dalrymple, vol. i., p. 321.

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that of his father: to secure to the people the full enjoyment of their property, but to allow them no share in the Government of the country or in the management of public affairs, which were, in his opinion, exclusively the province of the King. Acting on these principles, James had never concerned himself with what the English people thought or wished, and he now urged his brother to disregard the popular feeling, and to let him live, if not in England, at least in Scotland. This compromise was agreed to. The King thought that at Edinburgh, whilst removed from sight, he would still be always at hand if required. Much as Charles loved the handsome Monmouth whom he believed to be his son, it is doubtful whether he ever seriously contemplated setting aside his brother's rights in his favour. It is, however, probable that, had Charles died before James had returned from Brussels, Monmouth—the Protestant Duke, as he was called by the people—would have been proclaimed King by the powerful 'Exclusionist' party. James, fully alive to this, had long urged the King to send Monmouth abroad, and at last he prevailed. Monmouth was ordered to leave the kingdom at the same time that James left for Scotland. Driven forth like Ishmael, and deprived of his command in the English army, he took up his residence in Holland, where he was cordially received by the Princess Mary and her shrewd, far-seeing husband.

It was about this time that Churchill was offered a seat in Parliament. The question was duly weighed and considered, but he wisely determined to keep aloof from politics, and except as the agent of his Royal master, to take no part in the schemes or cabals of ministers and courtiers.

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CHURCHILL GOES WITH JAMES TO SCOTLAND: THEY RETURN
TO ENGLAND.

Churchill goes to Edinburgh with James—Sarah's first child born—
James returns to London.

SHORTLY after James's return to Brussels, where Churchill rejoined him, his heart was gladdened by an order from the King to return home. To account for his brother's reappearance in England, Charles announced in the *Gazette* that James found it so inconvenient to reside in the territory of a foreign Prince, that his Majesty had given him leave to live in Scotland. On his journey home, James paid his daughter Mary a visit at the Hague, and this was the last time he ever saw her. His stay in London was short, and leaving the Princesses Anne and Isabella behind, by order of the King, he started by land, with all his household, for Edinburgh. The journey was made 27, 10, 1679. with great pomp and ceremony, and he was entertained by most of the large towns through which he passed. Churchill accompanied him, but Sarah, who was expecting her first confinement, was left in lodgings at the west end of 'Germaine Street,' on the south side, some five doors from St. James's Street, where she was joined by her widowed sister, Lady Hamilton. Her first child 'Harriot' was born about the end of November, but did not live long, and there is no mention of her in the Duchess's Bible, nor in the paper at Blenheim wherein she records,

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in her own handwriting, the births of her children who lived beyond babyhood. In a paper, however, marked 'Pedigree,' now in Spencer House, the births of Harriot and of a boy named Charles are recorded. No dates are given, but the girl was her first, the boy her last child, and both died in infancy. The following letters, written by Churchill to his wife during the journey to Edinburgh, allude to the birth of the child 'Harriot':

'I this day received a letter from you, which was the third I have had since I saw you, which is kinder than I could reasonably have expected from you, although I love you better than my own life. You tell me in your letter that you know not what to do, by reason that neither my father nor mother has writ. If the child is born before they write, you may take somebody else for godfather or godmother in the place of my father. I know my Lord * will be very willing if you send to him. Pray in your next let me know if Mr. Griffith be as yet bought out. We leave this place on Monday next, so that in ten days after we expect to be at Edinburgh; but before I get thither I hope in God I shall hear you are safe and out of all danger, which news I long for most extremely, for believe me, upon my soul you are dearer to me than ever you were. I love you so well that I desire life no longer than you love me and I love you. Pray when you are not able to write to me yourself, make somebody or other write, so that I may constantly know how you do.

'York, November 3, 1679.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at her house in Jermaine Street, near St. James's, London. Free p. Mr. Frowde.'

'We expect every minute the post, for which I am very impatient, for I have now no satisfaction but that of hearing from you, and when you miss one post I shall be in great pain, for I shall then believe you are in labour. My eyes are not yet well, and the weather being so cold that I am afraid they will not be well until I get to Edinborough,

* Word illegible, but it looks like Feversham.

for there I intend to keep my chamber until they be well, for they are very troublesome to me. You may believe that I reckon every day of the month, for I long most extremely for the second of January, for I do still hold my resolution of coming from Scotland that day. As to Poidvine, I would have him to stay with you and not come to me, for although I shall want him yet I believe you would want him more; but pray tell him that at his leisure I should be glad to hear from him.* To-night we are to be at Newcastle, where we are to be very highly treated.

'Durham, November 14, 1679.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at her house in Jermaine Street, London.'

The journey to Scotland in those days of bad roads was usually made by sea, especially when ladies were of the party. But upon this occasion James, though a sailor, preferred the land route, as he wished to show himself to the people and, if possible, to regain their favour. He had once been popular—before he openly joined the Church of Rome, and when he was known as a successful Admiral. After his naval victory over the Dutch, in 1665, he had resided for some months at York, and was liked by the people of the city from which he took his title. He now visited it again, hoping to revive the feeling with which they had formerly regarded him, but was grievously disappointed by the coldness of his reception. He rested one or two days at all the important towns he passed through, and in some of them he was more cordially welcomed. After a wearisome journey of thirty-eight days he reached Edinburgh, where his arrival was announced by the ringing of bells, salutes, and bon-fires. A banquet was given in his honour by the Lord Provost, in the great Parliament House, at which he and Churchill were made burgesses of the city. James and his wife now began to keep Court there, and did their best to win popularity. Fond of the play, they

* Poidvine was evidently his valet; from his name it is probable he was a French Protestant refugee.

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had taken a troop of actors with them, but their performances somewhat scandalized the strict Presbyterians of the place. Churchill often refers to these plays in his letters. He was always a good correspondent, and the following letters to his wife are interesting :*

'I have received yours of the 10th, with a copy of the letter you writ my mother, which if she takes anything ill that is in that letter, you must attribute it to the peevishness of old age, for really I think there is nothing in it that she ought to take ill. I take it very kindly that you have writ to her again, for she is my mother, and I hope at last she will be sensible that she is to blame in being peevish. I long extremely to have this month over, so that I may be leaving this country, which is very uneasy since you are not in it, for I do assure you that my thoughts are so fond of you that I cannot be happy when I am from you, for I love you so well that you cannot yourself wish to be loved better. Pray present my service to the widow, and tell her that I am very glad she is not married, and if she stays for my consent she never will be.† Most of the Duke's and Duchess's servants have parts given in "Aurenzebe," which is to be acted by them before the Duke and Duchess. I am with all my heart and soul yours.' 'Edinburgh, January 15, 1679.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at her house, Germaine Street, near St. James's, London.'

'January 17, 1679.

'Since my last to you we have had no letters, so that I have not much more to say to you than that I do with all my soul wish myself with you; and now that I am from you I do assure you I have no satisfaction but that of receiving yours and writing to you, and flattering myself

* They have been selected from the Blenheim Palace Papers.

† This refers to Lady Hamilton, Sarah's widowed sister, Frances, whose husband had been killed in 1676 at the Battle of Zebernstieg. Very shortly after this letter was written she married the notorious Dick Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

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that it will not now be long before I shall be truly happy in being with you again. You are so well beloved by me that if that will make you happy you ought to be the happiest woman living, for none is so well beloved as you are by me. I hope by the first post in the next month to send you word what day I shall leave this country, which is very much desired by me—not for any dislike to the country, but from the great desire I have to be with you, for you are dearer to me than ever you were in your life.

'Pray bid Poidvine bespeak three or four pair of shoes for me against I come to town. My service to Harriot.' [Unsigned.] Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at her house in Germaine Street, near St. James's, London.'

'We have been all this day in expectation of an express, ²⁴⁻¹ 1679-80. by which I was in hopes I might hear from you, which made me forbear writing till this minute; but it being now past, I did not dare expect any longer, for fear my letter might come too late to the post. We have had this afternoon a very ridiculous running match between Mr. Turner and Mr. Layborne, the latter being obliged to carry Mr. Vaghan all the way on his back, notwithstanding which he won the match. It was run about a mile from this town. The Duke and Duchess, and all the company of this place, were to see it. Although I believe you love me, yet you do not love so well as I, so that you cannot be truly sensible how much I desire to be with you. I swear to you the first night in which I was blessed in having you in my arms was not more earnestly wished for by me than now I do to be again with you, for if ever man loved woman truly well, I now do you, for I swear to you were we not married I would beg you on my knees to be my wife, which I could not do did I not esteem you as well as love you. If you please, my service to your sister.'*

Towards the end of January, 1679-80, Charles informed his council that he had ordered his brother James to return to England, 'not having found such an effect

* Frances, Lady Hamilton.

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from his absence as should incline him to keep him longer from him.* This was communicated by James to the Privy Council of Scotland in a speech which flattered all parties; he expressed a feigned regret at leaving a country where he had, he said, so many good friends, and had received so many evidences of loyalty and affection for his person.†

11-1 1679-80. Whilst waiting for a ship to take James and his household to London, Churchill wrote to his wife, begging of her to 'pray for fair winds, so that we may not stay here, nor be long at sea, for should we be long at sea, and very sick, I am afraid it would do me great hurt, for really I am not well, for in my whole lifetime I never had so long a fit of headacheing as now: I hope all the red spots of the child will be gone against I see her, and her nose straight, so that I may fancy it to be like the mother, for as she has your coloured hair, so I would have her be like you in all things else. Till next post-day, farewell. By that time I hope we shall hear of the yacht, for till I do I shall have no kind of happiness.‡

24, 2, 1679-80. The yacht *Mary*, under the command of Captain Gunman, with two other royal yachts, reached Leith at last, and in the former the Duke and Duchess of York with Colonel Churchill embarked for Deptford. They were received by the King with every mark of respect and affection. Mrs. Churchill resumed her waiting upon the Duchess of York, and her husband now saw their child 'Harriot' for the first time.

* *London Gazette*, 29, 1, 1679-80.

† *Ibid.*, 9, 2, 1679-80.

‡ Coxe gives this letter in his first volume as dated the 3rd January. The original in Blenheim Palace, from which the above is copied, is dated 31st January.

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JAMES IS AGAIN SENT TO SCOTLAND, AND THE CHURCHILLS GO WITH HIM.

Court life at Newmarket—James anxious to provide well for Churchill—Lewis bribes many English public men—James determines to create a party in his favour in Scotland—The Exclusion Bill.

JAMES paid occasional visits to his brother at Newmarket, where Charles had built a hideous residence. Life there was entirely given up to amusement and revelry. 'The mornings were spent on horseback, the afternoons at cock-matches, the evenings taking the air, and the nights at cards.* But early hours were generally kept, and the King sometimes went to bed at 9 p.m. The Churchills often accompanied James upon these visits, but the routine of Court life had become irksome to Churchill, who longed for active work, responsible duties, and lucrative appointments. James was anxious to further his favourite's wishes, and he had already importuned the King more than once on this subject, but without result, as there were many greedy courtiers to be provided for. Soon after James's return to England, it was reported that Churchill was to have the colonelcy of the 'Admiral's Regiment,' the question of making him Governour of Sheerness, which had been raised the previous year, was revived,† and later on the propriety of sending him as Ambassador to either Paris or the Hague was discussed.

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* 'Savile Correspondence,' Camden Society Papers.

† 'Hatton Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 226.

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Henry Savile, the English representative in France, writing at this time to his brother, Lord Halifax, complains of Barillon's intrigues against him, and goes on to say: 'I am told that Mr. Churchill likes my station so well that he has a mind to it, and got his master to work for him, and by a very cunning artifice endeavours to make my friends willing to have me recalled upon pretence I live too high and shall ruin myself,' etc. In his answer, Halifax hopes that 'Churchill, whatever inclination he may have to be a Minister, will never give such a price for it as the supplanting of a friend.' A few days after this Savile again writes that he was unwilling to have uneasy thoughts of Churchill, who had been always his friend, but that it was from James the report first 'came which was improved into a story round the Town.'*

20, 5, 1680. According to another rumour Churchill was to replace Sidney at the Hague. King Charles hoped by this arrangement to reassure his suspicious brother, who hated Sidney, and to prove to him that his interests at William's Court would be neither ignored nor neglected. Barillon writes, that 'the English Colonel is a man of no experience in public affairs, but that the Prince of Orange wishes to have him, and wants no other man as English Minister.'† This is a proof of how thoroughly Churchill had already ingratiated himself with William. Towards the end of the year James recommended that Sidney should be removed from the Hague, and that Churchill should either replace him, or be sent to Paris, 'If Savil have a mind to come home.' 'You may remember,' he writes to Lawrence Hyde, 'this was once thought on, and let me know what your opinion is of it now: but this is only in case I should be with His Majesty again, for so long as I am from him I would not willingly have Churchill from me.'‡ In other words, he was so essential

* These three letters are amongst the Spencer House Papers.

† 'Archives des affaires étrangères,' vol. 120, fol. 206.

‡ Singer's 'Clarendon Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 51.

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to the Duke when in banishment for his negotiations with the King, and also with the French Court, that, anxious as James was to provide well for him, he had no intention of parting with so useful a servant until he should once more be established in England.

In May it was again reported that Churchill was to have 14 12, 1680. 'the Duke's Regiment and the govt. of Sherenes.*' Sir C. Lyttelton, writing from Sheerness in August, says: 'When I was at Windsor, I found by Churchill (who is ye 13 8, 1680. only favorite of his master) that his pretence to my command herre is not given over.† But notwithstanding all these rumours, none of the proposed changes took place.

This year French gold was again liberally bestowed upon the leading men in English public life. In a despatch of July, Barillon mentions that he had bought Lady Hervey, her brother Montague, Lord Holles, and two useful Presbyterian ministers. He discusses the propriety of buying Shaftesbury and Monmouth for 100,000 francs apiece. He says that he has bought Hampden—the son of the great Parliamentarian—for a thousand guineas, that he has paid the Duke of Buckingham a similar amount, whilst Algernon Sidney has taken five hundred guineas. To others he had given smaller sums, to some as little as one hundred and fifty guineas.

Parliament was to meet towards the end of October, and, to avoid impeachment, James was ordered by his brother to set out again for Scotland. Frightened by Monmouth's rapid advance in public favour, he was at the same time irritated by what he regarded as his brother's cruel treatment; so much so, indeed, that before leaving London, he told Barillon that he intended to stir up troubles in Ireland and Scotland to avenge himself on the King, his brother. But events proved that he reckoned without his host, for when he endeavoured to intrigue with this object, he found that he was too unpopular in Scotland

* 'Hatton Correspondence,' Camden Society, vol. i., p. 226.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 233.

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to enlist any party in his interests. The truth was, that Charles was too worldly-wise to adopt the violent measures urged by James, and, remembering his father's fate, he felt that it would be madness at that juncture to attempt to rule without a Parliament.

Accompanied by his household, which included the Churchills, James embarked at Woolwich, and after a stormy passage of five days landed at Kirkcaldy Roads in the last week of October. He was received with the usual honours, but when a salute was fired from Edinburgh Castle to announce his arrival, the only large piece of ordnance then in Scotland burst. It was a gun of some historical interest, commonly known as 'Mons Megg.' The superstitious regarded the occurrence as an evil omen foreboding no good to either Prince or nation.* Mary of Modena hated Scotland, though enforced absence from Court had the advantage of separating her unfaithful husband from Mrs. Catherine Sedley. For the next two years James resided in Edinburgh, where he took an active part in Scotch affairs, and strove to surround himself with a strong party that should be entirely devoted to his cause. His wife helped him to popularity by making her Court a pleasant one,† but the Edinburgh people were never able to forget or to forgive the religion which this Royal couple openly professed, and James's cruel treatment of the Dissenters made him especially odious to a large and influential section of the people.

The great object which James always had in view was, that he might be allowed to reside, if not at Court, at least in England. Monmouth, idolized by the Protestant party, had become for the hour the hero and favourite of the English people, to whom circumstances, both at home and abroad, had conspired to make Popery

* Fountainhall's Notes, p. 8.

† Tea had come into vogue in England at the Restoration, but was practically unknown in Scotland until Mary of Modena introduced its use at her receptions in Edinburgh.

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more than ever hateful. Amongst other things, Lewis XIV. had recently decreed, that anyone who met the Host, and did not kneel before it, should be whipped through the streets by the hangman; and although an exception was subsequently made in favour of English subjects, the circumstance tended to render priestcraft more than ever detestable to the freedom-loving people of England.

The year 1680 was pregnant with events affecting Churchill's Royal master. Parliament was determined to exclude him from the throne, and every effort was made by Sunderland, Shaftesbury, and Godolphin to secure this object. One of the clauses in the proposed Exclusion Bill, contained the proviso, that should James ever claim or endeavour to secure the Crown, he should be deemed a traitor, and suffer as such; and that should he be found within the English dominions at any time after 1680, he and those who aided him were to be held guilty of high treason.

Although Churchill was admitted to James's political secrets, and had gained his confidence during many secret missions, he took no personal part in the intrigues and crooked politics of this time. Believing, as he evidently did, in his master's oft-repeated promises that he would not interfere with any man's religion, and that he only sought to secure for himself the liberty of conscience which he was anxious to see extended to every Englishman, Churchill sided with James in his antagonism to the 'Exclusion Bill.' A trusted friend has left the following on record: 'For though he had an aversion to Popery, yet he was always against the persecution for conscience sake, and at that time told me he thought it the highest act of injustice for anyone to be set aside from his inheritance upon bare suppositions of intentional evils, when nothing that was actual yet appeared to hinder him from the exercise of his just rights.'*

* 'The Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals,' etc., published 1713, p. 13. The author does not give his name, but his editor claims for him an intimate personal knowledge with Marlborough, which, published in 1713, was never contradicted by the Duke.

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‡‡ 10, 1680.

Charles opened Parliament the day after James had left for Scotland, and in his speech from the throne he expressed his readiness to concur in every measure necessary for the preservation of the Protestant religion, though he refused positively to deal with the question of the succession. But he soon found that he could do no more with this Parliament than with the last. To his horror, it was resolved that means must be adopted to destroy Popery and to banish a Prince who professed a religion incompatible with the welfare of the State. In order to stop further measures against his brother, Charles prorogued Parliament, a proceeding which aroused intense anger in all who loved liberty.

‡‡ 1, 1680-81.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHURCHILL EMPLOYED ON MANY MISSIONS TO THE KING.—HIS
SECOND CHILD BORN.

Friendship between Churchill and George Legge—Parliament assembled at Oxford—James sends Churchill on a mission to the King—The last Parliament of Charles II. dissolved—William visits England.

TOWARDS the end of 1680 Mrs. Churchill returned to London, leaving her husband in Edinburgh with the Duke of York. During this temporary separation she received the following letters from him :

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‘I hope that which I writ on Wednesday next day you have received, it being writ with all my heart and soul, by which I hope you will see that I desire nothing more in this world than your love, and that it is, if you please, absolutely in your power to make me love you as long as I live. We have here the finest weather, they say, that ever was known in this country at this time of the year. However, I have not my health as I could wish, for my eyes are not yet well. All my misfortunes I attribute to my being from you, which after this time I hope never to be so long absent as long as I live. Pray let Harriot know by some very intelligible figure that I am very well pleased with her hair, and that I long to see her, hoping that since she has her mother’s coloured hair that she may be also like her. When you see next your mother present my duty to her.

‘January 3rd, 1680. My brother [illegible] presents his

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service to you.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at her house in Jermaine Street, near St. James's, London.'*

'I have received yours of the 6th, and I think you are unjust to me in saying that you do not think I would forbear doing aught when you desire me, when I vow to Almighty God I have not a greater pleasure in the world than in doing what I think would be agreeable to you, for on my faith you are dearer to me than all the rest of the world together. You say I ought not to judge you by myself, because you love better than I. Were that so, then were I happier than any man breathing, for 'tis you alone I only think kindly of, so that I should never be unhappy were I assured you loved me so truly well as I do you. I am not so unreasonable as to expect you should be kind if I were coquet, and made love to any other woman; but since I do not, and love only you above my own life, I cannot but think but you are both unjust and unkind in having a suspicion of me, after so many assurances as I have given you to the contrary. In short, you are the only thing on earth I do love or ever can, which I beg you will believe. The bearer hereof, Mr. Ashton, says he will be in town as soon as the post, so that I would not let him go without a letter for you. It is post day, so that at night I will write

to you again.'†

Another letter written about this time, shows the good fellowship existing between Churchill and his cousin George Legge,‡ who had been with him a long time in the household of the Duke of York. Legge had contrived to leave Churchill far behind in the race of life, and had become, through Court favouritism, Master of the Ordnance. Although styled Colonel, he had spent most of his time, from the age of seventeen, at sea. He had commanded several ships, and had done good service in both the Dutch

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Churchill's great-grandmother, Elizabeth Villiers, and Legge's grandmother, Anne Villiers, were sisters.

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wars of Charles II.'s reign. But Churchill was the more business-like of the two, and it will be seen from the following letter, that he did not scruple to give his cousin good advice upon money matters.*

'DEAR COUSEN,

'Jan. 1st 1680-81 (Edinburgh?).

'I did 2 postes agoe recive yours of the 27th of the last month, but as yett I have not recived anny from my Lord Feavershame. I see by yours to the duke that caime this day, that you are now Master of the Ordnance; I doe not doute but you are satisfied that I am glade of itt, and I doe ashure you that I wish that you may live long to enjoye itt, and as I wish you as well as any friend you have, soe I will take the liberty to tell you that you will not be just to your familly, if you doe not now order your affairs soe as that you may, by living within yourselfe, be able in time to clear your estaites. I will say no more on this subject att present, but when we mett you must expect me to be troublesome if I find you prefer your owne living before your children's good.' He goes on to remark upon the escape of Argyle from prison, and ends his letter: 'I am your affectionate kinsman and faithful frend and sarvant—J. CHURCHILL.'†

These two friends helped one another upon all occasions, and when at the Revolution Dartmouth fell into disgrace, Marlborough did all he could to procure his pardon and release from the Tower.

Charles again dissolved Parliament in January, because the House of Commons had passed the Exclusion Bill, and had made demands, which if granted, would have seriously restricted the royal authority. Another Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford. He avoided London because

* Eldest son of Colonel William Legge, an Irish adventurer and soldier of fortune, who was a loyal and faithful servant to Charles I. George Legge was born about 1647, was Groom of the Bedchamber and afterwards Master of the Horse to James, Duke of York; Master of the Ordnance in 1678, and created Baron Dartmouth in 1682.

† Historical MSS.: Lord Dartmouth's Papers, p. 55.

of its strong Protestant feeling, and dreading the support it would probably give the House of Commons should that House resolve to sit on and do the nation's business whether he liked it or not.* This change of venue increased the angry feeling, already general in the country, against Charles. There were many overt signs of discontent in the city, and the people showed their feelings by the enthusiasm with which they everywhere greeted Monmouth. James realized that he could have no chance of sympathy from any Parliament whilst popular sentiment was so strongly against him. He therefore sent Churchill on a secret mission to the King in January, charging him to let no one know the object of his journey. His instructions were that he was to see the King in private, and to entreat him not to assemble another Parliament whilst the public mind remained so agitated. He was to impress upon him that if he followed this advice it would show the world that he meant to be King in deed as well as in name. Churchill was also to persuade Charles to ally himself still more closely with Lewis XIV., as the only means by which he could maintain himself without the aid of Parliament. James added, that 'matters were come to such a head, that the monarchy must either be more absolute or quite abolished.' Above all things, Churchill was to urge the King to allow James to return to Court, if only for a few days. If not allowed to live in London, it was suggested that Audley End would be a suitable place of residence for him, being secluded in the country. The King's wishes would, however, be his law in this, as in all other matters. Churchill also carried a letter from the Duchess of York to Charles, in which she pressed upon him the unsuitableness of the Northern climate to her Southern constitution. Her health had already suffered, and she begged permission to visit either Bath or Tunbridge, whose waters were then held in high repute.

* 'Où il ne craindra pas que la séance se continuera malgré lui.'—Barillon au Roi.

Churchill was personally a favourite with Charles, who liked his polished manners, his gentle demeanour and persuasive address, whilst his devotion to the interests of the Crown made him valued by both the Royal brothers. The fact that he had remained a Protestant in the service of James gave him also a strong position in the country, and a claim to press his arguments upon the King. Upon reaching London, Charles accorded him an immediate interview, and he also visited the French Ambassador to deliver James's message as to his position in Scotland and the support he had secured there. Cross-examined by Barillon, Churchill frankly admitted that he did not think James could hold his own in that country without the open goodwill and help of his brother the King. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that it was the sound common-sense of Churchill, and his natural caution at this juncture, that saved James from being taken in by the wiles of Lewis, who was most anxious, by fomenting internal dissensions, to render England weak and powerless abroad.* Notwithstanding Churchill's persuasive powers, he was not able to change the King's resolution. Charles was unwilling to defy the country, and though he wished to serve his brother and to have him at Court, he felt bound to follow the advice of his Council on this point. He was warned, that to bring James back whilst the country was so much incensed against Catholics, would be to incur the risk of civil war, and as Charles would risk anything but that, his answer was distinctly unfavourable to his brother's petition.

The elections for the new House of Commons went everywhere against the interests of the Royal brothers, and when Parliament met at Oxford it was found, that a hundred of those who had sat in the last House were again returned, and that the new members were most hostile to Roman Catholics in general, and to James in particular. All were in an angry, dogged mood, determined

* Dalrymple, vol. i., p. 276.

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to grant no supplies until the King should give his assent to the 'Exclusion Bill,' for the country was resolved that James should never wear the Crown. Shaftesbury went so far as to propose to Charles that he should proclaim Monmouth as his legitimate heir.

Charles was furious at being thus thwarted, and seven days afterwards, stalking abruptly into the House of Lords, he, without further ado, dissolved Parliament, and quitted Oxford. He felt strong enough to do this, for he had shortly before concluded a secret treaty with Lewis XIV., by which, for the term of three years, he was to receive a large subsidy that would render him, for the time at least, independent of his detested Parliament. The country was dumfounded at this proceeding, for this was the fourth Parliament that Charles had dissolved in anger within the space of two years. It was the last Parliament of his reign, and he resolved to rule henceforth without one. Civil war seemed imminent, and James looked forward to it with complacency, for by no other means, as it seemed to him, was there any chance of his succession being secured, or of the royal authority being re-established.*

It may be truly said that all the difficulties at this time between Charles and his Parliament had their origin in his brother's change of religion: but James began to suspect the King's good faith, and his mind was kept on the rack by every favour shown to his handsome and popular nephew, and by every fresh move of his wily Dutch son-in-law, in whom he also foresaw a rival for the Crown. The possibility of being able to raise the standard of rebellion in either Scotland or Ireland had been for some time contemplated by James, and, as might be expected, Barillon was ordered to assure him of French support should he succeed in accomplishing his desires.† But whilst Lewis

* Barillon to Lewis, 19, 8, 1680; Dalrymple, vol. i., p. 343; Hallam's 'Constitutional History of England,' vol. ii., p. 482.

† Barillon's despatches of 18th and 31st October, 1681; Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 331.

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thus secretly promised him supplies, he took care to encourage Monmouth also with hopes of French assistance, and at the same time, paid large sums to secure the goodwill of the party which, thoroughly disgusted with monarchy under the Stewart dynasty, longed for the re-establishment of a republic in any form.

When the Princess Isabella died in London, her father [†] 3, 1680-81. pressed the King to allow his only other unmarried daughter, the Princess Anne, to join him at Edinburgh. This request was granted, and Anne set out for Scotland, leaving her [‡] 7, 1681. friend Mrs. Churchill in London for her second confinement, an event which took place six days after Anne's departure. The child was christened Henrietta; its kins- [‡] 7, 1681. man, Sir John Churchill, then Master of the Rolls, was godfather, and the godmothers were Sarah's mother, Mrs. Jennings, and Churchill's sister, Mrs. Arabella Godfrey.*

Churchill now spent much of his time in missions between James and the King. He was in London in May and June, and again in August for a short time, and was doubtless willing enough to undertake these journeys as long as his wife remained in England. But as soon as she was well enough to travel, she started to join him at Edinburgh. While expecting her arrival, he wrote to her [‡] 8, 1681. as follows:

'I would not omit writing, although I am confident you [†] 9, 1681. must be come away before these can get [to] London. If you are not, pray then let some coffee be bought for Colonel Worden. I do not doubt but you will bring wax-lights, and all such things as you cannot get here. I am impatient to have you with me, so that if I should be so unhappy as that you are still at London, do not lose a minute in coming away to him that loves you above his own soul.'†

Soon after this letter was written, Mrs. Churchill resumed her duties in the Duchess of York's household at Edinburgh, her husband having gone as far as Berwick to meet her.

* Blenheim Palace Papers; also Sarah's Bible, now at Althorp.

† Blenheim Palace Papers.

Much to the annoyance of the two Royal brothers, Prince William of Orange visited England in June, and did his utmost to induce Charles to throw James over and to show his sympathy with the popular cause by assembling Parliament. In this advice William was an interested party, for he knew that his wife, the Princess Royal, would succeed at the King's death, if James were excluded by Act of Parliament; and he further knew that this was the avowed policy of the Protestant faction. He clearly saw the direction towards which the spirit of the age was tending, and deep in his subtle soul lay the determination to avail himself of every opportunity which this tendency afforded him. He had already begun to form a party in England and to curry favour with the leaders of those opposed to the Court, especially with Lord Russell. Gaining confidence as he proceeded, he even went so far as to dine with the Corporation of London in direct opposition to the King's wishes, and though he was well aware that both Charles and James clearly discerned his aims and deeply resented his conduct.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHURCHILL WRECKED IN H.M.S. 'GLOUCESTER.'

Charles settles a large pension on the Duchess of Portsmouth, and sends for James—James and Churchill wrecked when returning to Scotland—James and his Household return to England.

EARLY in 1681-82 Charles became anxious to secure a permanent pension for his French mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and for their illegitimate son, the first Duke of Richmond. He wished to settle five thousand a year upon her, and the crafty 'Miss, as they call these unhappy creatures,' wished the income secured upon the Post-office revenues.* But the whole of that revenue had been assigned to the Duke of York for his life, and the proposed arrangement could therefore only be effected with his consent, which was not easy to obtain, as James hated the pretty Frenchwoman for the favour she extended to Monmouth. To effect a settlement of this matter the King sent for James, who, leaving his family in Edinburgh, forthwith embarked at Leith, and accompanied by Churchill and Lord Peterborough, landed at Yarmouth, and immediately joined the King at Newmarket. From there Churchill wrote the following letter to his wife; the Henrietta mentioned in it was their second child, whom he had not yet seen: 'I have received yours by Hopton, which is the only letter I have had. I did in my last send you a letter from the child, and I did yesterday receive another from thence, which I do not send you, there being nothing in it but that

* Evelyn's Diary.

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she is very well. The beginning of next week I shall be there myself, so that by Tuesday's post you shall know how I like her. Everybody seems to be very kind to the Duke, so that we are in great hopes that your stay will not be very long in Scotland. I do assure you I do with all my soul wish you here, or myself with you, for I find absence from you is what I cannot bear but with great trouble. I will say no more but assure you that you are as dear to me as ever you were in your life. My service to Colonel Worden. By the next post I will write to him.' Addressed: 'For Mrs. Churchill, at Edinburgh, in Scotland.*

There was no little difficulty in effecting the settlement of 'Madam Carwell's' pension, for James felt he had now something to barter in exchange for permission to re-establish himself at Court, and he therefore made the most of what he was asked to surrender. Only Hyde and Churchill were taken into the secret, and of course the latter worked exclusively in his master's interests. The bargain was, however, eventually struck, James consenting, or professing to consent, to the proposed arrangement, and the King allowing him to return and live in England.

Thenceforward, until the death of Charles, no post was filled nor was any important measure adopted without the knowledge and advice of James, who used all his influence in the cause of despotism, and to make English interests on every point subservient to those of France.

The King was anxious that the expected confinement of the Duchess of York should take place in England, and James was only too glad to go back to Edinburgh to bring her to London. He embarked at Margate with Churchill, Legge and Mr. Griffin as his gentlemen-in-waiting, in the *Gloucester* frigate, which, in company with a small squadron, got under weigh by noon.† Sir John Berry commanded the

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

† This Mr. Edward Griffin was a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, and was to his death a stanch Jacobite. James created him Baron Griffin of Braybrook when with his army at Salisbury in 1688. He

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Gloucester, and Captain Ayres was the pilot. There were about three hundred souls on board, for the Duke of York's party was a large one. Pepys, who has left a good account of the voyage, sailed with the squadron in an Admiralty yacht.

The weather was what sailors call dirty, so they anchored in the evening, but were again under weigh early the next morning. The pace was slow, and it was not until noon on Friday that the landmark of Dunwich Steeple on the Suffolk coast was sighted. During that night, or rather early on Saturday morning, the *Gloucester* grounded on the west point of the dangerous sand-bank known as 'The Lemon and Ore,' about sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber. To the consternation of her passengers, she bumped violently along the bank for some time, and broke her rudder, killing the man at the helm. James and his party were asleep when she struck, and by the time they had dressed there were some seven feet of water in her, and the sea was already breaking in through the gun-ports. The discipline on board was apparently bad, and the confusion was consequently great, each and all thinking only of their own safety. Through Legge's care a small boat was manned and brought round to James's cabin, from the window of which he stepped into it. This was done to prevent the crowd at the usual gangway from thronging in also. He took with him the Earls of Winton, Perth, and Middleton, the President of the Sessions, some of his pet priests, and Churchill, who was the last to enter the boat.* A few others flung themselves into her regardless of threats, and had it not been for Churchill, who, with his sword drawn, kept back the crowd, the boat must inevitably have been swamped. The Duke of York's party reached the

kissed William's hand after the Revolution, but was mixed up in all the plots against him. For these conspiracies he was sent to the Tower, where he died in 1710. The squadron consisted of the *Dartmouth*, *Ruby*, *Happy Return*, *Pearl*, and the yacht *Mary*.

* 'Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals,' etc., 1713.

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yacht *Mary* in safety, but several men of distinction were drowned in the *Gloucester*, besides some 130 sailors and many of James's servants.* The Captain, who stayed by the ship to the last, finally escaped by a rope over the stern into a boat. He was tried, and honourably acquitted of all blame.†

Sunday,
7 5, 1682.

The Duke of York and his sadly diminished party landed at Leith the following evening. Writing to Lord Treasurer Hyde a couple of days afterwards, James says, that he has not time to describe the wreck by the 'flying packet,' but that he has 'charged Churchill to do it.‡' On the following Friday, James, with his family and little Court, embarked in the *Happy Return*, and after a long voyage anchored in the Thames. He at once proceeded to St. James's Palace, where he continued to live until his accession to the throne.

1 5, 1682.

Whilst in Scotland, Churchill had exercised a most beneficial influence over James, and had been the means of saving 'from ruin and destruction' many persons 'whose scruples of conscience had rendered them obnoxious to the laws then in force and severely administered by the Episcopal party.'§ Upon his return to England, he carefully abstained from taking any share in the violent measures inaugurated by the Royal brothers, and was very chary of expressing opinions or of offering them advice.

* Hyde, James's brother-in-law, the Earl of Roxborough, Lord O'Brien, the Laird of Hopetoun, and Sir Joseph Douglas were amongst those who perished. Pepys, who was close by the *Gloucester* when she sunk, gives a good account of the whole affair. Sir John Scarborough, the Court doctor, was on board when she went down.

† His father was a loyal clergyman who had been deprived of his living by the rebel party in the Civil Wars. Sir John, who had been in the merchant service, had entered the navy as boatswain to the *Swallow* ketch in the West Indies in 1663. He was every inch a sailor, and died an Admiral. He lies in Stepney Church, where there is a monument to his memory.

‡ 'Clarendon Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 57.

§ 'The Lives of Two Illustrious Generals,' London, 1713.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ANNE'S MARRIAGE. — PRINCE GEORGE'S CHARACTER. — MRS. MORLEY AND MRS. FREEMAN. — CHURCHILL RAISED TO THE PEERAGE.

Great friendship grown up between the Princess Anne and Sarah—Anne and her disposition—Her first suitor—Sarah made Bedchamber Woman.

At the beginning of the year it was rumoured that Churchill was to be made Secretary of State. The report was apparently based only on the fact that he had lately taken lessons in writing, which at least proves that he was conscious of his defects, and determined to rectify them as far as possible. When the rumour reached the King's ears, he said laughingly he was determined not to have two idle Secretaries.*

CHAPTER
XXXIII.
1683.

February,
1683.

Charles was fond of tennis, and played frequently with Churchill, Godolphin, or Lord Feversham, all excellent players, so 'that if one beat the other, 'tis alternately.'†

In May Churchill accompanied the Duke and Duchess of York, the Princess Anne, and a large suite to Oxford, where they were sumptuously entertained. The University proposed to confer the honorary degree of D.C.L. upon James and upon several members of his Household; Churchill was amongst those selected, but being unable to attend on the appointed day, he missed that distinction.‡

* Historical MSS.: Appendix to Seventh Report, p. 363.

† Lady Chaworth to her brother, the Earl of Rutland, 1^o 11, 1683. Historical MSS., Twelfth Report, vol. ii., p. 81.

‡ This information has been kindly supplied by the Librarian of the Bodleian Library.

During the early years of her married life, Mrs. Churchill was much thrown into the society of the Princess Anne, and their old intimacy, thus renewed, soon ripened into that strange friendship which, years afterwards, exercised so great an influence over both their lives, and over the destinies not only of England, but of Europe. The lady whom Sarah supplanted in Anne's warm heart was Mrs. Cicely Cornwallis—a kinswoman of the Hydes, and a Roman Catholic, so it is not difficult to account for this transfer of the Princess's affections.* Anne was now eighteen years of age, and, although she had had the small-pox in 1677, she was fair, of middle height, comely and graceful, with a good figure, good hands, rather high colour, regular features, and dark-brown hair. She possessed that great charm in a woman—a sweet, musical voice, with a clear and distinct utterance. She inherited her mother's genial disposition, and was charitable, and entirely devoid of ambition. She was shy and silent, and her ability, like her conversational power, was poor. Her education had been much neglected, though her memory was good. She shared her father's love of hunting, and took a great interest in 'dress.' But she had neither taste nor culture, and was capricious and vehement in her likes and dislikes. Though fond of flattery, she was kind, considerate, and courteous to all about her of every degree. Obstinate, as small-minded people usually are, she was like most of the Stewarts, idle and indolent, and always anxious to postpone the consideration of tiresome and difficult subjects. She was extravagant and fond of cards, at which she spent much of her time, and lost heavily. Those who were jealous of the Churchills insinuated that most of what she lost, found its way into the pocket of her favourite Sarah. In any case it is certain that her indulgent father

* Lord Dartmouth's notes to Burnet, vol. ii., p. 89; Strickland, vol. v., p. 398. Mrs. Cornwallis afterwards became Lady Superior of the Benedictine Convent at Hammersmith, then under the protection of Queen Catherine.

paid her debts more than once. All through life she was a staunch upholder of the Church of England, which she failed to see had become a political organization as much as a sacred institution intended for the spiritual benefit of the people. 'The Church's wet-nurse, Goody Anne,'* was a sincerely religious woman. She strongly opposed the appointment of any but devout and devoted clergymen to the Episcopate. As Queen, she would never consent to make Swift a Bishop, though pressed to do so by Harley and St. John, who owed him so much. The people clung to her and to her sister Mary with deep affection as Protestants who might yet save them from their Roman Catholic father.

Her first suitor, Prince George of Hanover, had been recalled from England by an ambitious father, who wished him to marry a more richly endowed princess. Anne was only fifteen then, but she never forgave the insult, and for ever afterwards entertained the strongest antipathy for her rude, ill-mannered, and uncouth little suitor, who afterwards succeeded her as King George I. When she returned to St. James's with her father in 1682, she was attracted by the attentions of Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, who wrote her verses and love-letters. The King, upon hearing of this, immediately sent him to Tangier, and although the Princess was married soon afterwards to a husband she loved, she continued all through her after-life to take an interest in the poetical lover of her girlhood.†

Charles was at this time anxious to allay the commotion caused by his brother's open practice of Popery and his own suspected leanings towards it. He thought he could not do this more effectually than by marrying his young

* Horace Walpole thus styles her in one of his letters, vol. vii., p. 55, Cunningham's edition.

† He afterwards became Duke of Buckingham, and married Anne's illegitimate half-sister, Catherine, the curious daughter of James by Catherine Sedley, whose house has now been converted into Buckingham Palace.

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niece to a Protestant prince. The marriage of Mary to William of Orange, although it was in opposition to her father's wishes, had been most popular, and the King now thought of a Protestant husband for the Princess Anne. His choice fell upon Prince George, the youngest son of Frederick III. of Denmark, and the brother of the reigning King, Christian V.* Prince George of Denmark was just thirty, very tall, with light hair and fair complexion, and on the whole, good-looking, although somewhat marked with small-pox, and inclined to be fat. In disposition he was good-natured; he had a mild, gentle temper, but he was lazy, apathetic, dull of intellect, hated business, and was too fond of the bottle.† Charles said of him: 'I've tried him drunk, and I've tried him sober, but there's nothing in him.' In fact, he was a heavy, shallow fellow, who was no companion for either man or woman. He spoke French indifferently, and English not at all, but he had fought valiantly at the Battle of Landen, where he saved his brother from being taken prisoner. William of Orange was furious when he heard of this proposed marriage. He did all in his power to prevent it, and seems never to have forgiven the bridegroom, whom he hated ever afterwards.

The arrangements for the wedding were soon completed, and Churchill was ordered to Denmark to conduct the Prince in state to his new home. The royal yachts anchored at Gluckstadt, near the mouth of the Elbe, where the bridegroom-elect embarked. During his stay in Holstein, Churchill took part in several councils of war which Christian V. held to consider the disturbed state of the Continent near the Danish frontier, and upon taking leave, the King presented him with a sword set with diamonds and a ring worth five or six hundred pounds.‡ After a

* Christian V. died 4, 9, 1699.

† Evelyn.

‡ The Danish army was then said to consist of from twenty to twenty-five thousand very good troops. Historical MSS., Appendix to Seventh Report, p. 365.

1683.

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somewhat stormy passage, Prince George reached London, bringing with him Charles, Colonel Churchill's younger brother, who had accompanied the Prince in his previous visit to England in 1679. Ten years before that visit he had entered King Christian's household as a page.

The marriage took place in St. James's Chapel, at 2½-7, 1683. 10 o'clock p.m. on St. Anne's Day, and was celebrated with great pomp and festivities. The King settled £20,000 a year on the bride, and purchased the 'Cockpit' for her as a residence.* That old house stood on the site now occupied by the Treasury Offices in Downing Street, and opened into St. James's Park. Oliver Cromwell had lived there for some time, and not long before the Restoration Parliament had presented it to General Monk for his life.†

Before her marriage, when the establishment of her household was under discussion, she begged her father to make Sarah Churchill one of her Bedchamber Ladies. He consented, although there is reason to believe that his brother-in-law, Lord Rochester—who, with all his family, hated the Churchills—endeavoured to persuade him not to accede to this request. The result was communicated to Sarah by the Princess in the following note:

'The Duke has just come in as you were gone, and made no difficulties, but has promised me that I shall have you, which I assure you is a great joy to me: I should say a great deal for your kindness in offering it, but I am not good at compliments.'

From this it is evident that Sarah had herself in the first instance proposed the arrangement.

The salary attached to this position was only £200 per annum, but at that time even this small addition to their

* When James became King he increased her allowance to £30,000 a year, a sum larger than the income of the richest English noble of that time. The total revenue of England was then only about two and a half millions sterling per annum.

† It had been built by Henry VIII. as a cockpit, outside the Holbein Gate, and was afterwards converted into a place for dramatic entertainments, for which purpose it was used to the time of the Civil War.

income was most acceptable. This appointment had a considerable bearing upon the Churchills' future career, for it apparently induced them to abandon finally their renewed intention of retiring from Court altogether and settling down into a country life at St. Albans.

When Lady Clarendon went with her husband to Ireland in 1685, Sarah Churchill took her place as first Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess Anne, a promotion which doubled her salary.

Anne preferred Sarah Churchill to all the other ladies of her household, who, it must be admitted, were very uninteresting. She had long entertained a particular dislike for Lady Clarendon, whom Sarah describes as one who 'looked like a madwoman and talked like a scholar';* and Sarah herself both hated and feared the whole Clarendon family.

In recognition of his consent to Anne's marriage, James was now once more appointed Lord High Admiral and a Privy Councillor. He took Anne with him to Portsmouth when he went to inspect the fleet, and on their return journey they stayed at the Palace of Winchester, where Anne wrote the following letters to her beloved Lady Churchill: 'Winchester, September 20.—I writ to you last Wednesday from on board the yacht, and left my letter on Thursday morning at Portsmouth to go by the post, to be as good as my word in writing to my dear Lady Churchill by the first opportunity. I was in so great haste when I writ, that I fear what I said was nonsense, but I hope you will have so much kindness for me as to forgive it. If you will not let me have the satisfaction of hearing from you again before I see you, let me beg of you not to call me "your Highness" at every word, but be as free with me as one friend ought to be with another. And you can never give me any greater proof of your friendship than in telling me your mind freely in all things, which I do beg you to do; and if it were in my power to serve you nobody would be

* 'The Conduct.'

more ready than myself. I am all impatience for Wednesday; till when, farewell.'

A little later on Anne arranged that in future they should address one another under feigned names, so that all difference of rank might be suppressed in their correspondence. Sarah writes: 'She grew uneasy to be treated by me with the form and ceremony due to her rank: nor could she bear from me the sound of words which implied in them distance and superiority. It was this turn of mind which made her one day propose to me that whenever I should happen to be absent from her we might in all our letters write ourselves by feigned names, such as would import nothing of distinction of rank between us. Morley and Freeman were the names her fancy hit upon; and she left me to choose by which of them I would be called. My frank, open temper naturally led me to pitch upon Freeman, and so the Princess took the other; and from this time Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman began to converse as equals, made so by affection and friendship.'*

In course of time Anne grew to think that she could not live without the society of her dearly loved companion, who, unknown to her, had already obtained complete dominion over her mind. The very obstinacy of Anne's character rendered her more completely subservient to whomsoever happened at the moment to be her favourite, while at the same time she became less liable to fall under the influence of others. At this early period of their friendship Sarah could not have been influenced by any hope that the Princess Anne might become Queen; and, besides, the insatiable ambition with which she is so commonly charged had certainly no existence in the early days of her married life. She may have been able to perceive in her husband many of those qualities which lead to success, but as yet she could have had no expectation of the greatness in store for him.

Her extreme frankness seems to have been her greatest

* 'The Conduct,' p. 14.

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charm in the eyes of Anne, who, above all things, craved for the close intimacy of a true friend. Anne was one of those women who cannot stand alone. Like ivy, she required something strong to cling to, and the force of will possessed by Sarah marked her out as the friend and companion she needed. She had many friends amongst the Ministers and courtiers by whom she was habitually surrounded; but the reasoning of a clever man who tried persuasion could exercise no influence over her, though to the personal control of the woman upon whom she leaned for the time being, her warm and emotional heart was always open. But if that woman was to maintain her influence she must never leave her, and it was here that Sarah Churchill made her great mistake. Shrewd as she was in most things, she did not perceive this peculiarity of temperament in the mistress whom she first led gently and subsequently bullied, and she foolishly allowed another, who never left the Queen for a day, to usurp the power over her which had once been exclusively her own. Sarah's children and her domestic duties made frequent calls upon her time, and often required her to be long away from Court. Had she remained there constantly, not all the waiting women in England, or even any display of temper on her part, could have destroyed the paramount influence she so long exercised over the Queen. Sarah herself described Anne's friendship as the flame of an extravagant passion that extinguished itself either in indifference or aversion.

The contrast between the characters of the Queen and Sarah doubtless contributed to cement their friendship and lend it an intensity rare indeed in the intimacy of women. But there was no real equality in their partnership. Anne might imagine that she had placed their social relations upon a level, but she could not make herself the intellectual match of her lady-in-waiting. Although Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman might converse and correspond with all the familiarity of social equals, Sarah's strong will and force of

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character gave her complete mastery over the mediocre intelligence of the Princess whom she served. Anne enjoyed this feeling of dependence; she allowed herself to be not only led, but governed, and even kissed the hand that ruled her. In their earliest intimacy, when they played together as children of six and eleven years old respectively, it was not so much the difference of age that gave Sarah sway over her young companion—although a difference of five years means much in the nursery and schoolroom—it was the quick decision and energy of the elder which enabled her to exert such unquestioned authority over the dull-witted Princess. Sarah tells us how from the first Anne had singled her out as the favourite companion of her infancy. The bluntness of Sarah, who prided herself that she never flattered either man or woman, seems to have acted like magic upon the weakness of Anne's character. The Princess required a ruler, and she found one for the time in her beloved Sarah Churchill.

Restored once more to his former offices under the Crown and to his Royal brother's favour, James wished to reward the skilful negotiator who had largely contributed to bring about this happy change in his position. He knew from the King how strenuously Churchill had ever pleaded his cause, and that he had done so without boring that easily-wearied voluptuary. James pressed to have him made a peer, and Charles consented—the more readily that he liked him personally, and appreciated his diplomatic skill and tactful address. Churchill was accordingly § 12, 1683. created Baron Aymouth in the kingdom of Scotland, and as a further reward he was given command of the Third Troop of Horse Guards.

Whilst the Princess Anne and her dear Mrs. Freeman were at Tunbridge, Churchill sent the following letter to his wife. It was written from his house at St. Albans, where Sarah had left their children, and illustrates the domestic side of his character, which we are too apt to overlook:

'Friday.—I received yesterday a letter which I did not expect, for I did not think that you would have complained this time of my want of writing, for I have not failed one day since I came. My Lady Sunderland's housekeeper by her lady's order brought a bottle of [illegible] for the children to drink, but I think it is too hot for their stomachs, so that I keep it for my own drinking, unless you send me word that they may drink it. You cannot imagine how I am pleased with the children, for they having nobody but their maid, they are so fond of me that when I am at home they will be always with me, and kissing and hugging me. Their heats are quite gone, so that against you come home they will be in beauty. If there be room I will come on Monday, so that you need not write on Sunday. Miss is pulling me by the arm that she may write to her dear mama, so that I will say no more, only beg that you will love me always so well as I love you, and then we cannot but be happy. [The following words apparently written by a child, its hand being guided.] I kiss your hands, my dear mama. Harriot.—Addressed: 'For my Lady Churchill, at the Princess's at Tunbridge.'

Charles now governed without a Parliament, and, having deprived London and the other cities of their charters, he was master of the position. Thenceforward he virtually appointed the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the municipal authorities in all the large towns of the kingdom, and being able to pack the juries in trials where the Crown or its authority was concerned, he could ensure the conviction of all whom he wished to punish. Herein he was greatly assisted by unworthy judges, who, being dependent upon his goodwill, were but too ready to do his bidding. In fact, the Crown, which brooked no opposition, seemed for the time to have crushed the spirit of the people, while the cruel violation of their liberties drove many of England's noblest sons to conspire against the Royal brothers. In this eventful year, Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, and some other leading men died at the hands

of the executioner for their complicity in what is commonly known as the Rye House Plot. Lord Essex also, whilst a prisoner in the Tower, died under what were considered suspicious circumstances. The King and the Duke of York were actually in the Tower at the time, having gone there to visit that ancient royal fortress and palace.*

Throughout this year, whilst James was inciting the King to despotic measures, William was untiring in urging him to call Parliament together, knowing that the final exclusion of James from the succession would be one of its first measures. It was not love for England or liberty that prompted this advice, but rather anxiety to see his wife declared heir to the Crown, for William, like most men of the time, was a self-seeker.

* It was publicly announced that Essex had committed suicide, but it was generally thought he had been murdered.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DEATH OF KING CHARLES, AND SUCCESSION OF JAMES II.

James's speech in Council well received—His determination to have his own way—Wants money—Sends Churchill to Paris on a mission to Lewis—Coronation of James—Churchill made an English Peer—James attends Mass openly—Churchill's house at St. Alban's—Is made Governour of the Hudson Bay Company.

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ON Friday, the festival of St. Anne, 1685, died the witty and worthless Charles II. His stupid brother, equally ignoble and far less amiable and agreeable as a companion, succeeded him as James II. Some years before one of the ablest and most upright of contemporary Englishmen had predicted that his accession would mean the end of the world.*

The exertions of Shaftesbury and the party led by him before his imprisonment had been all in vain. In spite of the most earnest efforts, they had failed to accomplish the exclusion of James from the throne, either by law or by force. The baffled and embarrassed exclusionists now flocked to Whitehall, and endeavoured by obsequiousness to make the new King forget their former hostility. Their reception was not cordial, and they were made to feel that the King would not forget their behaviour to the Duke of York.

It is difficult to say what were the real feelings of the nation at the King's death. The dread of having a Roman Catholic King was so great that even those who denounced

* Sir William Temple.

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Charles for his private immorality and public crimes received the news with sorrow and dismay.

James's speech to his council on the afternoon of his brother's death was a solemn lie, inasmuch as he promised to stand by the liberties of his people and to protect their established religion. But the impression it made everywhere was good. Who would doubt the word of an English King?—'which' (with all reverence be it spoken) 'is as sacred as my text,' said Dr. Sharp in his sermon upon the occasion.*

His subserviency to the priests was so well known abroad that the Spanish Ambassador at his first audience warned him to beware of them as counsellors in matters of State. James, in a fury, asked him 'if in Spain men sought advice from their confessors.' 'Yes, we do,' was the reply, 'and that is why our affairs go so ill.'† The Ambassador went on to advise moderation, but James answered: 'I will lose all or win all,' and that resolve cost him his crown. Charles was wiser, for when on his death-bed he gave James the key of his strong-box, he warned him 'not to think of introducing the Romish faith into England, it being a thing that was most dangerous and impracticable.'‡

For a time James thought it advisable to retain his brother's Ministers in office, but as all of them, with the exception of Rochester, had been more or less hostile to his succession, it was not long before changes were announced. The two objects he was determined to accomplish were bound, sooner or later, to bring him into collision with his people: the first was to re-establish the Romish faith, and the second to rule absolutely without a Parliament. He was cunning enough to avoid frightening his Protestant Ministers at first. Except Halifax, none of them had anything to urge against his ruling despotically, and he felt that if he were allowed to rule England without a Parliament, he would soon

* Caldmay's 'Autobiography.'

† Harris's 'William III.,' vol. i., p. 171.

‡ Sir G. Rose's 'Commentaries on Fox,' a note to page 88.

achieve the other object, which was the paramount aim of his life.* But the Ministers, one and all, insisted that Parliament should be called together, and, much as he hated the idea, he felt bound to comply. At the same time he sent for the French Ambassador, and begged him to explain to his master that this compliance meant no hostility to France. He had been compelled to it, he said, because certain revenues granted by the House of Commons had lapsed at the King's death, and could only be reimposed by a similar authority. He took occasion to assure Barillon that he would always look to Lewis for advice in every matter of importance, and would never cease to act in his interests.

James was in sore want of money, but even he felt shy in asking for it personally. To beg through a third party was, however, less unpleasant, so his brother-in-law, Rochester, was told to inform the French Ambassador that unless Lewis supplied him with funds he would be at the mercy of his Parliament. Barillon was aware that all English Parliaments, whether Whig or Tory, High or Low Church, were opposed to France and in favour of Holland. It was, therefore, to the interest of Lewis XIV. that the King of England should be as far as possible independent of his Parliament, and dependent upon French gold. During the long years in which Charles continued to be a pensioner of the King of France many secret treaties were made between the two Sovereigns. James knew them well, and he knew also that Charles had sold England's goodwill for money, and that Lewis had bought it to secure himself a free hand in his designs upon Holland and in his dealings with William.† For some time before the death of

* It was James who had persuaded Charles to make Sir George Savile Viscount Halifax after the first Dutch war. He subsequently threw himself entirely into the popular party with Shaftesbury, and was accordingly hated by James. He and his brother were great friends of John Churchill. He was one of those who went bail for Marlborough when sent to the Tower in 1692.

† Mackintosh, p. 336.

Charles II. the French King had become somewhat remiss in his payments, but upon this important occasion he hastened to send James a dole of £20,000.* It was very acceptable, though by no means as much as was expected. James, however, thought it politic to express his gratitude in tearful thanks to the French Ambassador, but he hinted at the same time that the amount was not large enough, and Barillon so informed his master. To thank Lewis personally for this welcome present, James sent Churchill to Paris, his ostensible mission being to notify officially to the French Court the death of Charles and the accession of James.† The French Ambassador informed his master that Churchill was selected for this duty because he was in possession of all particulars bearing upon the secret understanding between the two Courts, and because he was so highly esteemed by James. He could therefore, he said, better explain many particulars by word of mouth than could be done by letter. Barillon ended by warning his master that the Envoy had been told to ask for considerable help in money. But, as a matter of fact, Churchill's orders were partly cancelled before his departure, and James desired that money should not be directly asked for.

Lord Churchill was received and lodged at Versailles with all the honour due to an 'Envoy Extraordinary from his Majesty of Great Britain.'‡ He had audience of the 'most Christian King,' and was attended by most of the English gentlemen in Paris, clad in the deepest mourning.§ He was officially received by the Dauphin, and by the Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Orleans.|| Three days

* The exact sum was 500,000 livres, which is about the equivalent of £20,000.

† Barillon to Lewis, 1st 2, 1685 and 26, 2, 1685. See Fox's 'James II.'

‡ In a letter from R. Tempest, dated Paris, 1st 3, 1685, it is stated that, 'Milor Schurchil a este bien regale ici de plusieurs seigneurs de la Cour.' F. O. Papers, Rolls Office, France, No. 307 of 1685.

§ F. O. Papers of 1685, bundle 307 in Rolls Office.

|| *London Gazette*.

afterwards he formally took leave of these august personages, and quitting Paris, set out for England with a letter to his master, in which Lewis thus referred to him: 'As I cannot doubt you will give to his report the same credence that I have given to what he communicated to me from you, I refer you to him for the rest, and particularly for the confidence which you may place in my friendship.'*

Churchill was directed by James to observe every ceremony used at his official reception, as it was his intention to receive the French Ambassador in England with exactly similar formality. This plan was punctiliously carried out upon the arrival of Marshal de Lorge, who came to England in the same yacht with Churchill to congratulate James upon his accession.† Referring to James's proceedings at this period, the French King said that, notwithstanding all the fine things given out in his name, 'he was as willing to take French gold as his brother had been.'

It was upon this occasion that Churchill, in a conversation with Lord Galway upon James's attitude towards the Church of Rome, said: 'If the King should attempt to change our religion I will instantly quit his service.'‡ In this notable and solemn declaration is to be found the keynote of all his subsequent conduct to James II., and of his action at the Revolution.

As Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Churchill assisted at James's coronation. The ceremony took place on St. George's Day with great pomp; but when the crown was placed on the King's head it tottered and nearly tumbled off, to the dismay of the Queen and other superstitious persons present.§ Amongst the many ill-omens which are

* Translation given by Coxe from the original in the Mallet Papers.

† Lediard, vol. i., p. 36; F. O. Papers in Rolls Court, France, No. 307 of 1685.

‡ Burnet, vol. iii., p. 216.

§ In the *London Gazette* the following advertisement appeared immediately after the Coronation: 'Lost, at their Majesties Coronation, the button of his Majesty's Sceptre set about with twenty-four small diamonds, three rubies and three emeralds; a pendant pearl from his Majesty's Crown,' etc.—*London Gazette*, No. 2,030.

said to have marked the day's proceedings, it was discovered that the wind had rent the flag on the White Tower when it was hoisted to announce that James had been crowned.*

In the following month, to reward Churchill for all his faithful services, James made him an English peer. Introduced to the House of Peers by Lords Maynard and Butler of Weston, he took his seat as Baron Churchill of Sandridge, in the county of Herts. Sir Winston Churchill was at the same time appointed Deputy-Lieutenant for Dorsetshire.

James having mounted the throne without open opposition from any quarter, now thought himself strong enough to throw off the mask in the matter of his religion. The celebration of the Mass was forbidden by law, yet the very Sunday after his accession he attended Mass in state. He now addressed himself to the abrogation of the Test Act. The steps which he took with this object are described in a subsequent chapter.

James's first, and indeed his only, Parliament met in May. It was loyal and profoundly obsequious, for he had taken every precaution to have it packed with his friends, including four of the Churchill family—Sir Winston and his son George, Sir John, and William Churchill. The King's speech from the throne was dictatorial, and almost threatening in tone, though he assured his hearers that he possessed 'a true English heart.' The nationality of his heart apparently varied according to the audience whose local pride he wished to flatter. Barillon, a month later, reports to his master that James had said to him: 'He had eaten King Lewis's bread, that he had been brought up in France, and that his heart was French.' Charles II. used to read his speech; this was an innovation on an old custom, but he excused himself by saying that he could not

* Dr. Geo. Hicks, in a letter to Dr. Charlett, dated 23.1.1719. The canopy carried over the King's head broke, and his son by his mistress Sedley died that day.

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look in the face those from whom he had so frequently to beg large sums of money. James had no such qualms, and he now openly demanded to have settled on him for life the revenues that his brother had enjoyed, and he concluded by informing Parliament that the Duke of Argyle had landed in the Highlands with an armed following.

The House of Commons, though it would not tolerate rebellion, hesitated to make a settlement for life upon a Roman Catholic Sovereign. But in the end its servility overcame its caution, and the demand was granted without conditions. It was unanimously voted that the House relied with confidence on the King's royal word to rule by law, and to support the Church of England, for, they said, the Protestant religion was dearer to them than their lives.

When not in attendance at Court, Lord and Lady Churchill now passed their time in Holywell House, their newly-built home at St. Albans.* Here Churchill thoroughly enjoyed a domestic country life, and found unqualified pleasure in his wife's society and in the companionship of his children, with whom he dearly loved to romp and play. Like a good country gentleman, he began to take a useful part in local business, especially in the municipal affairs of St. Albans. Soon after his return from France, James, at his request, granted a new charter for that ancient town, and Lord Churchill was appointed High Steward in room of Sir Harbottle Grimston.† In the Corporation Minute Book Churchill's name is signed to the 'Declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant'—an oath that all who accepted office were obliged to take in accordance with an Act of Parliament passed soon after the Restora-

§ 3, 1685.

* This new house was rated in the Corporation books at £50, the highest rated house in the parish. He paid £11 5s. per annum as rates for it.—A. E. Gibbs, Esq.

† The Corporation Records of St. Albans. The fee of this office was one 'broad gold piece, worth £1 8s. 6d.' It had at various times been held by remarkable men: the Lord High Treasurer Burghley, Lord Ellesmere, when Lord Chancellor, the great Sir Francis Bacon, William, Earl of Salisbury, etc.

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tion. Through Lord Churchill's interest his sailor brother George was returned as member for the town, and retained the seat until 1708.

Churchill had always been in the habit of speculating in shares, and generally with considerable success. He at this time had 'an adventure'—or, as we should now say, bought £1,200 worth of shares in the Hudson's Bay Trading Company, which had been incorporated by royal charter in 1670. The company was paying from 10 to 50 per cent. per annum.* James, and later on William III., owned stock in it, and various people about the Court followed their example. Churchill's ability and great business capacity soon won for him the position of Governour of the company, in succession to Prince Rupert, who had occupied the chair since its incorporation, and, doubtless, the experience which he thus obtained was of great use to him subsequently. Those who are accustomed to the practice of war fully understand that no one can conduct a campaign or administer an army successfully who is not a thoroughly good man of business.

* Sir Donald Smith, now the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, has kindly furnished me with this information.

CHAPTER XXXV.

EARL OF ARGYLE LANDS IN SCOTLAND.—IS TAKEN AND
BEHEADED.

Monmouth in Holland, under the influence of Argyle.

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To please his brother, Charles had banished Monmouth early in the previous year. The exile took up his abode in Holland, where, in company with his mistress, Lady Wentworth, he stayed until the death of Charles in the following winter.* He was now thirty-six years of age, and, after a dissipated youth, was settling down to domestic life. Spoilt and petted by an indulgent father, he had sown his wild oats surrounded by servile courtiers. Though a man of no real worth, his genial disposition and fondness for hounds, horses, and all kinds of English sport had won for him the love and good wishes of the English people, who saw in their 'Protestant Duke' a possible King, who might save them from the Duke of York and his priests. As the Protestants outnumbered the Roman Catholics in Great Britain by about fifty to one, Monmouth was naturally regarded by James as a dangerous rival. Throughout life it was his fate to be alternately the plaything of cruel fortune, the dupe of flatterers, and the idol of dissolute

* Lady Harriet Wentworth was Baroness Nettlestead in her own right and heiress of her grandfather, the Earl of Wentworth, who died in 1667, her father having died before that year. She was also heiress to her other grandfather, the Earl of Cleveland. She died of a broken heart nine months after her lover's execution. Barillon says she had a child by Monmouth.



CHAPTER XXV.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, AND HIS FAMILY.

Monmouth in Exile. The Duke of York.

To please his brother, Charles had banished Monmouth early in the previous year. The exile took up his abode in Holland, where, in company with his mistress, Lady Wentworth, he remained until the death of Charles in the following winter. He was now thirty-six years of age, and after a wandering youth, was settling down to domestic life. He was well educated by an indulgent father, he had much wit and was surrounded by ardent courtiers. Though a Stuart, he was worth, his partial disposition and fondness for the Dutch, French, and all kinds of English sport had won him the name of good wishes of the English people, who saw in him 'Protestant Duke' a possible King, who would save them from the Duke of York and his priests: and the Catholics, who favoured the Roman Catholic in James, looked on him as a dangerous rival. Throughout life he was the cause of the alternately the plighting of great battles, the days of violence, and the idol of dissolute

* Lady Charles Wentworth was Barbara Nelthorpe in her own right and her mother's grandchild. The Earl of Wentworth, who died in 1687, her father, having died before this year. She was also her mother's grandchild, the Earl of Coward. She died of a broken heart, some months after the second marriage. Her first name she had a child by Monmouth.



*From a Miniature in the possession of
His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh.*

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*From a Miniature in the possession of
His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh.*

London: Printed by W. & A. G. Smith, 1854.

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ladies, as well as the tool of religious zealots and designing politicians. Shortly after the Restoration he and James had, it was said, both aspired to the favours of the same lady, who naturally preferred the young and fascinating nephew to the ogling, middle-aged uncle. This circumstance may have served to embitter their personal relations, but the real cause of their hostility was the fact that both aspired to the Crown.

In Holland Monmouth was thrown much into the society of the unfortunate Earl of Argyle, who had fled thither to escape the death to which he had been condemned by James in Scotland after an infamously unjust trial. Argyle, who thirsted for revenge, found himself in Holland the centre of a crowd of discontented Protestant plotters. He soon obtained complete influence over the confiding Monmouth, and it was agreed between them that if both should still be in banishment when the King died, Argyle should raise the standard of revolt in Scotland, and Monmouth should do the same in England. Accordingly, upon the unexpected death of Charles II., and the unopposed accession of James, the two conspirators determined to carry out their agreement without delay.

Argyle started for Scotland early in May, and before ²/₁₂ 5, 1685. setting out extracted a promise from Monmouth that he would sail for England in a few days to carry out his share in the plot. But Monmouth was not in a position to do this, for he wanted everything requisite for a serious enterprise. He had neither arms, military stores, ships, nor money wherewith to buy them. Had it not been for his promise, he would certainly have postponed the attempt, as his friends in England had not as yet been made fully aware of his plans, nor were any adequate preparations for a rising completed.

Argyle's following was small, and the chiefs who did rally to his standard soon quarrelled amongst themselves. His attempt was an utter failure. He was taken prisoner, and beheaded at Edinburgh in June.

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²/₁₂ 7, 1685.

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Lord Churchill took so leading a part in the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, that it is desirable I should enter somewhat fully into its history. The ease with which these risings in favour of Protestantism were put down had a baneful influence upon James's policy, and led him on to those acts of tyrannous folly which directly brought about the Revolution.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MONMOUTH PREPARES TO INVADE ENGLAND.

Ferguson the Plotter—Monmouth has a party at home—His want of money—He embarks—His unfitness for the command of such an expedition.

WILLIAM, as soon as he heard that James had been proclaimed King without opposition, ordered Monmouth to quit Holland. He knew that this step would be highly appreciated by his father-in-law, with whom it was then his interest to stand well. In the far future he still saw the possibility of the crown of England devolving upon his wife, the Princess Royal. He had already schemed to bring this about, and he meant to continue his efforts upon every favourable opportunity. But the fulfilment of his hopes depended upon many changes and chances in the whirligig of time, whereas at the moment it was of the first importance that he should deal with the facts which immediately confronted him. His political existence, and that of his beloved country, were seriously threatened by Lewis XIV., and his most urgent need at this juncture was material help in troops and ships. Although the Protestant ruler of a Protestant State, it was just possible, he thought, that a King who was at once his uncle and his father-in-law might be disposed to afford him help, Catholic though James was.

It has been repeatedly denied by William's admirers that he was cognizant of Monmouth's aims or intentions; but

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it is tolerably certain that he, as well as James, was quite aware that Argyle and Monmouth had arranged for a simultaneous rising in Scotland and in England.* However, that he had not shared their secrets or countenanced their plans, is proved by Monmouth's own dying declaration. On the other hand it is certain, that up to the accession of James, William had evinced no disposition to further his father-in-law's interests by arresting the conspirators. He had not even told James what he knew of their plans and proceedings, and had steadily refused to expel Monmouth from Dutch territory. Even now, whilst assuring James of his wish to serve him, he allowed Argyle and Monmouth to start from a Dutch port with an interval of three weeks between their respective departures, well knowing their destinations and intentions. Common-sense told the astute William that the crazy plans of Argyle and Monmouth must end in failure—a failure which would be to his advantage. It would remove from his path a rival for the English crown who was the favourite Protestant candidate; it would keep alive and strengthen the Protestant sentiment, already strong in England; it could not fail to intensify the wide-spread abhorrence of Popery; and, above all, it would give James an opportunity, of which he would be quick to avail himself, of putting the insurrection down with a cruel severity that could not fail to make him and his religion still more odious to all classes of his subjects. There can be no doubt that William did not wish Monmouth success. Had it been otherwise, he would certainly have delayed the despatch from Holland of the six British regiments for which James applied as soon as he heard that Argyle had reached Scotland. William sent them to England without demur; he even offered to send

* Echard, Hallam and others hold William to have known nothing of Argyle's and Monmouth's intentions, but James asserts that he did, and 'had promised to send some supply of arms, etc., after him.' Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 24.

some good Dutch troops also, and to take command himself of the army that was to operate against Monmouth. He was evidently sincere; and in making these offers he could not have been influenced, as it is sometimes said that he was, by Monmouth's assumption of the royal title contrary to the terms of some supposed agreement between them. When Bentinck made these proposals in William's name to King James, Monmouth had not yet proclaimed himself King.

Compelled by William to leave Holland, Monmouth took up his abode at Brussels. Hunted from that city by the Spanish authorities, who were moved by his uncle James, he hid himself in Amsterdam. It was there that he arranged with Argyle and the other conspirators the details of the plot for the simultaneous invasion of England and Scotland.* One of the chief movers in this undertaking was the notorious Scotch minister, Robert Ferguson, commonly known as 'The Plotter.' He had been chaplain and factotum to Lord Shaftesbury; and, deeply implicated in the Rye House Plot, he had fled to Holland, where he lived in an atmosphere of conspiracy. He was the Judas in Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel,' but he finally changed sides, and ended his days as a scheming Jacobite. Being at this time, however, a Protestant enthusiast, he obtained a considerable influence over Monmouth, and used it to incite him to rebellion. God, he said, would never forsake those who fought in His sacred cause and in that of liberty. Though full of subtlety, he lacked wisdom and common-sense, and a more dangerous adviser for a man of Monmouth's calibre it would be difficult to imagine.†

* The English refugees who took the lead in all these schemes were Lord Grey of Werke, Sir J. Cockran, Colonel Holins, Captain Mathews, Mr. Wade of Bristol, Rimbolt, Daw and Ferguson ('The Plotter').

† He belonged to an old Scottish family. His father had been M.P. for Inverary in the first Scotch Parliament of the Restoration. It was he who composed that long, badly-worded proclamation which Monmouth published upon landing, in which he accused James of having murdered his own brother the King.

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18 5, 1685.

At the end of April William wrote to Rochester, assuring him on his word of honour that he did not know if Monmouth were still in Holland. Should he find him, he would, he said, at once order him to quit the country. Three weeks afterwards, by James's directions, a circular was sent to all the county authorities of England and Scotland enjoining vigilance, as it was known that Argyle had sailed for Scotland, and it was thought that a descent upon some part of the North of England might be attempted by Monmouth with a view to join him. There is no doubt that Monmouth's intention to raise the standard of rebellion was known in the West at least two or three weeks before he landed at Lyme Regis. On June 1 the Mayor of Taunton wrote to warn the Mayor of Exeter that he had ascertained from intercepted letters that an immediate rising in the West was in contemplation.* Up to the last, so well was Monmouth's secret kept by his followers, that it was generally believed his attempt at insurrection would be made in the northern counties, where he was popular and possessed many friends.

Monmouth wanted arms, but, above all, he needed money. Had William favoured his enterprise, he could, at least in secret, have helped him financially. To raise money, Monmouth pawned his own jewels and those of his mistress for 32,000 guilders (£2,733). The English refugees subscribed what they could, and, amongst others, the great Locke gave £400. But the total amount collected was ridiculously small when compared with the magnitude of the undertaking and the issues involved. With the money so obtained, Monmouth purchased what arms and military equipment he could, including four small field-pieces, which constituted all his artillery.† He

* Historical MSS., Fifth Report, p. 371.

† He paid £3,000 for these four field-guns, 1,500 cuirasses, 1,500 swords, pikes and muskets, a small number of carbines and pistols, and some 200 barrels of powder. His advisers persuaded him that those who were to join him on landing would all come well armed.

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foolishly bought 1,500 breastpieces, which were of no use to him. They were left at Lyme Regis when he marched for Taunton. Muskets or matchlocks would have served his purpose better than armour, for which his peasant followers did not care. For the hire of the 32-gun frigate in which he himself sailed he paid £5,500. Had William given him arms and accoutrements for, say, 20,000 men, the rebellion might have had a very different ending.

About 2 o'clock on Sunday morning, May 24, Monmouth^{24-5, 1685.} and his friends left Amsterdam in a lighter for the three ships which he had previously sent on to the Texel. His party numbered about seventy persons, including his private chaplain, Mr. Hooke, an Independent preacher, who subsequently became a Roman Catholic, and a devoted adherent of James II., whom he followed into exile.* Head-winds retarded the lighter, and it was not until Saturday that she reached the ships. After some difficulties with the Dutch authorities, who, instigated by the English Ambassador, wished to detain the ships, they weighed anchor at daybreak on the following morning, and sailed for the English coast.† The wind and weather were unfavourable, and no fewer than twelve days were spent at sea before they anchored in the bay off the little village of Lyme Regis, only a few miles distant from John Churchill's birthplace. James had given his fleet strict orders to keep the sharpest possible look-out for Monmouth's little squadron; yet for twelve days it beat about the Channel without being discovered, and finally reached a port where its men and military stores were landed, not only without interruption, but without the fact being even discovered by any one of James's numerous ships of war.

The day after Monmouth quitted Amsterdam, William

* He entered the French army, and rose to be a Lieutenant-General.

† Colonel Bevis Skelton was then our Ambassador at the Hague. In the previous reign he had been compelled to leave the army because he was a Roman Catholic.

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2^d-8, 1685.

sent to Rochester a full detail of the plan for the intended risings in Scotland and England, and Bentinck on the same day reported to him that Monmouth's destination was the West of England. William added most solemnly that neither he nor the Princess Mary had been in any way privy to the schemes.

Although William offered to help James in the suppression of the rebellion, there was a strong feeling in Holland in its favour. Prayers were offered up in many churches asking God to bless an undertaking which thousands of pious people believed to be conceived in the interests of true religion.

Though personally brave and a favourite with his men, Monmouth lacked the qualities of a leader. He was wanting in firmness and decision, and especially in that force of character which inspires others with confidence in their leader's views. He had seen but little of war; he had served exclusively with regular troops; and from the first he had evinced a want of confidence in the raw levies who rallied to his standard. He was one of that sort of cut-and-dried, old-fashioned officers, who could not believe it possible that badly-armed, slovenly-looking regiments, untrained in the formal evolutions of a regular army, could be of any real military value. To officers of his class it was, and still is, heresy to hold that a man can be capable of doing a soldier's work unless he is dressed like a cockatoo, and drilled to stand like a ramrod, with his nose in the air. Monmouth was not the man to lead a desperate enterprise, in which success depended upon the rapid conversion into soldiers of dull West-Country peasants. No one knew this better than the astute Prince of Orange, who had lately had ample opportunities of gauging his character and capacity.

From the first Monmouth seems to have been fully conscious of the difficulties and dangers of the enterprise into which he had been driven by the importunity of Argyle, by the fiery preaching of Ferguson, and by the

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pleadings of the numerous British exiles in Holland. Dangerous and desperate ventures call for a leader endowed with natural genius for war, and with inborn qualifications, of which Monmouth possessed none.

The only man of any note who landed with him was Forde, Lord Grey of Werke.* He had long been one of Monmouth's supporters, though he had good reason to believe that the 'Protestant Duke' had been his wife's lover.† To him Monmouth, unfortunately for his cause, gave the command of all his mounted men, for his conduct in action affords good grounds for the accusation of cowardice so freely alleged against him. After his capture he was despicable enough to buy his unworthy life by giving evidence to secure the conviction of brave men who had believed in and followed him.

* He was born 1654, and died 2^d-4, 1701. He was a coward, and a bad man all round. In 1682 he seduced his sister-in-law, Lady Henrietta, daughter of George, Earl of Berkeley, and on 30 8, 1682, had carried her off—she was only eighteen years of age—from her father's house, the Durdans, at Epsom. Pardoned by James for the part he took in Monmouth's rebellion, he was created Earl of Tankerville, in 1695, by William III., who also made him a Privy Councillor and afterwards Lord Privy Seal. His only child—a daughter—married Charles Bennet, Lord Ossulston, who in 1714 was created Earl of Tankerville. He was the 'cold Caleb' of 'Absalom and Achitophel.' He was a zealous Exclusionist, and had been concerned in the Rye House Plot.

† Henry Sidney's Diary, by Elencowe, vol. i., pp. 237, 263.

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MONMOUTH LANDS AT LYME REGIS, AND CHURCHILL TAKES
THE FIELD AGAINST HIM.

Churchill's activity—Encounter with the rebels—The Militia disaffected—Feversham supersedes Churchill in command—Feversham's character—He reaches Bristol.

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1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6, 1685.

AT 4 a.m. of Saturday, June 13, an express reached London to announce that Monmouth had landed at Lyme Regis two days before.* It came from the Mayor of that little Dorsetshire seaport, and was dated June 11, 'near twelve at night,' from Honiton, to which place he had ridden on his way to Exeter to inform the Duke of Albemarle, the Lord-Lieutenant of Devon, of Monmouth's landing. Two other loyal burgesses of Lyme had also set out late the same evening to carry the news to London. They rode hard throughout the night, and, upon reaching the City, went straight to the house of Sir Winston Churchill, who represented their borough in Parliament. He and his son, Lord Churchill, carried them to Whitehall, where they were questioned, on oath, by the King in Council.

Their news was that Monmouth had arrived on the previous Thursday at Lyme with a frigate, one small vessel, and a dogger,† and had occupied the town with about 300

* Lyme Regis is 143 miles by road from London, and is 22 miles west of Dorchester.

† A 'dogger' was a small craft—sometimes merely a fishing-boat—with one mast.

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armed men; that he had landed; and, lastly, that he had set up his standard, and had issued a proclamation in which he denounced James 'as a usurper, a murderer, a traitor, and a tyrant.' This intelligence was at once communicated to Parliament, and a Council was forthwith called by which measures were taken with the utmost promptitude. A Bill of Attainder against Monmouth was passed through both Houses of Parliament, £400,000 was voted to enable the King to put down the rebellion,* and a reward of £5,000 was offered for Monmouth's body, dead or alive.† Immediate orders were sent to call out the militia of the West, and officers of the regular army were despatched to advise the lieutenants of counties upon all military matters. The six British regiments in the Dutch service were recalled from Holland, and four companies of the Irish Guards were ordered to England.‡ All 'commission officers' were directed to join their regiments forthwith.

Monmouth's friends were known to be numerous in London, where an outbreak was expected: James committed many of them to prison. All the troops that could be spared from the capital, and those collected from other towns, were ordered to march for Salisbury without delay. James selected Lord Churchill to command them, and conferred upon him the rank of Brigadier.§ He set out 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6, 1685.

* The Bill of Attainder passed the House of Commons in two days and the House of Lords in one.

† Parliament, having voted supply and passed Monmouth's Bill of Attainder, was adjourned from 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 7 to 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ 8, and subsequently to 1 $\frac{1}{5}$ 11, 1685. It met then for a few days, and was prorogued to 1 $\frac{1}{6}$ 2, 1685.

Three of these British regiments were Scotch, and had long been in the Dutch service; three were English, and had been raised in 1674 from the regiments which Charles had been compelled to disband when peace was made with Holland in that year.

§ A fortnight later he was promoted to be Major-General 'over all forces, horse and foot,' 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ 7, 1685. Both Kirke and Trelawney were commanded to take their orders from him. The troops with which Churchill set out were: Four troops of the Earl of Oxford's Horse,

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from London on Saturday, June 15, and on the 17th reached Bridport, where he found some of the Militia already collected. On the following day he pushed on to Winsham, and on the 19th established his headquarters at Chard, eighteen miles south of Bridgewater, and one hundred and forty miles from London. Here he found himself in the familiar scenes of his early boyhood, for Ash House was only about eight miles to the south-west of his headquarters. He at once set to work with that earnest activity which distinguished him all through life. The day after his arrival he wrote as follows from Chard to the Duke of Somerset: 'This morning I received yours. I am now in Somersetshire, and shall join you by following the Duke of Monmouth so close as I can on his marches, which I think is the only way for me to join you or to do the King's service; but I think you should force the Duke of Albemarle to join you, for he has a good force of men, and is not so well able to attend the Duke of Monmouth's march as I am, by reason of the King's Horse which I have with me.'*

2nd 6, 1685. He scoured the country in all directions with his mounted troops, and, hearing of some rebels in the neighbourhood of Taunton, he sent a small party of Oxford's Regiment to look them up.† The result was a skirmish in the forest of Ashill, about half-way between Chard and Taunton, and to this day the spot is known as the 'Fight Ground.' Lieutenant Moneux, in command of the King's party, was mortally wounded, and a few were killed on both sides.‡ Churchill reported that he found

now the Royal Horse Guards Blue; four troops of the King's Dragoons, now the Royal Dragoons, of which Churchill was Colonel; five companies of the Queen Dowager's Regiment, now the Queen's or West Surrey. A few days later five more troops joined the Royal Dragoons. More troops were to follow as soon as possible (Dom. Papers, British Museum).

* Historical MSS., Duke of Northumberland's Papers, p. 97.

† The Blues.

‡ 'History of Chard,' by E. Green, p. 51.

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the rebels in force at Taunton, well armed and daily increasing in numbers. From this date until the final struggle at Sedgemoor he never lost touch of them, and followed close upon Monmouth's footsteps wherever he went. By his energy, and the continual movement of his mounted troops, he prevented many from joining the rebels, who would otherwise have gone to swell Monmouth's army. At this work his local knowledge was of great use to him. As is always the case with our rapidly-improvised armies, transport was the first serious difficulty, increased by the fact of the whole country being in sympathy with Monmouth. But Churchill drew what supplies he could from the neighbouring villages, and pressed the available horses and wag-gons for the King's service. The Axminster parish books contain several entries of expenses incurred by his orders: 'Paid for four carts to go to Chard to attend on the Lord Churchill, and guides, and other expenses, £1 11s. 0d.'; 'For one cart and five pack horses, to convey Captain Churchill's Troop of Dragoons to Crewkern, £1 2s. 0d.,' etc.*

On Friday, the 21st, Churchill wrote as follows to the 2nd 6, 1685. Duke of Somerset, who was still at Bristol: 'Chard.—I received you letter this morning, and will certainly be on tuesday at 11 in the morning at Bridgewater, where I hope you will meet me with what Militia you have. I have forces enough not to apprehend the Duke of Monmouth; but quite contrary should be glad to meet with him and my men are in so good heart. This afternoon Colonel Kirke's regiment joins me, which will be an addition to your strength.'† Later on in the day he had another letter from the Duke of Somerset, which made him somewhat change his plans, for in reply he wrote that he intended to 'march to-morrow to Langport, so that I will follow him' (Monmouth) 'as close as ever I can. I intend to be at

* 'Book of the Axe,' p. 347.

† Historical MSS., Duke of Northumberland's Papers, p. 98.

Wells on tuesday, where I hope I shall find you, and that will be much better than to send a troop of Horse.*

The Militia had no sympathy with the Royal cause, and fully shared the Western sentiment for Protestantism and Monmouth. The Duke of Albemarle was so fully alive to this fact that as early as June 12 he had asked officially for the aid of regular troops. In answer to this request, Sunderland informed him that Churchill, with some detachments, was to start at once for the West, and that the Governour of Portsmouth had been ordered to send some field-guns also, under an escort of five companies of the Queen's Regiment.† These guns, sixteen in number, started accordingly under the command of Lord Churchill's brother Charles, who was Lieutenant-Colonel of that regiment. The original intention had been that Lord Churchill should command all the troops to be employed against Monmouth, for James had confidence in his ability, and had not as yet taken any strong religious prejudice against him. But he had not been many hours on his road to the West before the King seems suddenly to have remembered the obligations he was under to Turenne for effective help and many acts of kindness received from him when in exile before the Restoration. He could now in a measure repay that generous soldier by giving the command in the field to his nephew, Lord Feversham, in whose loyalty and courage he implicitly believed. It would be a cruel blow to his faithful servant Churchill, but that must be ignored. Feversham was accordingly made General-in-Chief of the Forces in the West, with Churchill under him as second in command.

Lewis Duras, a French Protestant noble, had come to England to escape persecution on account of his religion.‡

* Historical MSS., Duke of Northumberland's Papers, p. 98.

† This regiment is now the King's Own or Royal Lancaster Regiment.

‡ Though a Protestant, he never swerved from his allegiance to James. Born in 1638, he died 1st 4, 1709.

His father was the Marquis de Blanquefort; his mother was Turenne's sister. He had been naturalized as an Englishman in 1665, and succeeded his father-in-law as Earl of Feversham twelve years afterwards. Dark-complexioned and of middle height, he was just twelve years older than Churchill. A man of affable and polished manners, he was honest and well-meaning, but slow and infirm of purpose.* He is said to have been a suitor for the hand of Monmouth's mistress, Lady Henrietta Wentworth, and now, by a strange coincidence, he was about to command in the field against his successful rival.† He was not accounted a strong Protestant in England, though, when in France, he would not, like his two brothers and his uncle Turenne, change his religion to please Lewis XIV. This campaign in the West proved him to be no General; and it showed that, in common with many of the French nobles of that time, he had no regard whatever for the lives of the peasantry. He gained no respect from his officers, who pronounced him heavy and indolent from over-eating. A serious injury in the head some five or six years before had necessitated the operation of trepanning, and it is possible that his laziness and addiction to sleep may have been the result of this accident.‡ In spite of his being a Protestant, he was so much disliked as a foreigner by the faction opposed to James, that as early as 1680 it had been resolved in the House of Commons 'to present an address to his Majesty 1st 1, 1680. to remove Lewis, Earl of Feversham, from all military offices and commands, as a promoter of Popery and of the Popish interests.' This feeling was doubtless due to his being James's close friend and supporter.

The change of command was not a happy move for James, and no man who understood war would have made it. Foreigners never have been popular in England, and British troops were not likely to do well under Lord

* John Macky, Reresby, Burnet.

† Roberts' 'Monmouth,' vol. ii., p. 85.

‡ Hatton, 'Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 171.

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Feversham, even had he been an able soldier, which he certainly was not.

In Sunderland's early letters to Churchill no mention is made of Feversham's appointment. He tells him that the King had received his letter of the 17th, and that he (Sunderland) had also received his two letters of the same date. Even then Churchill was a good correspondent, keeping his Government well informed upon all such military proceedings as he considered it advisable that they should know. Sunderland goes on to say that, according to the information obtained by the King, it was believed that the rebels were making for Bristol, and it was therefore desirable that Churchill should place himself somewhere between them and that city. James thought that Bridgewater would best answer the purpose, and the Excise officers there were accordingly ordered to place £4,000 at his disposal, but the selection was entirely left to him. Sunderland told him, further, where the several regiments of militia had been ordered to assemble, and named some regular officers who had been selected to accompany those regiments for the purpose of dry-nursing their inexperienced colonels. On June 17 Sunderland wrote to tell Churchill that the Duke of Beaufort had been ordered to secure Bristol with any militia he could collect from the counties under his jurisdiction.* The Hampshire, Berkshire, Surrey and Sussex militia had been called out, he added, and sent respectively to Salisbury, Reading, Farnham, and the New Forest.

Colonel Kirke reached Salisbury from Andover† on the 18th, on which day, although Lord Sunderland wrote to tell the Duke of Somerset that the King had 'appointed my Lord Churchill to command his forces which are marched down into the West, and would therefore have your Grace constantly correspond with him,' there is not a word about Feversham. He adds in a postscript: 'I believe

* The Duke of Beaufort had reached Bristol, of which he was Governor, on June 16.

† A distance of 17½ miles.

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my Lord Churchill is now with ye Duke of Albemarle.* It is therefore evident that on Thursday, June 18, this change of commanders had not been finally determined upon. Indeed, it would appear from Sunderland's letter to Churchill of Friday, the 19th, in which there is no mention of Feversham, that when it was written the change had not even then been made. Later on in that day, however, Sunderland wrote to tell Churchill of his supersession. He †‡ 6, 1685. says that the King has 'given the Earl of Feversham a commission to be Lieutenant-General,' and that he was to command all the Lieutenants of the Western Counties. Churchill was ordered to send back by bearer all the news to Feversham, who was then on the march for Bath, that would be useful to him as Commander-in-Chief.† He adds 'that three battalions of the Foot Guards, 150 of the Horse Guards, two troops of the Earl of Oxford's, and two troops of Dragoons,' were to march for Bath as soon as possible. His next letter would, he said, contain a commission giving him the rank of Brigadier-General. In a letter of the same date he tells the Duke of Somerset that the King had made Feversham Lieutenant-General, and that the latter was to march for the West on June 20 'with a considerable body of Horse and Foot, and that the train of artillery is to follow on Monday' (June 24).‡

The promised reinforcements§ left London for Bath on Saturday, June 20, and, in four marches, reached Marlborough, where they halted for orders. Feversham set ¶ 6, 1685. out for Bristol on the same day, and the artillery train of sixteen brass pieces, from the Tower, followed.¶ He reached Bristol about noon on June 23, and spent the

* Historical MSS., Duke of Northumberland's Papers, p. 97.

§ State Papers, James II., Domestic, bundle 2.

† Historical MSS., Duke of Northumberland's Papers, p. 97.

‡ Two troops of Oxford's Horse, under Sir Thomas Compton, and two troops of the Royal Dragoons, two battalions of the 1st Guards, one battalion of the Coldstream, and five companies of Dumbarton's Foot.

¶ Feversham's guard consisted of '150 Horse Guards and 60 Horse Grenadiers.'

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remainder of the day with the Dukes of Beaufort and Somerset in sight-seeing. Two days before, he had ordered the latter to destroy the bridge at Keynsham, near Bristol, and had recommended that the bridge at Bath should be similarly dealt with.

We have every reason to believe, from Churchill's letters, that he felt his supersession most deeply. He knew Feversham to be an indolent glutton of no military reputation. At the age of thirty-five he had at last, as he thought, been given an opportunity of showing what he could do as a General commanding in the field. If he succeeded, as he would most surely have done, he knew that honours and lucrative appointments would be his reward. And now that fame and fortune seemed to be within his grasp, to have them snatched from him in favour of an unknown and incompetent Frenchman was hard indeed. Had he been the scion of a noble house, no such slight would, he knew, have been put upon him; but as a poor soldier of fortune, the son of a ruined Cavalier of humble position, he had to accept the inevitable, and bear the injustice with what grace he might. Sufficiently philosophical to be resigned, he was yet too ambitious to be contented.

James was alarmed for the safety of Bristol, and from the first expected that Monmouth would try to obtain possession of so important a seaport. It was known to contain a large number of people hostile to the King, and therefore friendly to his popular nephew. The Duke of Beaufort, Governour of Bristol, had been ordered to occupy the city with the militia of Gloucester, Monmouth, and Herefordshire. Lord Abingdon with the militia of Oxford, and the Duke of Norfolk with that of Berks, were to march on Reading. The Surrey militia was ordered to Farnham, and that of Hampshire to Salisbury. The Earl of Dorset was to occupy the New Forest with the Sussex Militia Horse under Lord Lumley.* Bath was held by the Somersetshire

* Although he had left the Church of Rome and become a Protestant, he was loyal to James as his lawful King.

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militia, under the Duke of Somerset; and the Wiltshire, under Lord Pembroke, were marching upon Chippenham. Colonel Oglethorpe, with a party of the Life Guards, had been sent forward to Warminster to obtain information, and met Feversham at Bath on June 24 with the news that on the evening before Monmouth had been at Shepton-Mallet.

On June 24 it was known in London that Monmouth was near Glastonbury, closely watched by Churchill, who on the 22nd had sent a party of forty Horse from Langport to look the rebels up. A slight skirmish had ensued, and Monmouth's squadron, said to be double the Royalists in number, had been driven back to the rebel camp.*

Feversham had ordered the Royal forces to concentrate at Bath, where he found them collected, including Churchill's troops, when he arrived on June 26. He had found it necessary to leave his guns and impedimenta for the moment at Devizes under a guard. Owing to the wetness of the season, the roads were in a deplorable state, and, as the country was much enclosed, the guns would seriously hamper his movements.†

We must now go back a little, and describe Monmouth's movements previous to the date at which the Royal forces sent to oppose him had been thus concentrated at Bath.

* *London Gazette* of 24, 6, 1685.

† Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 126. He had sixteen guns in all; nine left London on June 24, escorted by five companies of Dumbarton's Regiment (the Royal Scots).

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MOVEMENTS OF THE REBELS AND OF THE ROYAL FORCES PRIOR TO THE BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR.

Lord Grey runs away during the attack on Bridport—Fletcher goes back to Holland—Skirmish near Axminster—Monmouth writes to Churchill—He reaches Taunton, then Keynsham—Is repulsed at Bath—Tents supplied to the Royal Army—Wells: Complaints of the Artillery—Marlbrough's power of foresight.

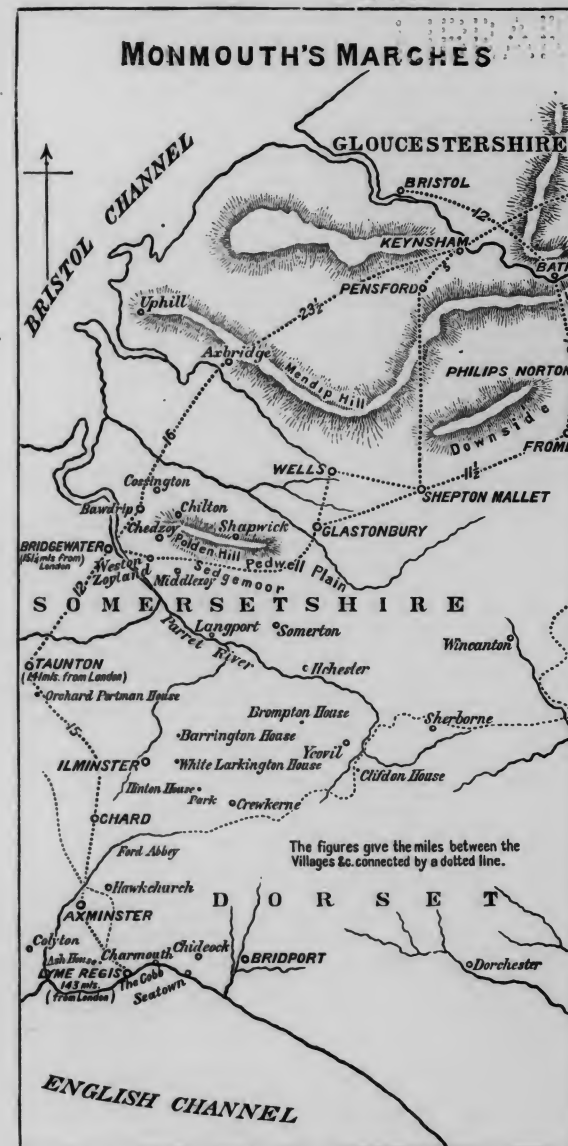
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MONMOUTH commanded silence upon landing with his little band of followers at Lyme Regis, and, falling on his knees, thanked God for a safe voyage, and implored His blessing on the enterprise thus begun. The village was in a ferment, and before the Duke had left his ship the leading inhabitants had discussed the propriety of firing their big gun at it. Want of powder brought the debate to an abrupt end, but, as the next best thing, the town drums were beaten to call the borough militia to arms. One man answered the summons, and he, finding himself alone, thought it better to join Monmouth, a proceeding for which he was hanged after the battle of Sedgemoor.

The news of Monmouth's landing spread rapidly through all the Western country where he had many adherents. About a week before, the militia had been embodied as a precautionary measure against any possible rising in consequence of Argyle's attempt in Scotland. But it was soon discovered that the loyalty of this force could not be depended upon. The agricultural labourers, tradesmen, and mechanics were on the side of the Protestant Duke.



PLAN OF MONMOUTH'S MARCHES IN 1685.
To face p. 286, Vol. I.

There were no regular troops at hand, and before they could arrive from London, much might be done by an active, intelligent leader. But Monmouth was not the man for this work. It was of the utmost consequence that he should inspire his followers with confidence in his courage, determination and ability. This is the first step towards success in all rebellions, and it requires resolution in council, as well as vigorous action in the field. But where prompt decision was necessary Monmouth hesitated, and, by vacillation and half-hearted measures, he lost the opportunities presented to him by favouring fortune. It is curious to note how often the leader has been afforded such opportunities at the beginning of a rebellion, opportunities which history tells us are always as fleeting as they are precious. Unless seized at the moment they are lost for ever, and their loss means death to the rebel's hopes, if not to himself. Monmouth does not seem to have realized this, or to have appreciated the critical nature of an undertaking in which he must either ride on the crest of the wave of triumph or be hopelessly engulfed. Two such opportunities soon offered themselves to him, but of neither was he capable of availing himself.

Friday, Saturday, and Sunday were spent in landing $\frac{1}{2}$ – $\frac{1}{4}$ 6, 1685. stores, guns, arms, etc., from the ships, and in distributing them amongst the peasants and mechanics who flocked to join him. The country gentry held aloof, and few even of the middle class or small yeomen enrolled themselves under his standard; but amongst those who did join him was Joshua Churchill, commonly known as Colonel Churchill. He was not a near relative of Sir Winton's, but he came from the same stock; indeed, several families of the name were then living in Dorsetshire.* Daniel De Foe, the author, was one of Monmouth's recruits.

* There is a portrait of Colonel J. Churchill in Collinton House, Dorchester, and it is tolerably certain that he belonged to that branch of the family. He was a younger brother of William Churchill, the London printer, who had made money at his trade. His elder brother,

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Large numbers were anxious to throw in their lot with him, but he could not accept their services, as he had no arms to give them. Every effort was made to improvise weapons, and many of the men had nothing better than scythes fastened lengthways to long poles. Want of ready money was a great hindrance, but the smiths in all the neighbouring villages were hard at work, night and day, converting scythes and forks into pikes, and it was boastfully announced that with these they would 'easily mow down the Popish army, and make new-fashioned Protestant hay.*' Never before, or since, was a rebellion undertaken with such scanty means.†

The two opportunities referred to now presented themselves, and both were lost through mismanagement. The first was at Bridport—only eight miles from Lyme Regis—where the Dorset militia had been ordered to assemble. They had not as yet all turned out, and those who had assembled had taken no precautions against attack or surprise. The regiment was known to be Protestant in feeling, and therefore not likely to fight with much heart for their bigoted Catholic King. What more easy than to attack them

Awnsham, was the well-known bookseller and publisher who carried on business at the sign of the Black Swan, Paternoster Row. When this branch of the family became rich, they purchased many manors in Dorsetshire. Another brother, John, was the printer who received £1,000 for printing the manifesto of William III. In the War Office Commission Books there is an entry of 'Joshua Churchill, Gent.,' who was made Ensign in the Earl of Monmouth's Regiment, 17 7, 1689, and became a Lieutenant 17 4, 1692. I think this is the man who in 1710-11 was appointed to command the Marines, then ordered to Canada. See Luttrell.

* 'A complete collection of all the Reports, lyes and stories which were the forerunners of the Great Revolution of 1688,' p. 51. Some of these rude scythe weapons may be seen in the Tower.

† His paymaster was Mr. Heywood Dare, who had been one of his leading councillors in Holland. He was an earnest man, well known amongst the Nonconformists of the West. The Commissary-General was Mr. Sam Story. His surgeons were Drs. Temple, Gayland and Oliver.

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vigorously by night? Such a blow, if struck home at this early period of the rebellion, could not fail to be of incalculable advantage to the rebel cause. 'First blood,' especially where raw levies are concerned, gives a confidence to irregular troops out of all proportion to the amount of success obtained. Monmouth seems to have understood this, but he had not the military skill or experience to give effect to it with the undisciplined men at his disposal; and, though he wisely resolved to attack before the whole of this militia regiment had assembled, he unfortunately gave command of the operation to Lord Grey. With 400 men Grey started for Bridport on Saturday night, intending to make his attack at daybreak on the following morning. He marched in silence all through the dark, and at the first streak of dawn, under cover of a heavy mist, he fell upon the unsuspecting enemy, who had no guards or outlying piquets to warn them of their danger. The surprise was complete, and success seemed assured, when Lord Grey, in a panic, ran away at the head of his mounted men. Colonel Venner, the second in command, drew off his Foot in tolerable order, and reached Lyme Regis without molestation from the astonished militia. Had Grey behaved with even ordinary courage the affair must have been a brilliant success, and would have obtained for Monmouth the militia arms and accoutrements, of which he stood so much in need. There is little doubt also that many of the militiamen would have openly joined him, and the moral effect of this would have been great in London, as well as in the locality.

Monmouth was at his wits' end how to act. The only gentleman with him had turned out a coward, and yet he did not dare to dismiss him, although urged to do so by Fletcher, who was next in importance to Grey. Fletcher had been of Monmouth's council in Holland, and was invaluable from his social standing, military knowledge, and general ability. But it would seem that from the first an unlucky fatality pursued Monmouth, for by another most untoward

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accident he was now to lose Fletcher, the ablest of his followers. During the preparation for the attack on Bridport Fletcher had a dispute about a horse with Mr. Dare, a Taunton goldsmith, whom he shot in an outburst of anger, and had to fly the country in consequence.*

The Reverend R. Ferguson accompanied the expedition as chaplain. He was a genuine demagogue, who thoroughly understood his trade, and was animated by the demagogue's habitual disregard for truth. Before leaving Holland he had drawn up a 'declaration' for the English people, setting forth their grievances. It was a long rambling indictment against James, who, it was asserted, had poisoned King Charles II. This 'declaration' was made public at Lyme Regis, and was well received by the ignorant people whose passions it was intended to arouse.

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After a stay of four days at Lyme Regis, Monmouth moved on Monday to Axminster—a distance of only five and a half miles—with a force of about 3,000 men. Every man wore in his hat a green bough, which thenceforward became the distinguishing mark of the rebels. As he neared Axminster he discovered the Duke of Albemarle, with the Devon militia, approaching from Exeter, to form a junction with the Somerset militia, under Colonel Luttrell. Here was his second great opportunity. There was some little skirmishing, in which Albemarle soon discovered, to his cost, that his men would not fight in earnest against Monmouth. Both militia regiments retreated in considerable disorder, many men throwing away both arms and accoutrements to facilitate their flight; one battalion fell back as far as Wellington, a distance of twenty-two miles. Lord Churchill describes this affair in the following letter to James: 'I am sorry to send your Majesty this ill news: which is unless speedy course be taken, we are like to lose this country to the rebels: for we have those two regiments run away a second time, that are

* Dare had been convicted in 1680 of using seditious language, was fined and imprisoned, but eventually escaped to Holland, where he joined in Monmouth's plot, and came to England in his ship.

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mentioned in a letter directed to my Lord Sunderland from their colours, and it happened thus: The Duke of Albemarle sends to Sir E. Phellipps and Colonel Luttrell, that he would be at Axminster on such a day with some forces, and would have them meet him there: so away marched those two regiments, one out of Chard and the other out of Crewkern: and when they came to the top of the hill within half a quarter of a mile of the town, there came out some country people, and said the Duke of Monmouth was in the town: at that, one Captain Littleton cried out, We are all betrayed! so the soldiers immediately look one upon another, and threw down their arms and fled, leaving their Officers and Colours behind: half, if not the greatest part, are gone to the rebels. I do humbly submit this to your Majesty's commands in what I shall do in it, for there is not any relying on these regiments that are left unless we had some of your Majesty's standing forces to lead them on and encourage them: for at this unfortunate news I never saw people so much daunted in my life . . . I have sent away just now to the Duke of Arl. to send 4,000 men to Crewkern and Chard, and that I will be there as soon as I hear they are arrived. I shall wait for your Majesty's commands here if there be not occasion any where else of my appearing.* This letter has no date or address, but it was probably written at Bridport on June 17. Here, again, it was of the highest importance that Monmouth should attack the militia vigorously. To wait, as he did, until the arrival of regular troops had given confidence to the militia, was the height of folly. All the standing army that could be spared was, he knew, on the march to crush him. To neglect, therefore, to attack was to show his ignorance of the game on which he had so inconsiderately staked all. The arrival of Lord Churchill at Chard, coming immediately ½ 6, 1685. after these two failures, may be said to have sealed the fate of this ill-planned and feebly-conducted rebellion. From the first Monmouth seems to have been impressed with the

* Historical MSS., Duke of Northumberland's Papers, p. 99.

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conviction that it would be folly to risk any serious engagement until he had had time to drill his raw levies; but he forgot that an active opponent like Churchill was not likely to allow him the time he wanted.

His landing had been a success: no regular troops were at hand to meet him, and the undisciplined militia were at heart in his favour. Had he boldly attacked them, and pushed forward to Exeter, there can be little doubt that a considerable number of them would have joined him—a proceeding which would have supplied him with money, arms and ammunition, all of which he sorely needed. He might then have marched rapidly upon Bristol with at least 10,000 fairly armed adherents, and the possession of that important seaport, with its supplies of men, arms, provisions and money, would have given him a real chance of success. He failed to understand that loss of time was absolutely fatal to his cause, for every day brought the regular forces nearer to him. As long as Bristol was safe, and the rebellion was confined to the country south of the Severn, James could afford to wait, as indeed he did, until he had collected a sufficient force to crush Monmouth's badly-armed levies at a blow. There was no military reason why the militia should run away from Monmouth's raw levies; but they really only wanted a pretext to desert. Monmouth's miners and weavers were their friends, whose cause they believed to be their own. They had none of that professional military spirit, the outcome of discipline, which causes regular soldiers to fight as they are ordered, no matter against whom; and in the course of duty even to fire upon those to whom they are bound by ties of kindred and affection.

There is little doubt that Monmouth, who was fully aware of Churchill's strong Protestant sentiments, expected him, his old lieutenant and former comrade, to make common cause with him. When the newly-appointed Brigadier-General reached Chard in hot haste from London, he received a letter from Monmouth, in which, as King of

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England, he claimed Churchill's allegiance. Churchill, still firmly believing in his master's promises and good intentions, dismissed the trumpeter who brought him the letter, telling him that he knew no other King than James, the brother of his late Majesty Charles II.; at the same time he forwarded Monmouth's letter to the King.

The rebel plan of campaign was to march upon Taunton, the stronghold of dissent, then to make for Bridgewater, and thence on to Bristol, where Monmouth expected to obtain a large accession of numbers and ample supplies of money and arms. From Bristol he meant to push into Gloucestershire, where he hoped his friends from Cheshire would join him, and so reinforced he would march upon London. It was a daring project that could only be accomplished by great rapidity of movement, promptitude, energy, and determination, and it required much tact in dealing with the people on whose assistance he depended. His first objective point was Bristol, which by the route indicated was only about seventy miles, or say four or five days' march, from Lyme Regis, and he ought to have been there by June 23^d, that is to say, three days before ^{23^d 9.}Feversham arrived. 1685.

As he advanced large numbers flocked to join him, but finding that he had no arms to give away, most of them returned home again. He was sorely disappointed that no gentlemen of any note joined him. His old friend, 'Tom of Ten Thousand, or ye Protestant Squire,' Thynn, of Longleat, had been murdered; but many others, who had also made much of him during his previous visit to the West, during what was locally known as 'The Dukeing Days,' were conspicuously absent. On the other hand, as the militia could not be trusted to act against him, the Lieutenants of the counties were powerless, and were well satisfied if they could prevent the people generally from joining him. Disinclination to help the King's troops with supplies or transport was everywhere apparent. There was a sturdy feeling of independence in those western counties,

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where Protestantism had taken a firm root, and where the inhabitants loved liberty more than loyalty. These poor mechanics, weavers, and miners were, however, unaccustomed to the use of arms, nor had they any idea of what war was like. But cruelly, indeed, were they subsequently made to feel its dread realities.

§ 6, 1685. On Thursday, after a sort of triumphal march, Monmouth entered the 'very factious town' of Taunton.* The people had turned out everywhere on the road to greet him with acclamations and good wishes, and the inhabitants of the surrounding country poured into Taunton to do him honour. The Corporation and citizens—mostly Dissenters—had been ardent Parliamentarians during the Civil War, and at one time had held the town against Goring and 10,000 Royalists. This episode was not forgotten at the Restoration, when to punish the city its charter was annulled, and the walls and defensive works of the place were demolished.† But the townspeople were now in a frenzy of delight, and hailed this poor, ill-born Duke as their deliverer, and as the protector of their religion, which they believed it was the intention of King James to destroy. The young girls strewed his way with flowers, and presented him with a Bible. He accepted the present amidst the wildest enthusiasm, and kissing it, assured his hearers that 'he came with a design to defend the truths contained in it, or to seal them with his blood, if there should be occasion for it.‡ How heartlessly and shamelessly he afterwards broke this solemn and self-imposed oath!

'Thee saviour, thee the nation's vows confess,
And never satisfied with seeing bless;
Swift, unspoken pomps thy steps proclaim,
And stammering babes are taught to lisp thy name.'

These lines, applied to Monmouth in the previous

* King James so refers to Taunton in his *Memoirs*, Dalrymple, ii., Appendix, p. 23.

† Toulmin's 'History of Taunton.'

‡ Echard, *Dalrymle*.

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reign, read like a prophecy of the reception he was to meet with at Taunton. On June 20 he was proclaimed King, as James II., in a public document full of falsehood. He presumed even to touch for the king's evil. By this assumption of the kingly title he hoped to obtain adherents from amongst the upper classes, who, he was told, only hung back because they did not know at what he was aiming. He knew England well enough to feel that he could achieve no great success unless he had at least some proportion of the landed gentry on his side. But until he made them understand that he had no intention of re-establishing a republic, few gentlemen cared, it was said, to throw in their lot with a movement which might mean nothing more than a repetition of Cromwell's military despotism. The arguments of those who urged him to proclaim himself King fell upon willing ears. But the result was far from what had been anticipated. No gentleman of consequence was won over, although about 4,000 of the peasant class joined Monmouth at Taunton. In the Royal army he and his men were laughed at as 'Gaffer Scott and his vagabonds,' and his proclamation was turned into contemptuous ridicule.

In pursuance of his original plan of campaign, he now moved to Bridgewater, twelve miles further on, and from § 1-2, 1685. there he sent Danvers and his private chaplain, Hooke, to London to direct the projected rising in the city.* This had been arranged for as part of the programme, and, notwithstanding the precautions taken by the King, there is little doubt that it would have taken place had the rebels won at Sedgemoor.† On the following day Sunderland wrote to § 2-2, 1685. Feversham that Churchill had reported 'that the fourteen

* *Hardwick State Papers*, 1778, vol. ii., p. 332. Hooke was born in Dublin, 1664, and, from having been a fiery Protestant, ended his days as a Jacobite. In 1702 he was employed in communications between Marlborough and the French Court, and also at the Pretender's Court at St. Germain's.

† James states this in his *memoirs*; Macpherson, vol. i., p. 143.

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days for keeping the militia of Devon do expire three days hence.' This difficulty was met by an order to Feversham and to Churchill also—when he was detached from Feversham's headquarters—to offer to all the Western militiamen, willing to serve on beyond the fortnight, the same pay that was given to the regular army.*

Monmouth was enthusiastically received at Bridgewater, where he lodged in the old castle which had surrendered to Fairfax after the battle of Langport in 1645. But wet weather now set in, and the rain fell in torrents, as if to atone for the two previous years of excessive drought.

²/₃-²/₃, 1685.

On Monday the rebel column continued its march under the depressing influence of this heavy downpour, and, wading through deep mud, it reached Wells by way of Glastonbury. During this march Monmouth was closely followed and watched by Churchill's mounted troops, both Horse and Dragoons. A party of forty troopers, sent out from Langport, encountered a squadron of rebel Horse and drove it back upon the main body. Monmouth's infantry had also been attacked on the march by some of the Foot Guards under his half-brother, the Duke of Grafton. The day's skirmishing convinced him of the unfitness of his raw, improvised levies for any serious engagement with regular troops, and the conviction so depressed him that he bitterly reproached himself for his rashness in undertaking so arduous a task. He began to realize how much it was beyond, not only his resources and the power of his untrained followers, but also beyond his own ability to conduct or control. Like his reputed father, he loved ease, and lacked the dogged perseverance and reckless courage which such an enterprise demanded. Ever since his landing he had suffered from fits of depression, during which his one thought was to get back to Lady Wentworth. So great was this infatuation, and so feeble his sense of personal honour, that, to escape to her arms from his then difficult position, he would not have scrupled, had retreat been possible, to

* State Papers, Domestic, James II., bundle 2.

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have left in the lurch this crowd of peasants who had taken up arms in his cause.

At Wells, Wade and Roe, two Bristol men who had come with him from Holland, urged him to push boldly on at once, and take Bristol by a sudden assault.* They assured him that, although the walls were strong on the Somersetshire or southern side, they were weak on the Gloucestershire side, and that if he crossed the Avon at Keynsham Bridge the place might be easily stormed and captured. They dwelt upon the money and arms which the city would furnish. Large numbers of men, they said, only awaited his arrival in that stronghold of dissent to declare in his favour. The militia garrison was small, and it was well known that the Duke of Beaufort, the Governour, who had marched in only a week before, had good reason to doubt ¹/₂-²/₃ 6, 1685. their loyalty. The advice was sound; but, irresolute and half-hearted, Monmouth hesitated for several days and was lost, as many other weak Generals have been lost before and since. He distrusted his men, and he distrusted himself; but at last he gave way, and, marching by Shepton Mallet ²/₃-²/₃, 1685. and Pensford, reached Keynsham Bridge. The bridge had been broken to stop his progress, but having repaired it, he ²/₃-²/₃, 1685. moved across to the northern bank. After much discussion, it was at last resolved to await the cover of night, and then to attack Bristol. In the meantime, anxious to provide his jaded followers with comfortable quarters until dark, he moved them back across the river to find food and shelter in Keynsham. He hoped that this move would also tend to deceive the enemy into the belief that he had abandoned all intention of an assault upon the city. He had, however, scarcely established his men in billets, when two tired troops of Royal Horse, under Colonel Oglethorpe, came blundering into Keynsham, not knowing that it was occupied by the rebels. The Colonel, thus surprised, did the wise thing: he boldly charged, routing Monmouth's mounted ²/₃-²/₃, 1685.

* These two men, implicated in the Rye House Plot, had fled to Holland for safety.

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troops, and killing some of his Foot. In the end, however, he was driven off, leaving some prisoners in the rebels' hands, but Monmouth might easily have destroyed him, had he attacked with vigour and surrounded him in Keynsham.* From his prisoners Monmouth learnt that the Royal army was close at hand, and scouts sent forward to Bristol brought him word in the evening that Feversham had re-entered the city. Completely surprised by Oglethorpe's appearance, he took that officer's detachment to be the head of Churchill's column, by which his footsteps had been so persistently dogged, and he became apprehensive of being hemmed in between that force and the main body of Feversham's army in front. Indecision, and the despondency which so often follows upon it in war, again took possession of his mind, and he could not be induced to attack. All arguments were unavailing, even though he was assured of a plot amongst his friends in the city to open the gates if he would but attack it boldly.† He could only think of retreat, and would only discuss what point he should make for.

24.6., 1685.

The real position was this. Feversham had reached Bath from Bristol about 6 a.m. on June 24, and had there learned that Monmouth was at Shepton Mallet on the previous evening. To ascertain for certain the rebels' whereabouts, he sent Oglethorpe's party forward, and learned from it at midnight that Monmouth was at Pensfold, only six miles from Bristol, and evidently bent upon the capture of the city. He knew that the militia garrison was not to be depended on, and, becoming anxious for its safety, he at once despatched all his mounted troops to its assistance. Ordered to push on with all speed through the night, they

* Oglethorpe's detachment had in fact fallen into a trap by marching without any precautions into Keynsham, where the rebels, equally careless, had neither guards nor piquets to protect them from surprise. His detachment consisted of only one troop of the Blues and Captain Talbot's troop of Militia Horse. Historical MSS., Ninth Report, p. 2. Mrs. Stopford Sackville's Papers.

† Oldmixon, Ralph, vol. i., p. 879.

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reached Bristol before daybreak on June 25, about the time that Monmouth reached Keynsham Bridge. Feversham followed with all his Foot as quickly as he could.

When Monmouth decided not to attack Bristol, it must have been clear to his followers that the game was up. He felt this himself, and more than ever his thoughts were now turned to retreat, and how he could best effect his own escape. He was in favour of moving upon Gloucester, crossing the river Severn, breaking down the bridge behind him, and marching up the right or western bank through Shropshire into Cheshire, where he counted upon help from many powerful friends. He consulted his officers, but they preferred a move into Wiltshire, where it was reported that a large number of armed men awaited his arrival. Bad weather and worse roads had destroyed the men's shoes, and the four days' march to Gloucester would be trying to them. The Royal cavalry, now close by, would, it was feared, hang upon their rear during those marches, and, retarding their progress, would give Feversham's Foot time to come up. Bristol had escaped them, but why not attack Bath? It was only six miles off, and might, they urged, be taken by a rapid march before Feversham could double back to its assistance. This was a foolish plan, and could lead to little, even if successful. If Monmouth dared not meet the Royal army in the field, to shut himself up in Bath and allow himself to be surrounded there would bring his cause to swift and certain destruction. But it was decided to make the attempt, and Monmouth accordingly, setting out at dark, reached Bath at daybreak on the following morning. He seems to have relied much upon 24.6., 1685. night operations when in presence of the enemy, and he always succeeded in effecting them without molestation, so ignorant of their business were the officers opposed to him. Indeed, the study of this campaign makes it evident that Churchill was the only officer on either side who displayed activity, vigilance, or any knowledge of war.

The capture of Bristol was the last chance upon which

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Monmouth had any right to calculate, and although Feversham's want of military skill gave him another at Sedgemoor, he certainly did not deserve it. Fortune seldom so favours the unwise, the feeble, or the unenterprising leader.

25-6, 1685.

The citizens of Bath, then a small walled town, shut their gates, killed the bearer of the flag of truce sent to summon the place, and refused to surrender. Churchill's horsemen dogged Monmouth's footsteps, pressed upon his column, and slew his stragglers. His undrilled cavalry, with their ill-broken horses, could not stand against the Royal troopers, and after leaving Bath he did not venture to halt until he had reached Phillips Norton, about seven miles south of that city. Feversham's army reoccupied Bath on the same day, and was there joined by the infantry from Portsmouth and London, and by all Lord Churchill's forces. The Royal army was now concentrated for the first time during the campaign. Monmouth had been led to hope that many officers of the regular army would have joined him on the borders of Wiltshire, but none came, and his heart fainted within him. He was in despair, and haunted with a dread of assassination, which the offer of £5,000 for his body, dead or alive, caused him to anticipate.

27-8, 1685.

His intention had been to start early on Saturday morning for Frome, only five miles off; but before he could get clear of Phillips Norton he was attacked by the Royal troops under his half-brother the Duke of Grafton. Feversham had sent the Duke forward at the head of some Life Guards, Dragoons, and 500 Foot, with orders to attack the rebels as soon as he came up with them. Feversham ordered his guns and the rest of the troops to follow as best they could.* This was the first day on which the Royal army marched as one body strong enough to assume the offensive. Hitherto the operations had been directed by Churchill, who had never been strong enough to go straight for Monmouth and force him to a decisive action. He had

* *London Gazette.*CHAPTER
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been obliged to act with great caution, and could only afford to hang upon the rebel rear and attack his weak detachments. But the Royal army being now concentrated, Feversham was sufficiently strong to bring matters to an issue, and it was his policy to do so as quickly as possible. As soon as the Duke of Grafton reached Phillips Norton and found the rebels still there, he attacked it. Some hours of skirmishing, with varying success, ensued; on the whole, Monmouth's men fought well and stoutly behind the hedges which lined the lanes leading into the village. In this encounter the rebels had certainly the best of it; they only lost eighteen men, whilst the loss in the Royal army amounted to eighty.* Darkness at last put an end to the affair, and Monmouth, anxious to get away from the regular infantry, marched to Frome that night in a heavy down-pour of rain. The roads had been reduced to such a deplorable condition by the wet weather that all movements were difficult. He entered the town at 8 a.m. on 28-9, 1685. Sunday, after a most fatiguing march, his infantry much exhausted and in need of rest. Feversham made no attempt to pursue, his excuse being that he did not wish to expose his men to the discomfort of marching in heavy rain. As he could not force his way into Phillips Norton, he retired to Bradford to obtain shelter for them and for his over-worked horses. This retrograde movement on his part was, however, a tacit admission that his attack had been a failure.

In Frome Monmouth expected to receive a convoy of arms and stores, but great was his disappointment to find that it had been captured a few days before his arrival by some militia under the Earl of Pembroke. His anxiety was further increased by hearing as he did for the first time of Argyle's defeat and capture, and by learning for a certainty that Feversham had been largely reinforced with the best of James's regular troops and a number of guns.

* The 1st Foot Guards (now the Grenadier Guards) alone lost 8 men killed, 30 wounded, and 8 taken prisoners.

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Want of arms prevented him from adding to his own army, and want of money increased the difficulty of feeding the men he had already.* Although well received by the people of Frome, a heavy gloom settled upon him, which quickly turned into despair. The bad news from Scotland struck terror into his followers, of whom it is said that 2,000 deserted him here. Like most weak men in difficulties, he asked everybody's advice. He was pusillanimous enough to propose that with the Horse he and his friends should make with all speed for Poole, in the hope of finding shipping there, whilst the Foot should disperse and shift for themselves as best they might. He may possibly have thought that the pardon promised by James to those who should lay down their arms would secure from harm all whom he thus proposed to desert. But he really had no settled plan; for whilst this proposal was under consideration he wrote to Danvers in London, urging him to hasten the projected rising there, from which all along he had expected much.

^{2s. f.}, 1685. A council of war was called on Sunday afternoon at Frome, to discuss the propriety of the proposed flight to Holland. Strange to say that, in contrast to the usual practice of such councils, opinion was in favour of a more manly policy, but it was felt that, the enemy being too strong to encounter in the open, an immediate retreat to Bridgewater could not be avoided.

The rebel leaders, notwithstanding the fate of Argyle in Scotland, still clung to the hope that Protestant London would rise, and create a powerful diversion in their favour. They believed that the absence of all James's best troops would greatly increase the chances of a successful insurrection in the City. As a matter of fact, the capture and execution of Argyle had already made James confident of success. He was in high spirits, and felt strong enough to stifle any attempt at insurrection in the capital, whilst he

* It is said that when he landed, he had only £300 in his military chest. Clarke's 'James II.,' vol. ii., p. 51.

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knew that Feversham's army was amply sufficient to meet and destroy Monmouth in the field. So assured was he, that he sent orders to the Irish troops which had just landed in England to re-embark and return home.

The movements of the army in the West were so seriously hampered by want of tents that Feversham asked for camp ^{2s. f.}, 1685. equipment, and tents for three thousand men were accordingly despatched with the guns then leaving London for his army.* When informing Feversham of this, Sunderland ^{2s. f.}, 1685. wrote that the King was of opinion that he and Churchill should keep henceforward together. He evidently doubted Feversham's military skill, and wished him to have Churchill at his side as an adviser. The King, he added, did not think that the rebels had now any design upon Bristol, but, nevertheless, he was preparing more troops which could be sent forward if required.

Up to the arrival of these tents the Royal army had been accommodated in farm buildings and villages—a system open to many abuses. We are told that the people suffered more from the violence and exactions of the Royal soldiers billeted upon them than they did from the undisciplined rebels. Mr. Henry Shere, who commanded the Royal Artillery, says in one of his letters: 'In plain English, I ¹¹ 7, 1685. have seen too much violence and wickedness practised to be fond of this trade, and trust we may soon put a period to the business, for what we every day practise amongst the poor people cannot be supported by anyone of the least morality.'† Feversham's cavalry having reported that the rebels were about to move from Frome to Warminster, the ^{2s. f.}, 1685. Royal army marched south to Westbury to attack them. There it was joined by the guns and mortars which had been ordered to halt at Devizes, with their escort of five

* Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 126; and State Papers, James II., Domestic, bundle No. 2. Upon the march at home, and even sometimes abroad, the horses were sheltered at night in tents specially made for the purpose, four horses being allotted to each tent.

† Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 126.

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companies of Dumbarton's Regiment.* The next day Feversham marched to Frome, from which place Churchill sent the following letter to his wife, deploring the slowness of their movements:

'30th June.—I have received your picture which you sent by my Lord Colchester. I do assure you that it was very welcome to me, and will be when I am alone a great satisfaction to me, for the whole world put together I do not love so well as I do you, for I swear to you I had much rather lose my own life than lose you. Therefore for my sake I recommend to you to have a care of yourself. We have had abundance of rain, which has very much tired our soldiers, which I think is ill, because it makes us not press the Duke of Monmouth so much as I think he should be, and that it will make me the longer from you, for I suppose until he be routed I shall not have the happiness of being with you, which is most earnestly desired by me.' (Unsigned.) Addressed: 'For my Lady Churchill.' †

28-9, 1685.

17 7, 1685.

Monmouth now marched by way of Shepton Mallet to Wells. Here his men not only lived at free quarters, as they had done throughout, but they plundered the well-to-do townspeople. The cathedral clergy were avowedly hostile, and were known to have lent the Duke of Somerset £100 towards his military preparations.‡ This accounts for the difference between the behaviour of the rebels at Wells and their conduct elsewhere. Whilst the rank and file stole the lead from the cathedral roof to cast into bullets, Monmouth's Commissary-General, Sam Story, compelled the wives of the canons who had fled to pay ransom for their houses.§ In the papers of the cathedral we read of £4 'paid away for a

* Historical MSS., Ninth Report, p. 3, Mrs. Stopford Sackville's Papers.

† Blenheim Palace Papers.

‡ Historical MSS., Wells, Cathedral Papers, p. 264.

§ Story, though a fiery rebel, was pardoned by Jeffreys for helping to extract £15,000 from the rich lawyer Prideux, who had not taken any active part in the rebellion.

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new silver verge to replace one stolen by the rebels';* and, again, 'this Cathedral Church has suffered very grievously from the rebel fanaticks, who have this morning laid hands upon the furniture thereof, have almost utterly destroyed the organ, and turned the sacred building into a stable for † 7, 1685. horses.' †

A waggon of Kirke's Regiment, laden with arms, ammunition, and money, here fell into Monmouth's hands. It had been left behind in Wells from want of horses, all those with Kirke's troops being required to drag the guns over the deep country roads. From Wells, Monmouth marched through classic Glastonbury to Pedwell Plain, east of Sedgemoor, and, bivouacking for the night, pushed ‡ 7, 1685. forward to Bridgewater the following morning. In these movements the rebels were not molested by the Royal horse, for since Feversham assumed the personal direction of the concentrated army, Monmouth was not worried night and day as he had been previously by the energetic Churchill. Feversham followed slowly, and encamped on Saturday, July 4, at Somerton, the ancient capital of Somersetshire, with his Foot, train, and artillery, whilst the Horse and Dragoons were billeted in the neighbouring villages and farm buildings. The Militia regiments were in rear in the villages of Middlezoy and Othery. A patrol pushed forward close to Bridgewater, was nearly taken by the rebels, but it brought back word that they had broken the bridges, and were engaged in fortifying the town. Feversham now issued an order prohibiting all persons from giving the rebels help or succour, on pain of being dealt with as rebels themselves.‡

The following letter from Churchill to the Earl of Clarendon is interesting, as an expression of his feelings at being obliged to serve under a General for whom he had no respect. He evidently wished to stand well with

* Historical MSS., Wells Cathedral Papers, p. 264.

† Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 127.

‡ 'Clarendon and Rochester Correspondence,' vol. i., p. 141.

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Feversham, the Court favourite, who had begun to appreciate his diligence and activity, but every line of the letter evinces impatience at his subordinate position :

'Somerton, July 4th, 1685.—My Lord, I have received your Lordship's kind letter, and doe assure you that you waire very Just to me in the opinion you had of me, for nobody living can have bene more observant then I have bene to my Lord feversham, ever since I have bene with him, in soe much that he did tell me that he would writt to the King, to lett him know how diligent I was, and I should be glade if you could know whether he has done me that Justice. I find by the enimes warant to the constables, that they have more mind to gett horses and sadells, then anny thing else which lookes as if he had a mind to break away with his Horse to som other place and leave his Foot entrenched att Bridgwater, but of this and all other things you will have itt more att large from my Lord feversham, who has the sole command here, soe that I know nothing but what is his pleasure to tell me, soe that I am afraid of giving my opinion freely, for feare that itt should not agree with what is the King's intentions, and soe only expose myselfe ; but as to the taking caire of the men and all other things that is my duty, I am shure nobody can be more carefull then I am ; and as for my obedience, I am sure Mr. Oglethorpe is not more dutyfull then I am ; when you are att leasure, ten lins from you will be a greatt pleasure to me, who have not many things to please me here, for I see plainly that the troble is mine, and that the honor will be another's ; however, my life shall be freely exposed for the King's service.—I am, with all truth, my Lord, your Lordship's humble servant, CHURCHILL.'

1st 7, 1685.

On the following day, Sunday, Feversham moved his camp to Sedgemoor, and took up a position behind the Bussex Rhine, facing Bridgwater, in front of, and to the west of, the little village of Weston-Zoyland. The position was a good one, and had been occupied in July, 1645, by

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Lord Fairfax, when he besieged Bridgwater after his victory over Goring at Langport. The tents were pitched on a spot then known as Brinse Moor. Thus, after some twelve days of marches, countermarches, and insignificant skirmishes during very bad weather, in a land of hedges and green meadows and fruitful orchards, the Royal army, under Feversham and Churchill, found itself at last face to face with Monmouth's ill-armed mob, there being only about three miles' distance between the two forces.

Throughout this short campaign there were frequent complaints of the guns hampering the army's movements. There seems to have been no good feeling between the artillery and the other arms of the service. The guns in those days moved with the baggage in rear of the army ; this fact, added to the difficulty of the roads, caused them to reach their quarters at the end of each day's march, about three hours later than the other troops. This gave rise to grumbling on the part of the gunners, who complained bitterly that their wants and interests were neglected. Mr. Henry Shere, the Master-Gunner ^{§§} 7, 1685.—knights for his services during this short campaign—in his letters to the Master-General of the Ordnance, is very angry because 'no deference for the artillery, as was practised in other armies and was their due,' had been paid him and his gunners. He accused Kirke of ill-treating him, and enlarged upon the indignities to which he was subjected, and upon the great amount of work thrown upon him. He had, he said, to perform other duties besides his own, having been 'made a Secretary of War, Governour of Carriages, of sick and wounded, and a Commissary of provisions.'

Feversham's movements were slow from first to last, even when full allowance is made for the bad weather and the absence of good roads. He showed no strategic skill, and allowed Monmouth the initiative throughout ; but, fortunately for him, his opponent was incapable of turning it to any useful purpose. To say that his tactics were bad

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is lenient criticism of a soldier who, in the action which ended the rebellion, allowed himself to be surprised by an undisciplined mob. Every day that a rebel force like that of Monmouth is suffered to rest in peace is a tacit recognition of its power, and so raises it in public estimation, and helps to swell its numbers. Men begin to believe in a rebel army which Government troops hesitate to attack.

Churchill, always a man of insight, was right in the conclusion which he had drawn from Monmouth's eagerness to obtain horses and saddlery, and conjectured truly that his great wish now was to get away north to his friends in Cheshire. It was characteristic of Marlborough that from apparently small indications he possessed the power of divining his enemies' plans, and was thus enabled to forestall them. From the experience of the recent past, he foresaw with admirable clearness the immediate future, and was able, as it were, to map out coming events from a study of the position at the moment. He could balance future probabilities with strange accuracy, and could fill in with living figures the sketchy outline furnished by the spy. Without this peculiar gift—one of the instincts that mark the born General—no campaign can be directed with success. To realize what is going on beyond a range of hills, or any other natural barrier to human vision, and out of the reach of reconnoitring parties, is one of the problems which perpetually confronts the military commander. On the correct solution of that problem depends greatly the success of all military operations. Throughout all his campaigns, Marlborough understood, by instinct, as it were, what his enemy was about, what his aims were, and how he hoped to accomplish them. From a close and minute study of the possible, he was able to calculate the probable, and from a knowledge of his opponent's character, ability, and his way of looking at things—the result of his own Argus-like observation—to determine with almost prophetic accuracy the general course of events. No book-learned rules of analogy or reasoned-out deductions helped

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him to his conclusions. They were, like his wife's arithmetical calculations, arrived at by some unconscious mental process all his own. The General who has the misfortune to be unread in the science of war, but who is able by inference, or a sympathetic imagination, to form a true conception of his enemy's plans and intentions, will generally do far better in the field than one who has not these gifts, though his head be crammed with military history, the theory of strategy, and the rules of tactics. Those who, like Jomini, have written the best text-books upon war have seldom been leaders of armies, whereas others, born to command and endowed with the unerring military instinct which prompts them to do the right thing at the right moment, have frequently been unable to express a reason for the faith that was in them, or to explain how it was they reconciled their practice with accepted principles.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR.

Farmer Godfrey's information about position of Royal Army—
 Monmouth's plan of attack—Strength of Royal Army and of
 rebels—The Royal Army surprised in their camp and billets—
 Monmouth's attack fails, and he flies from the field.

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On the evening of Saturday, Monmouth was told of Feversham's arrival at Somerton, and the next day he could see his tents spread out upon the heath in front of Weston-Zoyland, not four miles distant. The time had come when he must decide finally whether he would or would not fight a battle. Three courses, of which he must now choose one, were open to him; either to advance upon Feversham's position and fight him in the open, to await his attack in Bridgewater—having done all he could to put that place in a state of defence—or, lastly, to avoid fighting by an immediate retreat.

Were his enthusiastic but ill-armed and untrained levies fit to cope in the open with the regular troops before him? Did their zeal for the Protestant cause compensate for their want of military training? It was the old, old question between the relative value of enthusiasm and discipline. Destitute himself of any real heartiness in the cause of Protestantism, he spurned the very notion of such a comparison or calculation. He wisely rejected the idea of a battle in the open as ridiculous, while the second course found favour with few of his followers, and would not bear examination. To shut himself up in Bridgewater would mean certain, though not perhaps immediate, death to him

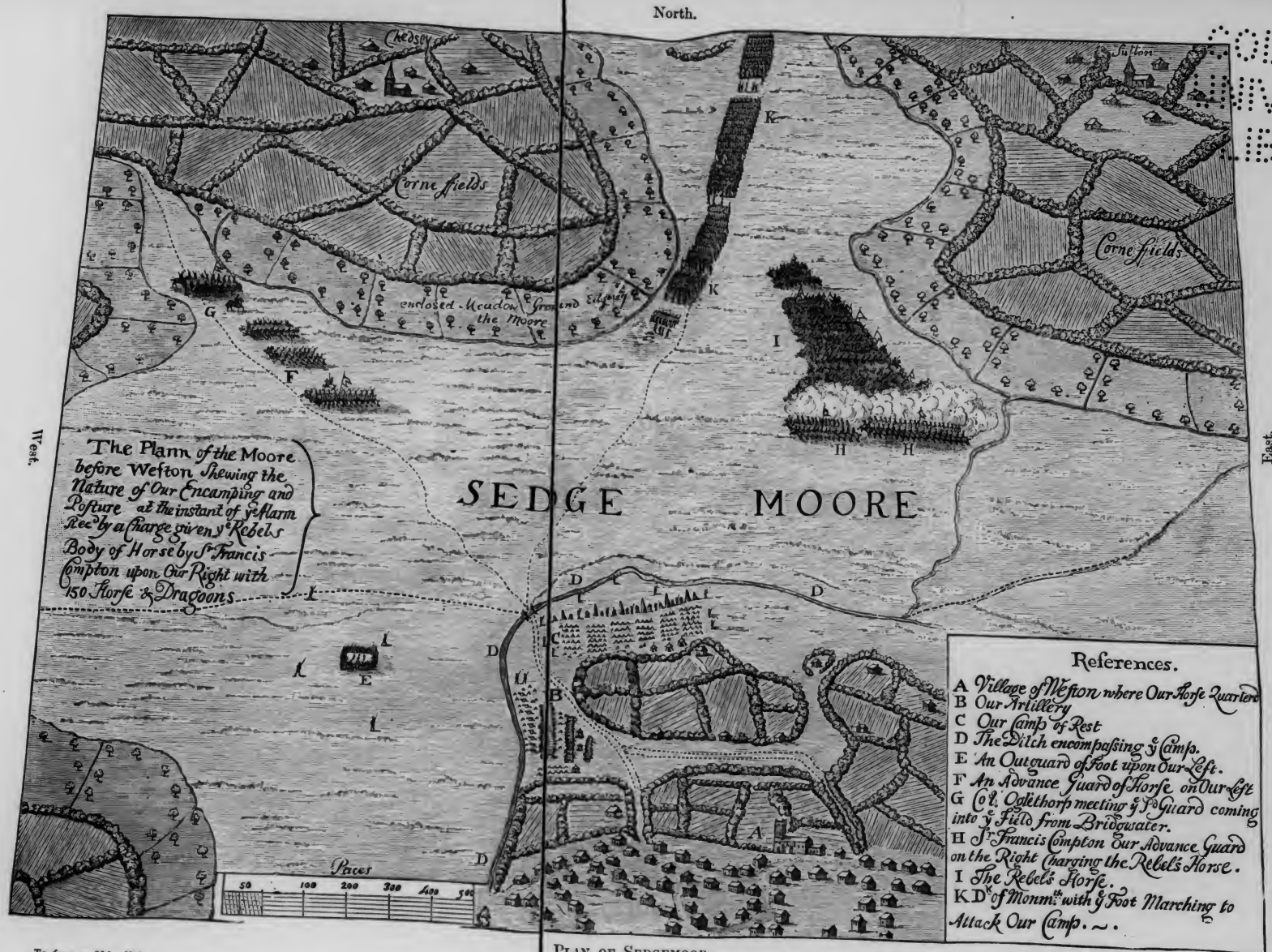


To face p. 310, Vol. I.

PLAN OF SEDGEMOOR.

Copied from MR. E. DUMMER's map in Pepysian Library, Cambridge.

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UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



To face p. 310, Vol. I.

Copied from Mr. E. DUMMER's map in Pepysian Library, Cambridge.

and his followers, for he must in time be surrounded and cut off from help and from all supplies by an army already well provided with guns and ammunition, and receiving daily accessions of strength. He rejected that course, therefore, without further argument. The third alternative, a rapid flight, only remained for consideration, and this he determined upon. In no other way could he escape the battle he was now so anxious to avoid.

The question then was, in what direction could he most easily and profitably escape? He ultimately resolved to make for Cheshire, by way of Axbridge, Keynsham, and Gloucester. In fact, he would now carry out the project which he had already formed when he made his half-hearted and futile attempt upon Bristol. To keep his plan secret, he made believe to hold Bridgewater, openly announced his intention of fortifying it, and in order to impress the idea upon the inhabitants, made a general requisition throughout the neighbourhood for the necessary implements. He did not, however, deceive Churchill, who had long felt sure that he meant to get away into Cheshire, a belief which was now shared by the Royal army at large. On Sunday morning, with a view to put his enemy off the scent, Monmouth issued orders for a retreat upon Taunton. But when he moved his men to the Castle Field on the eastern bank of the river, and posted his waggons and guns on the Keynsham road, it was evident that Taunton was not his real object.* His secret intention was to start just after dark for Keynsham, and his waggons being in their natural position in the column of route, would facilitate the operation.

As he was crossing the town bridge to join his men in the Castle Field, he was met by a farmer named Godfrey, who had just arrived from the neighbourhood of Feversham's camp.† He came to give Monmouth information

* The Castle, which had been taken and destroyed by Fairfax, stood $\frac{3}{4}$ m. S. 1645. in the town on the left or western bank of the Parret.

† The place where his father lived, near Sutton Malet, two miles north-east from Weston-Zoyland, is still called 'Godfrey's Farm.'

as to the Royalist army, and the exact position it occupied. Godfrey assured him that no efficient watch had been kept the previous night in Feversham's camp and billets, where all was drunken revelry; that no preparation was made for defence, because no one dreamed of the possibility of attack, and that even the sentries went to sleep, so universal was the belief that Monmouth's sole aim was to get away into Gloucestershire without further fighting.

Here was an opportunity for a bold night attack, the most deadly, but the most difficult of military operations. To be successful, it requires not only skilful combinations arranged beforehand, but the bravest, most confident, and best disciplined troops, directed by the most experienced staff, and led by well-trained officers. It was natural, therefore, that Monmouth should hesitate to decide upon such an operation, considering the character of the levies which he had at his disposal. They had rallied round his standard to fight 'for religion and for liberty,' but in his heart he felt that they lacked the discipline and cohesion essential for an enterprise of this sort. On the other hand, it presented the only possible way to victory. There is a strong element of chance in every battle, but it enters most largely into those fought in the dark; and this fact often commends a night attack to the commander of the weaker army, especially in circumstances so desperate as those in which Monmouth now found himself. But his resolve to adopt this course was not the result of any close or calm calculation of chances. It was rather the despair of the ruined gambler, who, worn out with a continued run of ill-luck, stakes in desperation all that remains to him upon one last throw of the dice. If he meant to fight at all, the sooner the better, for delay meant the arrival of reinforcements for the Royal army. He knew that the three English and the three Scotch regiments of Foot in the Dutch service had been recalled, and were to take the field against him.

Farmer Godfrey, anxious to make Monmouth understand thoroughly the position occupied by Feversham's army,

took him up the high tower of Bridgewater Church. From that point of vantage, with the aid of a telescope, Monmouth was able to make out clearly the plan of the Royal camp. He even recognised Dumbarton's Regiment,* and a battalion of the Foot Guards in which he had formerly served, and as he laid down his glass, he said with a sigh, 'I know those regiments, and they will fight; if I only had them I should not doubt of success.'

From the information supplied by Godfrey, and from his inspection of Feversham's position, it seemed clear to Monmouth that the Royal army lay open to a night attack. He could see that the camp faced two ways: the infantry towards the north, and the artillery towards the west, with a considerable interval between them.† The militia, he ascertained, occupied villages in the rear, beyond immediate supporting distance of the regulars in front. Feversham was so convinced of Monmouth's intention to retreat as quickly as he could, that he had evidently thought it unnecessary to entrench his well-chosen and already strong position. It was clear to him that assault upon it by day could only end in defeat, while a night attack by the rebels was a contingency that did not even occur to him. How many an army has been surprised or has suffered disaster from similar causes!

Weak men are given to oscillate between the two extremes of utter despair and absolute confidence, and Monmouth, who an hour before had been in a condition of hopeless despondency, was now in the highest spirits, carried away by Farmer Godfrey's assurance that the Royal camp could be easily surprised. Upon quitting the church tower, he exclaimed exultingly that Lord Grey's cavalry would have little difficulty in surprising the Royal Horse and the Headquarters in Weston-Zoyland. 'We shall have no more to do,' he said, 'than to lock up the stable-doors, and seize

* Now the Royal Scots, the oldest regiment in the army.

† This was the position General Fairfax occupied on $\frac{1}{11}$ 7, 1645, the day after he had driven the Royal troops over Sedgemoor with great loss.

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the troopers in their beds.* He had sufficient military instinct to feel that one last great opportunity was now open to him, thanks to the carelessness and folly of his French antagonist. He summoned a council of his officers and put the question, 'Shall we attack the Royal army to-night, if we can surprise it?' All agreed, provided the enemy's Foot were not entrenched. Godfrey was accordingly sent back to Weston-Zoyland to obtain positive information on this point. He returned saying that there were no works of any description in front of the Royal camp, and upon being further questioned by Monmouth, he gave a detailed account of the disposition of the Royal army. He said that the guns, under a guard of Churchill's Dragoons,† occupied the left of the line facing west and commanding the road from Bridgewater, whilst the Infantry camp on their right, and about a quarter of a mile to the north-west of the village church, was thrown back at a right angle and faced north towards the moor. There was an interval of about 150 yards between the Infantry and Artillery camps. The road ran practically parallel to the river Parret, which protected Feversham's left. Feversham's Horse and Dragoons were, he said, billeted in Weston-Zoyland. He omitted, however, to mention the important fact, that sweeping round the northern and western sides of the position was a deep wide drain, or canal, called the 'Bussex Rhine.' Great ditches, of which this was one, traversed the moor in many directions. They had been dug in ancient times to drain the low-lying districts, and in some places, as at Weston-Zoyland, to protect the village gardens and cornfields from floods. They were locally known as 'rhines' or 'rhoynes,' and were at all seasons formidable obstacles, owing to their immense size, to their unsound banks, and deep muddy bottoms. They could only be crossed, even by single horsemen, at fords, called by the peasantry 'plungeons' or 'steangings,' and their passage by troops at night was a difficult and

* Oldmixon.

† Now the Royal Dragoons.

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dangerous operation. Owing to the late heavy rains, there were several feet of water in the Bussex Rhine, which ran at a distance of about a hundred yards in front of the infantry camp. To the left of the infantry this great ditch bent back abruptly at right angles in front of the guns, and flowed close by into the river Parret.

Godfrey's omission to report the existence of the Bussex Rhine in front of the Royal army was fatal to Monmouth. To come as he did, unawares and at night, upon such a formidable obstacle with undisciplined troops, was certain to occasion confusion, if not panic. History tells us of many military operations which, though apparently well planned, have failed entirely because the scheme of attack was based upon imperfect information. The civilian spy often does not understand the relative importance of obstacles. He gets over them himself with the greatest ease, and it does not occur to him that an army will have greater difficulty. The tactical importance of a wet ditch even as big as the Bussex Rhine is incomprehensible to the peasant or farmer who has been accustomed to cross it daily at a ford or by a single plank.

In Saxon times Sedgemoor was a vast marsh, but in 1685 it was a low-lying peat moor that extended for about twelve miles in a north-westerly and south-easterly direction between the high ground near Somerton and Langport and the estuary of the river Parret, near Bridgewater. It was often flooded after heavy rains, when the river overflowed its banks. The villages stood upon small elevations some few feet above the surrounding moor, and in times of inundation looked like little crowded islands in what might then pass for an inlet of the sea. Hemmed in between the river and the Polden Hills, Sedgemoor is from four to five miles in width. A great part of it was below sea-level at high tides, and in many places it was so marshy as to be quite impassable for troops; but at the present day drainage works have converted much of this peat country into rich meadows and farm land.

Godfrey's second report overcame any opposition there may have been to the proposed night attack. The plan decided upon was to make, under the cover of darkness, a wide detour to the north-east, round Feversham's right flank, so as to avoid Chedzoy, where there was a detachment of Horse, and round any other outposts there might be in that direction, and to fall in the dark upon Feversham's right flank and rear. It was hoped that the mounted troops would be able in this way to reach and set fire to the village of Weston before any alarm could be given in the Royalist camp. Feversham's cavalry were billeted in the village, and in the confusion that such an attack was certain to cause amongst them, Monmouth's Horse were to push through it and fall upon the infantry camp in rear, whilst the rebel Foot assailed it in front. An attack if so delivered could not fail to spread panic and confusion amongst troops suddenly roused from sleep, all the deeper in their case from the heavy potations in which they were known to indulge every evening. It was assumed that the guns, which were separated from the Horse in the village, and from the Foot encamped outside it, would not be able to come into action; whilst it was hoped that Monmouth's four little field-pieces would materially help in the attack upon the camp. The plan was well conceived, and it nearly succeeded. In fact, so complete was the surprise that, had Monmouth known in advance of the Bussex Rhine and arranged accordingly, the battle of Sedgemoor might easily have had a different ending, and we might now remember as the preserver of our liberties and of Protestantism, not William of Orange, but the illegitimate son of poor Lucy Walters.

The thriving little town of Bridgewater presented an animated, picturesque scene on that Sunday afternoon. The diminutive harbour, filled with coasting craft, told of unusual commercial activity; and the narrow streets and lanes, crowded with red-coated deserters from the militia, and with rough scythemen in the homespun of the neigh-

bouring hills, proclaimed an unwonted excitement. The clank of swords and spurs upon the rough cobble pavement, the beating of drums, and the noisy revelry of soldiers living at free quarters, resounded on all sides. The day was long remembered there for its stirring events.

During the forenoon Monmouth's move across the river to the Castle Field had caused a great stir in the town. There had been many solemn leave-takings in anticipation of the march into Cheshire; but as soon as it was rumoured that an attack upon the enemy's camp was intended, the excitement knew no bounds. It was felt that, whatever might be each man's individual fate, the coming battle must make or mar the cause for which they had taken up arms. Hundreds of women bid good-bye to husbands, brothers, and sweethearts, and many a sobbing mother kissed for the last time her stout-limbed son. The 'God speed' spoken then was no mere conventional farewell; it was a solemn prayer, a heartfelt aspiration for the success of what was believed to be a holy cause.

The church was thronged with earnest worshippers imploring God to bless them with victory in the coming battle. Ferguson, the chaplain to the army, preached at the castle to a huge gathering upon the text: 'The Lord God of gods, the Lord God of gods, He knoweth, and Israel he shall know; if it be in rebellion, or if in transgression against the Lord, (save us not this day).'* Everything conspired to heighten the effect of the stream of fiery eloquence which this fanatic poured forth to a listening and excited crowd of armed enthusiasts. His burning words inflamed their earnest hearts, and they firmly believed that their God would fight for them.

In the town itself almost every coign of vantage was occupied by some Puritan preacher, who used all his oratorical power to excite his hearers, and to urge them to fight manfully for what was pronounced to be the cause of God and of the Covenant; but these preachers made no

* Joshua xxii. 22.

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allusion to the fact that all were expected to fight for King Monmouth, who claimed to reign as the grandson of him whom they had beheaded. They only called upon the people to be stout of heart, and to fight for the Lord of Hosts and for the Protestant cause.

Monmouth's force, consisting of Lord Grey's Horse and five battalions of Foot, numbered 3,500 men in all.* They were undrilled to the use of arms, badly officered, and entirely undisciplined. Grey's troopers were mounted upon young unbroken horses, which had recently been taken from the marsh lands, where they were reared. The four small field-pieces were in charge of a Dutch gunner. Attached to each battalion were about a hundred scythemen, who acted as a sort of specially favoured company. Unfortunately for Monmouth, the day before, when he had no intention to fight, he had sent two of his best troops of Horse to Minehead, about twenty-six miles west of Bridgewater, to collect horses, and to bring in some six guns known to be there. It is difficult to state the number who actually took part in the battle, for many had deserted at Frome and during the retreat from that place to Bridgewater. Besides, owing to the difficulty of night movements in confined lanes and over roadless moors, many of those who marched that evening from Bridgewater lost their way in the dark, and took no part in the battle. Lord Grey's lack of courage was so notorious that Monmouth was urged to divide his horse into two bodies, so that, if one ran away,

* Wade's confession in Harl. MSS. in Hardwick Papers. The detail was as follows:

	MEN.
A small mounted body-guard of about	40
Lord Grey's Horse	600
Monmouth's, or the Red Regt., commanded by Col. Wade	800
Monmouth's White Regt., commanded by Col. Foulkes	400
Monmouth's Blue Regiment, commanded by Colonel Basset	600
Monmouth's Yellow Regt., commanded by Col. Matthews	500
Monmouth's Green Regt., commanded by Col. Holmes	600
A company of Foot from Lyme Regis	80
Total	3,620

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the other might still accomplish the important part which the mounted men were expected to play in the attack; but he did not dare to act on this sensible advice through dread of offending his solitary well-born follower.

Feversham's army consisted of some troops of Household Cavalry, one regiment of Dragoons, six battalions of Foot, and sixteen guns, about 2,800 men in all, not counting officers, or the men who served the guns, or the 1,500 militia, which took no part in the battle.*

* The detail of the Royal army is as follows: 150 men selected from the three troops of Life Guards and 60 Horse Grenadiers under Lord Churchill's friend and connection, Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. F. Villiers; seven troops (about 400 men) of the King's Regiment of Horse, now the Royal Horse Guards Blue, under Sir Francis Compton, who was also as senior cavalry officer in command of the Horse; three troops of Churchill's Dragoons, now the Royal Dragoons, under Lord Cornbury (about 150 men): the fourth troop of this regiment was eight miles off at Langport, watching that passage over the Parret which was unfordable between it and Bridgewater. The Foot consisted of six battalions encamped in the following order from right to left: Five companies of the Royal Regiment, then known as Dumbarton's, now the Royal Scots, under Lieut.-Colonel Douglas: one of these was a grenadier company; seven companies, of which one was the grenadier company, of the first battalion of the King's Guards, now the Grenadier Guards, under the Duke of Grafton; six companies of the second battalion of the same regiment under Major Eaton; six companies of the 2nd Regiment of Guards, now the Coldstream Guards, under Lieut.-Colonel Sackville; five companies of the Queen Dowager's Regiment, now the Queen's or West Surrey Regiment, under Colonel Kirke: it was on the extreme left, and rested on the road from Bridgewater, which crossed the Bussex Rhine close by; five companies, of which one was the grenadier company, of the Queen's, previously known as the Duchess of York and Albany's Regiment, now the King's Own or Royal Lancaster Regiment: it was then commonly known as Trelawney's Regiment, and was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Charles Churchill. There were besides several militia regiments (about 1,500 in all) distributed in the villages of Middlezoy and Othery, two or three miles behind the position on the moor. They could not, however, be trusted in action, as by the number who had deserted to Monmouth and other signs they showed an unmistakable sympathy with the rebel cause. The total strength of the Royal army was fourteen troops of Horse and Dragoons, or about 700 men, and thirty-four companies of Foot, or about 2,100

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The Castle Field, where Monmouth's little army mustered, was three miles by the direct road, or, for so small a column moving at night, say an hour and a quarter's march from Feversham's position. But by the circuitous route actually followed, the distance was over five and a half miles, and the last two led over the roadless and difficult moor. In point of time, the march occupied about two and a half hours. Before starting, Monmouth received information that many of the Royal troopers in the village had already gone to bed drunk, and that in the camp the Foot soldiers had had more than enough of the country cider.

men. The artillery consisted of sixteen guns, each piece manned by one gunner and one matross, and supplied with forty round shot and fifteen case. It was under the immediate command of Mr. Shere, who was helped during the battle by Dr. Mews, the soldier Bishop of Winchester, commonly called 'Old Patch.' His portrait hangs in Farnham Castle, and shows the patch on his cheek from which he gained his nickname. A Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, in 1637, he was ejected by the Roundheads, and became a soldier in Holland, where he received the wound in his cheek, over which he always wore a patch. Returning to England at the Restoration, he was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1672, and translated to Winchester, 1684. This is very much the history of Henry Compton, Bishop of London; of Dolben, Archbishop of York; of W. Bew, Bishop of Llandaff; of J. Lake, Bishop of Chichester; of Crighton, Bishop of Bath and Wells; of John Fell, Bishop of Oxford; and of some others who sheathed their swords to enter the Church. Under the engraved portrait of Dr. Mews is printed, 'P. Mews, qui pugnavit et oravit pro pace regni et ecclesiæ.' I conclude the verbs are placed in this order as an insinuation that he esteemed fighting above devotion. It was said of him that he was 'fitter for a Bombardier than a Bishop.' For his services at Sedgemoor he received from the King a medal, which is represented in the above-mentioned picture. He once came near being hanged by the Cromwellians. This was the last occasion upon which a prelate took the field in England, though Bishop Walker was killed in Ireland five years later, and Bishop Polk fell in 1864 in command of a Confederate Army Corps. Shere was a man of science, and well skilled in gunnery. He had translated Polybius into English. King James knighted him for his services upon this occasion. The sixteen guns were made up of two 12-pounders, nine demi-culverins, four 6-pounders, four sakers and two minions. See letter from Duke of Somerset, p. 6 of Ninth Report of Historical MSS.

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His spirits rose on hearing this, and he began to imagine that the enemy were already at his mercy. The circumstances were most favourable, and he naturally felt that, if his soldiers did not fail him, he had a good chance of success.

Monmouth's own regiment, under Wade, formed the advanced guard of the daring little army as it moved off from the Castle Field at 11 p.m., closely followed by the other regiments of Foot, the Horse under Lord Grey coming next, and the four small field-guns bringing up the rear. The strictest silence was enjoined, and peremptory orders were issued that no shot should be fired until they were actually in the enemy's camp. The 'countersign,' by means of which they were to recognise one another in the dark, was 'Monmouth, and God with us.'*

The full July moon had risen shortly after eight o'clock, and was near the meridian as the rebel army filed silently along the Eastern Causeway, as that part of the Bristol road was then called. The direction of the march was north-easterly for about two miles to the junction of Bradley Lane with the Bristol road. There Monmouth halted to allow the Horse to get to the front before entering on the open moor. The track followed under the guidance of Farmer Godfrey is still known as 'War Lane.'†

In the narrow lanes, before the column emerged upon the open moor, the movements were much retarded through the difficulty of keeping the undrilled troops in anything like military order. Before turning from these lanes to cross North Moor, Monmouth parked his forty-two baggage-waggons, under a small guard, at Peasy Farm. The tracks over the moor would certainly be impassable for

* In Clarke's 'Life of James II.' it is stated that Monmouth's 'countersign' was 'Soho.' He quotes 'Pennant's London' as his authority for the statement that 'Soho Square' had been previously known as 'Monmouth Square,' and that the new title was adopted because it had been the rebel countersign that night. Monmouth lived in the centre house of the Square, which faces the statue.

† Roberts' 'History of Monmouth.'

laden carriages by night, and besides, this arrangement rendered his column more easy to handle. For some unknown reason, he also left one of his four field-guns there. The night was still, but a heavy mist had risen, which, hanging over the low-lying moorlands round Chedzoy and Sutton, and between those villages and Weston-Zoyland, made it difficult for sentries and vedettes to see any distance. Lord Feversham had ascertained from spies that Monmouth had moved his men in the course of the afternoon from their billets in Bridgewater to the Castle Field, and that arrangements had been made for a march to Bristol that night. It was desirable to ascertain what road Monmouth should take, although there was no intention of pursuing him until next morning. Late in the evening, Feversham accordingly sent out Colonel Oglethorpe in command of the third troop of Life Guards, with orders to watch Monmouth's movements.* He was to push forward to the north-east of Bridgewater, and to cross the two roads leading from it to Bristol and Keynsham.

Feversham's men and horses were tired and somewhat used up by their recent marches and counter-marches over bad roads in most inclement weather. He consequently wished to spare them a night pursuit of what he believed to be a flying enemy, thinking that his troops, after a good night's rest, would next day be in a better condition to overtake them. His other dispositions for the protection of the camp were; a detachment of the Royal Dragoons at the bridge over the Parret in Langport; another of one hundred Horse and fifty Dragoons under Sir Francis Compton in Chedzoy, to watch the right front,

* Oglethorpe was one of James's most faithful followers. Colonel of the Holland Regiment at the Revolution, he resigned, and the regiment was given to Charles Churchill, Marlborough's brother, who retained it until 1707, when he was transferred to the Coldstream Guards. After Oglethorpe's death, it was sought by Mrs. F. Shaftoe to prove that the Pretender was the child of Sir Theophilus and Lady Oglethorpe.

the path which led by that village into Bridgewater, and the one to the east of it along which the rebel column eventually advanced; an outpost of forty Horse on the direct road to Bridgewater, with orders to patrol to its front and to watch the left flank of the Royal position; and still further towards that flank and about 350 yards to the west of Feversham's guns there was a piquet of fifty musketeers in a sort of walled sheepfold known as Penzoy Pound, upon which the cavalry posts and detachments protecting the left were to retire if attacked.* One hundred of Dumbarton's regiment were kept under arms all night as an inlying piquet.† Feversham himself remained at Chedzoy until late waiting for Oglethorpe's return, and in the belief that, if the enemy moved, he should be able to hear them from that village, as the night was still. A messenger from Oglethorpe's party reached him about midnight with a report that nothing had been seen of the enemy. As quiet seemed to reign on all sides, Feversham returned to his quarters, undressed, and went to bed. He has been commonly blamed for allowing himself to be surprised that night, and the commander is very properly always held responsible for any such disaster. But it must be admitted that the dispositions he made would have protected him against surprise had Compton and Oglethorpe known their work and done it properly. Feversham's fault was not, I think, so much an unskilful disposition of his piquets and outposts as the fact that he went to bed in ignorance of his enemy's doings and intentions. All through this short campaign there were traitors in both camps who supplied the opposite side with information. Yet Feversham never seems to have known what his enemy was doing, or where he was going, a fact which of itself proves that he did not know his business. Had he

* Mrs. Stopford Sackville's Papers, Ninth Report, p. 4, Historical MSS. The sheepfold is marked E on the accompanying sketch of the position.

† Cannon's 'History of the Royal Scots.'

been a competent commander, Monmouth could not have moved from Bridgewater that night without his knowledge. Before he assumed command, Churchill, with only a small body of cavalry at his disposal, had hung upon the rebel army so closely that it could go nowhere, and neither do nor plan anything of which he was not fully aware. He harassed it night and day, cutting off stragglers, and preventing many from joining Monmouth who would otherwise have done so. But Feversham, with a stronger and much better army than the rebels could muster, always suffered Monmouth to take the initiative, and to do and go where he pleased, whilst the Royal army merely blundered after them.* For the disgraceful condition of things in the Royal camp Feversham must also be held responsible, and consequently for the fact that he was taken unawares. Upon the night in question there would seem to have been but few sentries or vedettes posted anywhere, and report says that most of those few had fallen into a drunken sleep.

Oglethorpe carried out his orders most negligently. Instead of being rewarded as he was for his services at Sedgemoor, he ought to have been dismissed the army for incompetence and carelessness. Although he crossed both the roads he was ordered to examine, he could not have pushed the smallest patrol along either in the direction of Bridgewater, for had he done this he could easily have ascertained what Monmouth was about. With the most culpable neglect of duty, he returned to Chedzoy without having seen or heard anything of an enemy at that moment on the march and close to him. Passing through Chedzoy, he made for the Weston and Bridgewater road or track, and upon reaching it turned westward towards the enemy, until within half a mile of Bridgewater. Sending forward a patrol of four men to the gates of the place, he ascertained what he might have discovered long before—that Monmouth had left the town by the Bristol Road. This news startled

* Including the militia, the Royal army was much stronger than the rebels.

him somewhat, and he hastened off to inform Feversham, but he was too late; Monmouth had begun the attack before he reached even the cavalry piquet on the Bridgewater-Weston track. As he approached that outpost the firing had already begun on Feversham's right, and all was confusion in the Royal camp, especially in the village of Weston, where the Horse were billeted.

In the meantime, whilst Oglethorpe was careering uselessly over the country in search of the rebel army, Monmouth, after a short halt at Peasy Farm to park his waggons and reform the column of route, struck out into the thick mist in a south-easterly direction by a track which led to Weston-Zoyland across the bleak North Moor. He purposely made a wide sweep eastward to avoid the enemy's cavalry outpost in Chedzoy. The track he followed passed about midway between it and the high ground on which Sutton Mallet stands. Anyone who has led a column into action by night over a flat, roadless country along a track which can only be followed with difficulty in the dark, will understand the trying nature of the task imposed upon Farmer Godfrey. Some of the accounts dwell upon his confusion, but it was most natural that he should be perplexed under the circumstances, although he knew the locality thoroughly well by daylight.

The track crossed two great ditches before reaching the Bussex Rhine. Over the first, known as the Black Ditch, which traversed the North Moor, Godfrey led the column successfully by the ford, or steaning, near Parchy. The troops reformed in two columns to the south of the ditch, the Horse on the left, the Foot on the right, and advanced in that formation to the next great ditch, called the Langmoor Rhine. In his anxiety to give a wide berth to the Royal Horse in Chedzoy, Godfrey had led somewhat too much to the eastward, and, puzzled by the fog, he missed the ford. There was consequently much delay and difficulty in getting over this second rhine, deep as it was with mud and water. Many horses were bogged, and a

number of men, in their endeavours to find a crossing-place, strayed far from the beaten track, lost their way, and were seen no more. The passage was at last effected about a mile north of the Royal camp, and the clock in Chedzoy steeple struck one as the rebels began to reform south of this second ditch. A short halt was made to enable the Foot to form up whilst the Horse pushed well ahead. Up to this moment Feversham and all his host lay fast asleep, ignorant of the storm which was about to burst upon them. Feversham's dispositions upon this occasion afford a good illustration of how it is that disasters are brought about, whilst those of Monmouth show how great is the advantage gained by cleverly-spread false information as to your intentions. The General who has thoroughly deceived his enemy has already half beaten him.

After a short halt, Monmouth again put his column in motion, no orders being given in tones above a whisper. Anyone making a noise was to be at once stabbed by his nearest comrade, a necessary precaution upon such an occasion.* The solemn silence of a night-march near the enemy is awe-inspiring in itself, but in the weirdness of that lonely moor every circumstance contributed to make it exceptionally impressive.

As soon as Lord Grey's Horse began to advance south of the Langmoor Rhine, it was discovered by a vedette of the Life Guards, who, firing his pistol, galloped towards the infantry camp, calling upon everyone to turn out, as the rebels were upon them.† Monmouth, finding his presence

* Historical MSS., Rutland Papers, vol. ii., p. 90. This is stated on good authority by Charles Bertie in a letter to his niece, Lady Rutland.

† The Rev. Robert Ferguson (the 'Plotter') was with the Horse at this moment, and asserts that the alarm was given by a traitor, Captain Hucker, of Lord Grey's Horse. But his narrative is untrustworthy, and I think the version given here is more correct, although Dalrymple asserts that when Hucker was tried by Jeffreys he pleaded his treachery to Monmouth upon this occasion in mitigation of his crime. Dalrymple, vol. i., Part I., Book II., p. 200.

thus discovered, ordered Grey to push forward as quickly as possible into Weston, and set fire to it as originally intended. This, it was anticipated, would throw the Royal Horse into utter confusion, in the midst of which Grey might take the Foot in rear, whilst Monmouth attacked it in front.

As the shouts of alarm rose over the dreary waste of fog-covered moor, all was soon confusion in the village and in the adjoining camp. Troopers, half asleep and still stupid from the previous night's debauch, mounted in hot haste, or rushed noisily about their billets in search of horse, arms, or breastplate. Though the full moon was still high, the thick mist rendered it difficult to distinguish objects only a few yards distant. Saddles could not be found, bridles were missing, and turmoil and disorder reigned supreme. The surprise was complete; but an immediate attack, boldly delivered and pushed home, could alone convert it into a victory, and Lord Grey was not the man to make it. All the advantages upon which Monmouth had justly calculated from an unexpected attack were thrown away and lost through the cowardice of this man. There is a critical moment in every surprise, which, if seized upon and properly utilized by the attacking party, leads almost certainly to victory; whereas, if neglected, another chance seldom presents itself. When Grey had crossed the Langmoor Rhine, he dismissed Godfrey, not knowing that there was still one more great ditch, the Bussex Rhine, between him and Weston. The Horse unluckily made for the camp rather than for the village, and so missed the usual crossing-place. It may have been that Grey mistook the lighted matches of Dumbarton's regiment, which shone feebly through the mist in front of him, for the lights of the village. Finding himself thus brought to a standstill by this unexpected obstacle, he unfortunately turned to his right—westwards—instead of to his left. The result was that he soon found himself opposite the infantry camp, alive with men 'falling in' for a night alarm.

Had Grey been a true soldier, he would certainly have turned up, not down, the canal-like ditch to look for a ford, especially as the more he worked to his left the more he would have turned his enemy's flank. Meanwhile, some of the rebel Horse that had strayed away to the eastward, under Lieutenant Jones, had a little skirmishing with Compton's Life Guards, who now came trooping in from Chedzoy to defend the village ford across the Bussex Rhine.

Lord Grey found himself facing Dumbarton's regiment, which was on the extreme right of the line. The officers of this battalion, of greater experience in war than those of the other regiments, were somewhat more on the alert. As it was the only regiment present which still retained the matchlock, the others being armed with the newly introduced snaphaunce or flint musket, Grey was able to mark its position by the burning matches.*

Whilst he was trying to cross the Bussex Rhine, Monmouth, close behind, was pressing forward with the Foot, his three little iron field-guns being at the head of the column. It is not known at what point in his advance Monmouth became aware of the formidable ditch which protected the front and right flank of Feversham's position. King James states, in his account of the battle, that Monmouth knew nothing of the Bussex Rhine until he came upon it with his Foot. Godfrey accompanied the Horse, and there may not have been anyone with Monmouth who knew the locality well. Besides, a guide taken from the local peasantry might not have thought it worth while to mention such a ditch, through ignorance of its military importance and of its bearing upon the approaching battle.

Monmouth, pike in hand, began to form for attack when within about eighty paces of the Rhine, his men much out

* Whilst matchlocks were in use it was no uncommon ruse at night to impress your enemy with an exaggerated notion of your strength by placing lines of sticks, with burning slow matches attached to them, in front of a position to be defended.

of breath from the quickness of the pace at which he had led them forward. The strictest injunctions were given against firing without orders, and the five little battalions had just begun to advance when their panic-stricken Horse came flying back past them. It would seem, that when trying to cross the ditch in front of them, they were challenged by Dumbarton's regiment and a battalion of the Foot Guards from the opposite side. 'Who are you for?' 'The King.' 'What King?' 'Monmouth, and God with us,' was the prompt answer. 'Take this with you, then,' was the reply, as the battalions poured a volley upon the startled troopers. Several saddles were emptied, and the untrained marsh mares upon which the rebels were almost exclusively mounted, taking fright, rushed madly to the rear. This incident had an extremely unfortunate effect upon the courage and confidence of the Foot, and rendered them unsteady at the very moment when they needed all their nerve and spirit. It demoralized them in an instant, and the alarm extended quickly on all sides. In the rear, numbers of stragglers, who had lost their way in the dark and were now pressing eagerly forward upon meeting the flying cavalry, joined in the stampede under the impression that all was lost. The panic was thus communicated to the drivers of the baggage and ammunition waggons left at Peasy Farm, and they at once made off for their homes at Ware and Axbridge.* Such is the infectious nature of a scare, especially at night. Lord Grey seems to have joined in the flight, and to have done nothing to stay it. Monmouth's servant, Williams, who was taken prisoner, stated that he had heard his master say, whilst the fighting was going on, that it was Grey's cowardice which had lost the battle.

The General in command was comfortably in bed when

* Mrs. Stopford Sackville's Papers, Ninth Report, Historical MSS., p. 5. These drivers, the one gun left behind by Monmouth, and all his baggage and ammunition, were captured at Axbridge the following day.

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the alarm sounded. Not so Churchill, who ever since Feversham had joined hands with him had striven by his own vigilance and energy to neutralize the Commander-in-Chief's military incapacity and want of forethought. The instant the alarm was given, Churchill ran to the camp, and putting himself at the head of Dumbarton's regiment, formed it to the front along the southern bank of the Bussex Rhine, where it opened fire upon Grey's cavalry, as already described, checked the advancing rebel infantry and gave time to the rest of Feversham's army to assume a fighting formation.

It had been Monmouth's intention to wait for the firing of the village by the Horse, before he finally advanced with his infantry upon the Royal camp. But when, during the cruel moments of waiting and expectancy, he saw, to his horror and dismay, Grey's troopers gallop wildly past him in hopeless flight, he felt that the original plan was no longer practicable. A daring, determined and rapid advance with his Foot upon the camp might yet have won the day. The Royal army was in confusion and still under the influence of that panic and demoralization which invariably seizes upon soldiers when attacked without warning in the dead of night. The best troops often waver under such conditions, and if the assailant has but the heart and the necessary cohesion to drive home his attack—being near enough to do so—before the enemy has time to recover from his first surprise, he can generally count on victory. Monmouth felt this, and hurried forward his Foot, directing his advance upon the burning matches of Dumbarton's regiment. But untrained rustics, whose nerves were already shaken by the flying cavalry, could not be induced to keep their ranks or maintain order; the battalions soon became mixed and then unmanageable. Wade's regiment was the first to reach the ditch and to reform preparatory to crossing. It had not fired a shot as yet, but the next battalion, commanded by Colonel Matthews, at once opened fire. That strange, heart-beating sensation,

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that hush of expectancy which precedes the first outburst of infantry fire in many actions, especially at night, was now over. But in this instance the firing put an end to all order and obedience in Monmouth's ranks. Even with regular troops it is most difficult to stop firing begun at night under such circumstances; and the worst of it is, that it generally spreads with a lightning rapidity that taxes the powers of even the most experienced officers to restrain. In this instance the bad example was followed by the other regiments, and the fusillade so opened was the beginning of the end, the death-knell in fact of Monmouth's rebellion. The aim was wild, and far too high to harm the Royal troops.* Regiments which have made a bad beginning of this kind can seldom be induced to charge, and after about an hour and a half of heavy but useless fire, a cry arose for more ammunition. There was none to be had, the only reserve having been left with the baggage at Peasy Farm, some two and a half miles off. The three rebel guns had come into action on the left of their Foot, and, directed by the Dutch gunner in charge of them, did considerable execution in the closed ranks of Dumbarton's and the Guards' regiments. But it soon became evident that it was a lost battle for the rebels, and that all the advantages which a night surprise gives the assailant were lost, owing to the untimely fire of the Foot. The untrained levies were not equal to the task which Monmouth had laid upon them.

On the Royalist side Dumbarton's regiment alone fired; the other regiments received the enemy's fire with great steadiness without replying.† During the anxious hour and

* Letter from Phineas Pett, Carte MS. 72, folio 611, Bodleian Library.

† I have mainly followed the details given of this action by King James, by Wade, and by Ferguson. James's account is clear, because he learned all the occurrences from the chief actors, and visited the scene of the battle in August the following year, as appears from the churchwardens' accounts at Weston-Zoyland. 'The great Duke of Wellington told Sir Walter Scott that "the most distinct writer on military affairs he had ever read was James II."'—Sir W. Scott's Letters, vol. ii., p. 77.

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a half which followed upon the first alarm, and while the dandy Feversham was making his toilet before a tiny looking-glass, Churchill made his presence felt throughout the Royal army.* He perceived at a glance how necessary it was to have guns in action on the right, where the enemy was pressing most seriously. But the artillery had been placed in a position where they were now of no use, for they had no enemy in front of them, and they could not be brought to bear upon the rebel flank attack. He ordered some guns to be moved into line with the infantry, but this was not easily done. The recent rains had made the marshy soil deep and heavy, and darkness added to the difficulty of the operation. At this critical time the Bishop of Winchester, 'Old Patch,' came to the Master-Gunner's rescue with his carriage horses and helped to bring the guns into action.† They opened at a critical moment, when the three little field-pieces of the rebels were making havoc at short range in the Royal ranks. To support his artillery and to reinforce the right of the Royal army, now heavily engaged, Churchill next brought the Queen's and the Queen Dowager's regiments‡ from the left of the line along the rear of the four battalions already in action, and deployed them on the right of the line. It was now about 3 o'clock a.m., and the first glimmer of dawn began to show itself in the dull and blotted sky, heavy with the wetting mist which still hung over the moorland.

Seeing how steady the Royalist regiments of Foot had become, and perceiving that the enemy's fire had somewhat slackened, Churchill led a troop of his own Dragoons across the Bussex Rhine. The first thing he saw in the gray dawn was a wounded officer, whom he hailed with, 'Who art thou?' It was Holmes, the rebel Colonel, whose

* Oldmixon.

† A royal warrant of 26, 2, 1685, directs the payment of £40 to a Sergeant Weems 'for good service in the action of Sedgemoor in firing the great guns against the rebels.'

‡ We find that four men of the latter received ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.) each as compensation for wounds received in this battle.

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regiment had, early in the action, fired into the Royal Dragoons when Churchill had formed them up on the right of the Foot. To save them from this fire, an officer called out in the dark, 'Don't fire, we are friends.' Holmes, believing this, rode forward to the edge of the ditch, and being challenged as to whom 'he was for,' answered, 'Monmouth.' The immediate reply was a volley which wounded him badly and killed his horse. Happy had it been for him had it killed him also, and so saved him from the gallows.*

Churchill, having formed up his Dragoons beyond the Rhine, charged the rebel guns, and killed or drove off those who served them. Most of the Royal cavalry were still behind the Bussex Ditch on the right of the Foot. But as it grew lighter they also crossed and had some partial encounters with the rebels. Oglethorpe ventured a charge upon one of Monmouth's battalions, but was repulsed with loss, and Sarsfield, who also charged with like result, was unhorsed and left for dead on the field. Feversham would not allow the main body of his cavalry to pass the Rhine until it was light enough to clearly distinguish friend from foe, but some of the Foot, seeing Churchill drive off the rebel gunners, crossed and took possession of Monmouth's three field-pieces.

Slowly the stars died out in the cold flush of dawn, and still the battle raged, but in the growing light both sides began to realize that Monmouth was defeated. When at last day broke with that cold, pitiless light which immediately precedes sunrise, crowds of the poor beaten rebels could be seen streaming back towards Bridgewater. Lord Grey's cavalry had disappeared, but a fierce fight still raged on the fatal banks of the Bussex Rhine. There the bulk of Wade's and of another rebel battalion still clung undaunted, and, using their scythes and mining tools,

* Colonel Abraham Holmes was a religious zealot, and had been a hard-fighting Cromwellian officer. He lost his arm in this battle, and before even the stump was healed Jeffreys hanged him.

fought as only desperate men will fight in a religious cause.* They found themselves deserted by their comrades and by the Horse that should have protected their flanks, hard pressed as they were by the Life Guards and Churchill's Dragoons. This hopeless but gallant struggle was brought to an end at last by a determined attack of the grenadier companies of the Guards and Dumbarton's regiment. About three hundred of Monmouth's bravest followers fell in that charge, dying for an unworthy leader in what they believed to be a holy cause.†

Colonel Wade, with some two hundred of his men, now made for the fence behind him which divided the tillage from the moorland, and there about a hundred and fifty found temporary shelter. Most of these subsequently escaped to Bridgewater, where a few hundred other fugitives had already collected, together with three troops of the rebel Horse who had run away early in the battle without striking a blow. The moon set that morning at about 4 o'clock, and the sun rose upon a horrible scene where Englishmen met Englishmen in internecine strife.

Lord Grey had accompanied his Horse in their flight for some time, but eventually rejoined Monmouth about day-break. Churchill and the Royal Horse had already crossed the Bussex Rhine, and it was evident that as soon as the light should enable the Royal cavalry to move freely over the moor, all chance of escape for the rebel leaders would be at an end. Grey, loath to die, urged this upon Monmouth. The day, he said, was irretrievably lost, and it was high time for them to think of their own safety. What a heart-breaking moment for the commander of men whom he had led to destruction! In the gray light of early dawn, Monmouth could see his gallant followers

* Evelyn's Diary of 8, 7, 1685.

† The French Ambassador, Barillon, in his despatch describing Sedgemoor, writes in high terms of the manner in which Monmouth's Foot had fought, and of the difficulty with which it was eventually broken by the Royal troops.

being hacked to pieces, slain in a struggle to place the crown upon his head. The proud gentleman, the brave high-mettled soldier, would have spurned Grey's craven advice, and would have elected to fall amidst those who were dying for him. But Monmouth was moved by no such manly impulse. In defeat, as in all moments of gloom, he evinced a contemptible lack of courage. It was not so much a fear of death as an unworthy love of life that moved him. For life he was prepared to sacrifice honour and all that makes life worth living. His decision, therefore, was quickly arrived at. Divesting himself of breast and back pieces, he galloped from the field with Grey and about fifty mounted men. He halted for a moment on the top of the Polden Range, and looked back. The firing still continued, and he could hear the loud turmoil of the battle, and amidst the smoke and purple mist of morning could even see the poor but stout-hearted peasants still fighting for the leader who had ignominiously deserted them.

The battle of Sedgemoor was lost chiefly through the bad handling and the misconduct of Grey's untrained Horse and the cowardice of its leader. Bold in council, he lacked the nerve to execute what his reason told him he ought to do. In safety he made skilful plans, but he had not the nerve to carry them out in the midst of danger. The din of battle seemed to paralyze his reasoning powers. He possessed the will, but lacked the resolute heart which can alone enable a man to reason and think when the very air seems filled with bullets and the busy sound of death. Had Grey pushed boldly forward into Weston-Zoyland at first, and set fire to the village as it was settled he should do, the Royal Horse would, I believe, have dispersed in panic. They could not have been collected again that day for any effective work; and there can be little doubt that the scare would have spread amongst the Foot with lightning rapidity. Darkness carries with it an undefinable terror, and most men, when

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suddenly roused from sleep, are strangely subject to a wild and unreasoning fright, which runs like an electric current through the ranks of a surprised army, and there is no predicting where it will stop. In the twinkling of an eye, a division may thus become a mad mob, dangerous only to itself, and an easy prey to any enemy who charges home. The appalling hum of alarm, the first symptom of panic, amongst troops at night, once heard, can never be forgotten; it haunts you always. It is the crisis of an instant, and the manner in which it is dealt with is a high test of the leader's nerve and force of character. Had Lord Grey known what a night panic meant, he would, the moment the alarm was given, have crossed the Bussex Rhine with all haste and boldly charged. Throughout this short campaign Grey had persisted in dealing with his raw levies, as if they had been regular troops. He checked and restrained their undisciplined ardour, and so robbed them of their best characteristic—their one good fighting quality—without being able to give them as a substitute any of the useful attributes of regular soldiers.

A merciless pursuit of the broken rebels now began, in which Dumbarton's regiment led the way, capturing Monmouth's standard with its gold-embroidered motto of 'Fear none but God.' Pressed by Lyttelton's troop of Horse, many of the fugitives made for the cornfields and inclosed ground which stretched away behind them. In this flight they lost about a thousand men. 'Our men are still killing them in y^e corne and hedges and ditches whither they are crept,' wrote a correspondent on the spot.*

The traveller can obtain a good view of the field of Sedgemoor if he mounts the high and fine old square tower of St. Mary's Church in Weston-Zoyland. The mower now whets his scythe where all was marsh and moorland in 1685. The rushes and the heather have

* This is said in the P.S. to a letter from Phineas Pett to the Duke of Ormond's secretary. It is dated Weston-Zoyland, July 6, 1685, seven in the morning. Carte MS. 72, folio 611, Bodleian Library.

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disappeared, and a splendid pasturage, divided into wide rectangular fields, has taken their place. As the eye wanders over the pretty gardens which now surround the village and the well-stocked grass-land beyond, it is difficult to picture this quiet English landscape as it was two centuries ago, the scene of bloodshed, and filled with the din of contending armies. The jackdaw from the church tower close by now seeks its food on the gentle undulations, once big mounds, the guide says, where the dead were buried near that old Bussex Rhine which saved the Royal army from destruction. Glastonbury seems near at hand, and to the north are the Polden Hills, from which Monmouth, in his ignoble flight, caught a last glimpse of the battle. Chedzoy village, clustering round its church, is to the right as you look towards Bridgewater and over the intervening green meadows; the stillness of peace is broken only by the tinkling of cow-bells. The old, irregular ditches have given place to straight, wide drains, whose sedgy margins are here and there lined with pollarded willows, or withies, as they are locally called. There is only one old house remaining in Zoyland, but the church stands there, the monument of many centuries, the record of many changes, and the silent witness of many stirring events. On no Sunday, however, has its finely carved oak roof ever sheltered such a crowd of men as on the afternoon of the battle. It was no congregation met to honour God or to pray for mercy. It consisted of about 500 peasants who had been taken prisoners while fighting for their religion, and for him whom they regarded as its representative. Many were wounded, some were dying. There were no surgeons to dress their wounds, no friends to comfort them, and nothing to alleviate their suffering. The surrounding farmers, now only bent on propitiating the victors, brought barrels of ale and cider to the King's soldiers, but sent nothing to their imprisoned friends. The wounded and the dying of the defeated side are apt to fare badly; but

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A merciless pursuit of the broken rebels now began, in which Dumbarton's regiment led the way, capturing Monmouth's standard with its gold-embroidered motto of 'Fear none but God.' Pressed by Lyttelton's troop of Horse, many of the fugitives made for the cornfields and inclosed ground which stretched away behind them. In this flight they lost about a thousand men. 'Our men are still killing them in y^e corne and hedges and ditches whither they are crept,' wrote a correspondent on the spot.*

The traveller can obtain a good view of the field of Sedgemoor if he mounts the high and fine old square tower of St. Mary's Church in Weston-Zoyland. The mower now whets his scythe where all was marsh and moorland in 1685. The rushes and the heather have

* This is said in the P.S. to a letter from Phineas Pett to the Duke of Ormond's secretary. It is dated Weston-Zoyland, July 6, 1685, seven in the morning. Carte MS. 72, folio 611, Bodleian Library.

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disappeared, and a splendid pasturage, divided into wide rectangular fields, has taken their place. As the eye wanders over the pretty gardens which now surround the village and the well-stocked grass-land beyond, it is difficult to picture this quiet English landscape as it was two centuries ago, the scene of bloodshed, and filled with the din of contending armies. The jackdaw from the church tower close by now seeks its food on the gentle undulations, once big mounds, the guide says, where the dead were buried near that old Bussex Rhine which saved the Royal army from destruction. Glastonbury seems near at hand, and to the north are the Polden Hills, from which Monmouth, in his ignoble flight, caught a last glimpse of the battle. Chedzoy village, clustering round its church, is to the right as you look towards Bridgewater and over the intervening green meadows; the stillness of peace is broken only by the tinkling of cow-bells. The old, irregular ditches have given place to straight, wide drains, whose sedgy margins are here and there lined with pollarded willows, or withies, as they are locally called. There is only one old house remaining in Zoyland, but the church stands there, the monument of many centuries, the record of many changes, and the silent witness of many stirring events. On no Sunday, however, has its finely carved oak roof ever sheltered such a crowd of men as on the afternoon of the battle. It was no congregation met to honour God or to pray for mercy. It consisted of about 500 peasants who had been taken prisoners while fighting for their religion, and for him whom they regarded as its representative. Many were wounded, some were dying. There were no surgeons to dress their wounds, no friends to comfort them, and nothing to alleviate their suffering. The surrounding farmers, now only bent on propitiating the victors, brought barrels of ale and cider to the King's soldiers, but sent nothing to their imprisoned friends. The wounded and the dying of the defeated side are apt to fare badly; but

here, though in the midst of sympathizing friends and countrymen, no man dared to give them even water or show them pity, lest he too should be included in the general condemnation.

As the setting sun that evening threw lengthened shadows from bush and mound across the dreary moorland, nearly every tree by the roadside had swinging from its branches the body of some poor weaver or Mendip miner. Happy, indeed, were those who had died like men that morning, fighting hard upon the banks of the fatal Bussex Rhine. The sun had never shone throughout a day of more wicked, more cruel butchery.

And so ended this battle in which well-armed British regulars, led by English gentlemen, slaughtered a mob of stout English peasants led by tradesmen and commanded by the illegitimate son of a King. It was the end of a rebellion in which some thousands of good West-Country folk were either killed in action or butchered by order of the King with all the apparent formality of the law, or sent to die as slaves in a deadly climate, contrary to the recognised customs of war and to the established rights of English freemen.

This, the last battle fought in England, was fought to secure James his crown. If through the folly and parsimony of our people we should ever see another, it will be fought in defence of London. The struggle will be, not for a dynasty, but for our own very existence as an independent nation. Are we prepared to meet it? The politician says Yes; the soldier and the sailor say No.

CHAPTER XL.

THE BLOODY ASSIZE.

Churchill's pursuit of the rebels—Monmouth captured—Marlborough returns to London—Judge Jeffreys—James's hardness of heart.

THE battle over, to push forward into Bridgewater with some 500 Horse and as many Foot was Lord Churchill's first care. He found the place deserted. To announce their 'nocturnal victory'* to the King, he sent an express which apparently reached Whitehall before any despatch from Feversham.

All next day the King's troops searched the neighbourhood and butchered the helpless fugitives, whom they found hiding in swamps and woods and ditches. Lord Feversham himself set an example of barbarity by causing many of the prisoners to be ruthlessly hanged without any form of trial—a proceeding opposed to all the laws of war. The day after the battle he marched into Bridgewater with a crowd of prisoners tied together like negroes in an African slave-dealer's caravan.† He hanged some twenty-two at once, and several more the next day. He was only prevented from committing further atrocities by the urgent representations of the Bishop of Winchester, who warned him that he might be called to account for murder. There was, however, little risk of this, for only a few days before James had expressed regret in a message to Feversham that when he entered Frome he had not hanged

* Dryden's 'Hind and Panther,' Part II.

† Kennett, vol. iii., p. 432; Oldmixon, i., p. 704.

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'any persons found deserving, as he would have you do at other places if you shall see cause.' In all, some 2,000 poor peasants were killed in these two days of slaughter. The Royal army lost about 400 men killed and wounded, Dumbarton's regiment suffering the most.*

The following letters from Lady Sunderland conveyed to her 'very dear friend' Lady Churchill the first news of the victory:† 'I hope this will comfort your heart, my dear, and make you think at least of poor me, who can never be a moment pleased without you. My Lord Churchill is very well. Colonel Oglethorpe has come to-day, and says that the Duke of Monmouth is routed, 1,500 of his men killed, of which Ferguson is one. Lord Grey and he ran away, one at the head of the Foot, and the other of the Horse. Lord Churchill is sent at the head of 500 Foot and 300 Horse to summon Bridgewater to surrender. You may imagine this summons will easily be obeyed after this defeat. To-night we expect an express from your lord, and I would fain keep this till I have your lord's letter for you. My lord says Oglethorpe, he thinks, has one. I have sent to seek him. I can say no more.—I am yours, A. S.'

17 7, 1685.

'Tuesday,‡ nine and a half at night.—There is just now an express come from my Lord Churchill, which brings us the good news of the total rout of the rebels, and that the King's forces are in Bridgewater, and all the enemies scattered like dust. My Lord Churchill very well, and Captain Berkeley. There are three of the King's officers [illegible] for one mortally wounded, and about sixty Foot,

* Hamilton's 'History of Grenadier Guards.' Several of the wounded were received into Chelsea Hospital, and were given small bounties, rising to £9 each as a maximum. The wounded officers received from £15 to £100, according to their rank and the gravity of their injuries. £1,994 13s. 4d. was paid in compensation for the most serious wounds to 218 of all ranks.

† The date is evidently Tuesday, 17 7, 1685. It is in the Blenheim Palace Papers.

‡ This Tuesday was the 17 7, July. The letter is from the Blenheim Palace Papers.

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but not three Horse killed of the King's. Everybody of the King's party has done bravely, but I'll say no more now; but a word for myself—how glad, how wondrous glad, am I to have this good news to send my dearest! Oh, that you would be so good as to come and revive me, which nothing else can! Good-night. . . . I am for ever yours.'

On July 8, two days after Monmouth had fled from Sedgemoor, he was captured, and on the 13th he and Lord 17 7, 1685. Grey reached London. Crowds went out to meet him, and strove to take summary vengeance on Lord Grey.* He was in a coach with his hands tied behind him, and his guards had some trouble to save him from the people, who regarded him as Monmouth's betrayer. Monmouth, notwithstanding 17 7, 1685. his abject and craven appeals for mercy, was beheaded on Tower Hill two days after.

Lord Feversham returned to London with the household troops, and the army was broken up. Lord Churchill 17 7, 1685. went home, but wrote the following letter to his wife the day before he set out: 'Wells, July 9.—I have received three of yours this night by an express, all which I read with great joy. If you are not already come to town, I desire you will, for I hope it will not now be long before I shall be there, and I shall be at no ease till I am in your arms, whom I love above my own life. I intend on Saturday to send the coach forwards to lie on the road for me. To-morrow we march to Warminster, and there we resolve to stay till we receive the King's commands, which I expect with great impatience, since they are to bring me to my dear soul.' Addressed: 'For my Lady Churchill, at the Cockpit, Whitehall.'†

He returned to London with a greatly-increased military reputation, for it was well known that the successful issue of the campaign was owing to him, and not to Feversham. Amongst others who greeted him were the Deputy-

* 'A Compleat Collection of the Reports, Lyes and Stories, etc. etc.,' p. 58.

† Blenheim Papers. Lady Churchill was then in waiting on the Princess Anne, who lived with her husband in the Cockpit, Whitehall.

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Governour and committee of the Hudson Bay Company, who waited upon him with congratulations on his safe return. So ended the rebellion, which, with everything against it, was nevertheless not far from being successful. An army of undisciplined, badly-armed weavers and peasants under a weak and unwise leader, with a coward as second in command, and with no officers of any war experience, had come so near winning at Sedgemoor that the result of the battle was for some time doubtful.* Many well acquainted with the circumstances of the action, including Defoe, who served with Monmouth, maintained that, notwithstanding Churchill's exertions, it was the great wet ditch alone which saved the Royal army from the destruction it merited. Contemporary writers assert, that James was most indebted for this victory to the unwearied vigilance of Churchill before the battle, and to his skilful dispositions during its progress. In the official despatches he is said to have 'performed his part with all the courage and gallantry imaginable.'† And yet, three years afterwards, it was mainly through his assistance and influence with the army that William of Orange was enabled to march from Torbay to London without a life being taken.

To those who are inexperienced in war, though alive to the difference in military efficiency between the regular soldier and the untrained recruit, it is startling to find an army of regular soldiers so nearly defeated by little more than an equal number of undrilled peasants. But there is a most important element in war which is too frequently overlooked by writers who have never themselves felt the human pulse in action: you cannot drill even a savage into a mere machine for the destruction of your enemies. The old school in our army tried it for over half a century, to the destruction of all healthy and ennobling military spirit. Our army, too long ruled by those who looked upon the

* Many who took part in the battle always asserted that it was very near being a victory for Monmouth.

† *London Gazette* of 8, 7. 1685.

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British soldier as a piece of mechanism, not even of a high order, and who stigmatized him as the 'scum of the earth,' has with difficulty shaken off this practice and the false theories upon which it was based. Sir Charles Napier, the soldier's friend of this century, revolted against the system, and was accordingly denounced by his contemporaries as a madman and a Radical. It is the spirit in an army that must be gauged if its fighting power is to be duly measured. How came it that General Lee was able to hold his own so long against armies enormously superior in number to his ill-clad, badly-fed warriors? It was the difference in the spirit animating the two contending sides which enabled him to do so. To get the most out of men, you must work them up into a kind of fanaticism, the outcome either of strong religious enthusiasm, of patriotism, or of revenge. Monmouth's miners and weavers were convinced that they were fighting for God's truth, and that God would be on their side as He had been of old with His chosen people in Egypt. It was this spirit which enabled them to face and nearly defeat the regular troops, who fought to order just as they would have drilled on Hounslow Heath.

A small force of Horse and Foot was left at Bridgewater and Taunton under the command of Colonel Piercy Kirke, a man of doubtful reputation, but an able soldier.* He was, however, soon ordered to London, and so did not take part in what James with grim humour referred to, as 'Jeffreys' campaign.' For now began that 'Bloody Assize,' the very mention of which, even after the lapse of two centuries, sends a thrill of horror through every Englishman. The pride which deters from the commission of shameful actions found no place in Judge Jeffreys' character. Born about 1648, he was educated at St. Paul's and then at Westminster School. His parents intended him for some trading occupation, but he took to the law instead. He had long been a favourite at Court, and had

* Kirke was the son of a Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I. He was well born and well connected. He died at Brussels 31, 10, 1691.

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proved a willing instrument in the hand of Charles in the work of depriving the cities of their charters. He had presided at the trial of Algernon Sidney, and had procured his condemnation on inadmissible evidence and by misrepresenting the law to the jury. But although Charles made use of him, he had long refused to promote him. He had, however, at the urgent request of the Duchess of Portsmouth, made this villainous lawyer Chief Justice of Chester, turning out a loyal and faithful public servant in order to create the vacancy.* His taste for debauchery and his immoral habits were not kept within bounds by regard for even the most ordinary decency. The innate cruelty of this fiend found full scope during these assizes. He gloated over the misery of his victims, joked to their faces upon their misfortunes, mocked their mental anguish, and was hilarious when he saw their ghastly heads and quartered bodies on every highway and in every hamlet through which he passed. He hated Dissenters, and he wreaked his hatred upon them without mercy. To kill the body did not satisfy his craving for human suffering; his victims must be tormented by his outrageous but fluent buffoonery. His was the swaggering bravado of the true bully and coward, who stamps and swears when on the winning side, and when his own worthless carcass is secure from harm. On his return from the West, he boasted that he had hanged more men than all the judges put together since the Conquest.† When taken prisoner in 1688, disguised as a merchant sailor, he was with difficulty saved from the mob, who would have torn him to pieces. Brought before the Lord Mayor, so great was his terror that he knelt and kissed the Lord Mayor's hand, to the intense astonishment of that civic dignitary.‡ He was

‡ 12, 1688.

* Luttrell, March 16, 1678.

† Calamy, vol. i., p. 188.

‡ Sir John Chapman was Lord Mayor. He had a stroke a few days afterwards, it was said from the shock he had had at seeing the Lord Chancellor kneeling as a prisoner before him; from that shock he never recovered, and died 17 8, 1688.—See Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 235.

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a sycophant to his superiors, and fawned upon Sunderland, calling him in his letters 'dearest, dearest Lord,' whilst he was insolent and brutal to those in his power. In prison, and shortly before his death, he complained to the chaplain of his hard fate, saying, 'Whatever I did then, I did by express orders; and I have this further to say for myself, that I was not half bloody enough for him who sent me thither.*' He drank himself to death in the Tower, and ‡ 4, 1689. died a few days after the landing at Kinsale of the Sovereign whom he had served so obsequiously, but who did not hesitate, when it served his purpose, to accuse him of cruelty and venality. No tyrant has ever been deterred from cruelty for want of a fitting agent. Some wretch like Jeffreys is always to be found ready and willing to do the bidding of kings like James II. Let loose upon the peaceable Dissenters of the West, this monster turned their country into a charnel-house.† We shudder as we read of the more than bodily tortures inflicted upon the unhappy people of Somerset by order of a King who impiously claimed to rule by Divine right and the grace of God. The rich escaped execution by the payment of large fines and bribes to Jeffreys. The friends of many went to London to plead for mercy from the King who knew no mercy, and among them was one Hannah Hewling, whose two brothers were about

* This is on the authority of Speaker Onslow. The chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Scott, told this to Lord Somers, who told it to Sir Joseph Jekyll, who told it to Onslow. Woolrych's 'Life of Jeffreys.' See also Mackintosh, chap. i., p. 29. James wrote to the Prince of Orange as follows: 'Windsor, September 24, 1685. As for news there is little stirring, but that Lord Chief Justice has almost done his campaign; he has already condemned several hundreds, some of which are already executed and the others sent to the plantations.' - Dalrymple, vol. ii., Book II., p. 58.

† 'He (Jeffreys) made all the West an aceldama. Some places were quite depopulated, and nothing to be seen in them but forsaken walls, unlucky gibbets, and ghastly carcases (*sic*). The trees were laden almost as thick with quarters as with leaves. The houses and steeples covered almost as close with heads as at other times in that county with crows or ravens.'—'A new Martyrology: or the Bloody Assizes.'

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to be tried by Jeffreys. At Whitehall she saw Lord Churchill, whose soft heart was deeply touched by her story. He said: 'I wish well to your suit with all my heart, but dare not flatter you with any such hopes, for that marble' (pointing to the chimney-piece near them) 'is as capable of feeling compassion as the King's heart.' She pleaded in vain.*

About 330 people were executed and 855 transported, against whom there was no evidence whatever, besides many who were left to linger in gaol. Free-born Englishmen were condemned to slavery by an English judge, and sent by an English King to die under a tropical sun. Some were sold, or ransomed at high charges, to enrich the King's wife and the ladies of her Court.† Churchill's name has never been connected in any way with this hideous traffic in the bodies of his own countrymen, though he might easily have availed himself of this opportunity to become rich.

When driven from England to live on the bounty of Lewis XIV., James endeavoured to explain away the guilt of these proceedings, and to throw the blame upon the judge.‡ But his letters to the Prince of Orange, and other contemporary documents which bear upon these judicial murders, rob his statements of all value. It does not come within the scope of this work to describe in detail these horrible events, but they cannot be passed over if the reader is to learn how brutal was the master whom

* A tombstone in Lyme Church has this inscription: 'Here lieth the body of William Hewling, son of William Hewling of London, and grandson of William Kyffin, Esq., Alderman of London, who suffered martyrdom before he was full twenty years of age, engaging with the Duke of Monmouth for the Protestant religion and English liberty against Popery and slavery, September 12th, 1685.'

† The Queen's share was ninety-eight prisoners from Taunton, who brought her from £1,000 to £1,500; her Maids of Honour were given the children who had been condemned for presenting flowers to Monmouth. These children brought in £2,000 to these ladies.—'Side-Lights on the Stuarts,' by Inderwick, p. 393, 1888.

‡ Clarke's 'James,' vol. i., p. 43.

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Churchill deserted three years afterwards, and how much they influenced him in his reluctant determination. They startled him, and made him reflect upon his position, and upon what they meant in the nation's future, both as regarded its religion and its liberties.

These West-Country Dissenters were put to death because it was alleged that they were traitors. But traitors against whom? Traitors against a tyrant who was himself the worst of traitors to his country and to his people. A traitor who broke his coronation oath, who violated the laws he had sworn to maintain, and who was at all times a sworn enemy to the religion he had promised in the name of God to support. Had James possessed any magnanimity or kindness of heart, it would have shown itself in at least a discriminating leniency to the poor deluded followers of Monmouth, whom religious zeal had driven into rebellion.

It is easy to understand how such wanton punishments were regarded by a man of Churchill's humane disposition, and with what loathing he turned from the master whom he had served so long, and hitherto so faithfully, when his true character revealed itself in this 'bloody assize.' No act of cruelty or inhumanity has ever been alleged against Marlborough even by his most bitter detractors. A great lover of dogs, he naturally turned with loathing from the sight of pain or torture inflicted in any form, mental or bodily, upon any animal, man included. When the necessity of war compelled him to lay waste the Bavarian dominions, we know how repugnant that necessity was to him, how sincerely he deplored having thus to punish unoffending subjects in order to make their Prince suffer in pocket and reputation. We are asked to find fault with him for his desertion of the King, though it was in fulfilment of his announced determination to quit the Royal service if James ever attempted 'to change our religion and constitution.' He might with greater reason be condemned for remaining so long in his service after these proceedings in the West, and for having allowed his

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feeling of loyalty to an old master to outweigh for so long the duty he owed to his country. James was kind and amiable to his children, to his friends, and to his servants, but he would at any moment turn and rend the dearest friend who presumed to thwart the great aims of his life, namely, the possession of arbitrary power and the re-establishment of Popery. He showed his hand plainly after Sedgemoor, and one so gifted as Churchill, and so well acquainted with James's character, could not fail to suspect what was now in store for him and for the nation. The punishments inflicted upon Protestants, and the partiality openly shown to Roman Catholics, warned him that the day could not be far distant when he should feel constrained to carry out his avowed resolution.

All the judges who had taken part in the Bloody Assize were received at Windsor and thanked for their services, and Jeffreys was made Lord Chancellor.* Lord Feversham, whom James admitted, 'few people allowed any great share in the merit,' was given the Garter, ostensibly in recognition of his victory, but in reality rather as a compliment to his uncle, Turenne, than as a reward for any military services he had rendered.† But as he donned the insignia of this ancient Order, deep must have been his sense of that internal humiliation which the weak and unstable at heart must always feel when rewarded for a victory won by the initiative of another. The King was fully aware how much he was indebted to Churchill for the victory, and as a reward he made him Colonel of the third troop of Life Guards.

Churchill was one of the thirty peers selected by Jeffreys to try Lord Delamere for high treason in connection with

* Autobiography of Sir John Bramston, p. 207.

† 'Feversham in his Sedgemoor star and glory,
Proud as the Treasurer and pettish as Lory.'

James admits this: see Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 42. The witty Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who hated Feversham, lampooned him in an amusing squib called 'The Battle,' which was much read at the time and from which these lines are taken.

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Monmouth's rebellion. As junior Baron he gave his vote first. 'How say you, my Lord Churchill,' said Jeffreys, then Lord High Steward: 'is Henry, Baron of Delamere, guilty of the high treason where of he stands indicted and hath been arraigned, or not guilty?' Churchill, according to custom, stood up uncovered, and with his hand on his breast answered, 'Not guilty, upon my honour.*' The 11th 1, 1685. other peers, perhaps encouraged by this fearless answer of the King's favourite, gave a similar verdict, to the disgust and fury of the King, who was present. Lord Delamere was one of the few tried by Jeffreys who were acquitted, a result entirely due to the fact that a jury of peers was not to be bullied into voting as the judge wished. This little incident warned James that, whilst his Gentleman of the Bedchamber was prepared to fight for him, he was not one who would vote against his conscience to please his master.

* Domestic Papers, Jac. II., 1686, Rolls House.

CHAPTER XLI.

JAMES ADDS LARGELY TO THE STANDING ARMY.

James tries to fill the Army with Roman Catholics—His dislike to the Militia—His new Army establishment—His camp at Hounslow—His 'Articles of War'—The Portsmouth captains.

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THE battle of Sedgemoor impressed James with an undue sense of the power which the possession of a regular army would give him. If the popular Monmouth, with a practically unlimited following, could be destroyed by a handful of regular soldiers, a standing army would, he thought, enable him not only to put down rebellion, but to overcome all resistance to his will. With such an instrument at his disposal, who would dare to oppose his wishes? With its aid, he could afford to laugh at what we now understand by public opinion.

The large measure of support accorded to the rebellions of Argyle and Monmouth pointed to the existence of widely spread discontent, and gave James a plausible excuse for keeping permanently on foot a considerable body of regular troops. His attention therefore was unceasingly directed to this object, and he spared no effort to fill his regiments with Roman Catholics, upon whom alone he could confidently rely. His views on this point are summed up in his dying injunction to his son: 'Be never without a considerable body of Catholic troops, without which you cannot be safe.*' A standing army would, he thought,

* Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 621. In 1680 the standing army was about 20,000 strong (8,000 were in Tangier, 7,800 in Ireland,

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make him indeed a King according to his notions of kingship, for it would enable him to rule without a Parliament; and supported by a good Catholic army he believed that he would be able to force his will upon the people without danger to his Crown. 'The King of England told me,' wrote Barillon, 'that, let what would happen, he would keep the troops on foot, even though the Parliament should not give him anything towards their maintenance.'

When Parliament met in November, the King, in his r^{st} 11, 1685, opening speech said, that the duration of the rebellion was owing to the inefficiency of the militia. 'There is nothing,' he added, 'but a good force of well disciplined troops in constant pay that can defend us from such as either at home or abroad are disposed to disturb us; and in truth my concern for the peace and quiet of my subjects, as well as for the safety of the Government, made me think it necessary to increase their number to the proportion I have done.*' From time immemorial the militia had been the only military force known to the Constitution. But James feared it, because it largely shared the feelings of the people, and the recent events in the West of England proved that he could not depend upon it to carry out his aims. A standing army, on the contrary, would be a thing apart. The army is a profession, a guild, with its own peculiar standards of honour, and of personal loyalty to the Sovereign, its acknowledged head. In order to give effect to his intention to rule without a Parliament, James felt it was necessary to get rid of the militia, and to replace it by a standing army personally devoted to himself. He did not disband the militia; his policy was to let it die gradually, and in pursuance of this settled purpose he so neglected it that when William landed it was almost useless. It had not been trained for a couple

2,800 in Scotland, and about 6,900 in England), and in January, 1685, its strength was about the same.

* Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 48.

of years; it lacked arms, equipment and clothing, and large numbers of its Protestant officers had been either dismissed or had resigned in disgust at the King's treatment of the force.

James also stated in this speech, that he meant to employ Roman Catholic officers in the army. A serious discussion arose in the House of Commons both on this account and as to the amount which should be voted for the army. James asked for £1,200,000, but some wished to grant only £200,000. Lord Churchill's father spoke on the King's side, both as to the necessity of maintaining a standing army and of granting the larger amount. The smaller sum was, he said, 'much too little; soldiers move not without pay—no penny, no paternoster.*' In the end the Commons voted £700,000, but in the House of Lords the proposed standing army was denounced as illegal, because, among other reasons, it was commanded chiefly by men who, owing to their religion, could not by law hold commissions in the public service. This rebuff was too much for James, so he stopped further discussion on the subject by immediately proroguing Parliament to the 10th of the following February. As a matter of fact, no Parliament met again in his reign. He tells us in his memoirs that, as he was determined to keep on foot a standing army, and to employ Roman Catholic officers in it, he resolved not to again assemble a Parliament which had criticised both his proceedings and his policy.†

† 2, 1683. In February, 1686, he fixed the army establishment for England as follows [the troops raised in Ireland and Scotland were distinct, and were paid exclusively from the revenues of those countries]: three troops of Life Guards,‡ ten regiments of Horse, three of Dragoons, two of Foot

* See Parliamentary debate of 11, 1685.

† Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 69.

‡ The total strength of the Life Guards, including the Scotch troop, on 1, 7, 1686, was 58 officers and 1,052 of all other ranks. In 1688 the strength was increased to 1,286 of all ranks. James looked upon this body guard as one of the mainstays of his throne.—Cannon's 'History of the Life Guards.'

Guards and fourteen of the line, besides sixteen 'independent companies' for garrisons. Of these, six regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and nine of Foot were formed from the troops raised by loyal country gentlemen in various localities during Monmouth's rebellion. Charles II.'s army of about 8,000 men of all ranks cost £280,000; that of his brother £600,000 per annum.

It will interest the military reader to know that in 1688 a regiment of Dragoons, or, as we should now call them, of Mounted Infantry, was for the first time added to our army. In raising this corps of men, mounted on small galloways but intended to fight on foot with musket and bayonet, Charles II. had followed the example of foreign Powers. Henceforth the expression of 'Horse, Foot and Dragoons' became common, and it is curious to note that the sequence in which these three arms are named corresponds with their priority in date of creation. The same thing may be remarked in these days, when, the mounted Foot soldier having been generally abolished, we refer to an army as consisting of 'cavalry, infantry and artillery,' the last-named arm being that most recently adopted.

Of 'the Royal Dragoons' Churchill was the first Colonel, 11, 1683. with Viscount Cornbury as his Lieutenant-Colonel.* Some troops were specially raised for it, and the four troops of the 'Tangier Horse,' then under orders to be disbanded, were added to them.† The regiment was thus up to an establishment of 350 men, divided into two squadrons of three troops each. In the following contemporary lampoon it is maintained that Court favour alone could account for an infantry officer being made Colonel of a mounted regiment:

'Let's cut our meat with spoons;
The sense is as good
As that Churchill should
Be put to command the Dragoons.'

* Churchill's commission is dated 11, 1683, and is now amongst the papers at Blenheim. The final warrant for raising the Royal Dragoons is dated 2, 1683; Lord Cornbury was Lord Clarendon's eldest son.
† This order is dated 'Windsor, 4, 1684.'

Ireland was to James an inexhaustible recruiting-ground; not that he loved Ireland or Irishmen, but because he could always obtain there any number of Catholic soldiers, upon whom he could rely under all circumstances.

Throughout James's reign a camp was annually formed at Hounslow, where he assembled all the available troops not on garrison duty or required to overawe London. It was the Aldershot of the day, where he trained his men as soldiers. A free market was held there daily for the sale of provisions and necessities for man and horse, no sellers to be charged 'anything for their standing, or on any account whatsoever.* Soldiers injuring, molesting, or exacting money from those who sold were to be punished. 'A council, or general court-martial,' met at the Horse Guards every Friday morning, 'to hear all complaints between soldiers, or of civilians against the military.' The 'misdemeanours of officers and soldiers' were to be punished by this court. Sergeants were forbidden to keep victualling houses, and privates were not allowed to marry without leave obtained from their captains.†

In August, 1685, King James reviewed at Hounslow twenty squadrons of Horse, one of Horse Grenadiers, one regiment of Dragoons, and ten battalions of Foot, a force numbering about 3,500 mounted men and six or seven thousand Foot.‡ In the summer of 1686 about 15,000 men and 28 guns were encamped there under Lord Feversham, and at a review the following year there were present three troops of Life Guards and one of Horse Grenadier Guards, nine regiments of Horse, three of Dragoons, four battalions of Foot Guards, and nine regiments of Foot. James attended frequently at the camp, and generally stayed to dine with Lord Feversham or some other superior officer.

* *London Gazette*.

† Domestic Papers, Rolls House. The order establishing this court is dated 1st 3, 168⁵.

‡ Cannon's 'History of Regiments.' The squadron was then of three troops, with a total strength of about 150 rank and file.

He hoped thus to establish intimate relations with his officers, and also to make himself generally popular with the troops.* He dined in Lord Churchill's tent when the camp was formed in 1688, and he went there for the last time in August, when it was being broken up, and the troops dispersed to their quarters for the winter. He had a wooden chapel made on wheels, which stood 'in the middle of the camp between the Horse and Foot.'† Here Mass was said daily in the most ostentatious manner, to the scandal of the Protestants—who formed the great majority—whilst priests were employed to go amongst the soldiers, with the object of bringing them over to the Catholic faith. Just before William landed there were eight regiments of Horse and nine battalions of Foot encamped at Hounslow.

The discipline of the army under James was lax and bad. He made so much of his army that after a time all ranks assumed a somewhat arrogant air in their dealings with the people. The officers upon many occasions pretended to be above the civil power, and their insolence was often intolerable. From time immemorial it had been the practice for the General commanding an army in the field to frame a code of laws for the punishment of mutiny, desertion, and all crimes committed on active service. Articles of war had been published by Charles II. in 1673, but the lawyers of the day would not listen to proposals for the recognition of military laws that dispensed with the action of those civil courts in which they earned their livelihood. The judges declared that to hang a man for mutiny or desertion in England would be contrary to the law of the land. Indeed, the maintenance during peace of an army such as that kept up by James at Hounslow was unknown to the law. Consequently, when men deserted there was no law to which they were amenable, and in order to deal with them advantage was taken of an obsolete Act of Parliament,

* Ellis, vol. iv.

† 'A Compleat Collection of all the Reports, Lyes and Stories which were the forerunners of the Great Revolution of 1688,' p. 40.

which prescribed death as the punishment for those who deserted the King during his wars in Scotland and on the 'high seas.' Judges who would not convict deserters under this old law were removed from the Bench. We frequently read of deserters being hanged in this reign by order of the civil courts, whereas after the passing of the Mutiny Act of William III. deserters were tried by court-martial and shot instead of being hanged. The common practice was to advertise deserters in the *London Gazette*, and one or two guineas were generally offered as a reward for their apprehension. The cavalry deserter seems usually to have carried off his horse with him.*

James had yet to learn that even a standing army might prove but a weak support for the Throne, and that there was no security for it except in the affections and good-will of his freedom-loving people. He was too dull to realize that the thousands who had flocked to Monmouth's standard fought not for the man, but for the cause which he represented. This lesson was to be taught to James by a people banded together with the one object of ridding themselves of a King who refused to govern according to their laws. When we recall the events of his reign, and realize how nearly he succeeded in his attempt to impose his will upon the country by means of a standing army, the dread and jealousy with which our forefathers regarded such an establishment are easily intelligible.

James had hoped to prevail upon all in the army, Protestants as well as Roman Catholics, to help him in procuring the repeal of the Penal Acts directed against his religion. Wishing to try by experiment how far he could rely upon the soldiers in this matter, he ordered the Major of Lord Lichfield's, now the Suffolk Regiment, to tell his

* The Dragoon horses were generally mentioned in these advertisements as being 14½ hands. The price paid for the Dragoon's horse was about one-third of that paid for the trooper in a regiment of Horse. In 1686 a contradiction was given in the *London Gazette* to the rumour that there was much sickness and mortality in the camp.

men on parade that those who would not forthwith obey the King in the matter of the Test were to lay down their arms. To the dismay and disgust of James, who was present, the whole regiment grounded their arms with the exception of two captains and a few Roman Catholic privates. He turned away, muttering 'that for the future he would not do them the honour to ask their advice.' This incident was followed by another. The Duke of Berwick, Colonel of the Princess Anne's Regiment, and also Governour of Portsmouth, where it was stationed, issued an order that a number of Irish Catholics were to be enlisted in each company.* Several of the captains refused to receive them, and were supported in their refusal by the Lieutenant-Colonel. The captains memorialized the King, respectfully pointing out that they were not in want of recruits and could not be expected to discharge good English soldiers to make room for 'foreigners,' as they were pleased to style the men from Ireland.† They claimed the right to select their own recruits, or, if that were denied them, to resign their commissions. James, in a fury, ordered them to Windsor as prisoners under a guard, the order being addressed to 'Our dearly beloved natural son, James, Duke of Berwick,' etc.

These five 'Portsmouth captains,' as they were thenceforward called, and their commanding officer, were tried at Windsor by court-martial, and found guilty of disobedience. Churchill was a member of the court, and it is said voted for their being shot in the hope, as James asserts, of thereby increasing the King's unpopularity.‡ They were sentenced to be cashiered, but were only dismissed the army.§ The garrison of Portsmouth was naturally

* The Princess Anne's Regiment was called the 'Queen's' in Anne's reign, by which title it is still generally known.

† The song of 'Lillibulero' was a scurrilous attack upon the Irish recruits of this time, and was very commonly sung about England during the trial of the 'Portsmouth captains.'

‡ Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 169.

§ Colonel Beaumont, who commanded the regiment, was reinstated

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affected by these proceedings. Many officers resigned, many privates deserted, and so unsatisfactory was the condition of affairs that the King ordered a regiment to proceed there from London. James also strove to force his religion upon the navy by the appointment of a Roman Catholic chaplain to each ship. He fondly hoped that his reputation as an Admiral would weigh with the sailors. But when the priests attempted to say Mass the officers had much difficulty in saving them from being thrown into the sea.*

by William III. In 1688 an engraving was published, headed 'The Portsmouth Captains,' giving their likenesses with the following names: Lieut.-Colonel Hon. John Beaumont, Captains Hon. Thos. Paston, Simon Packe, Thos. Orme, John Port, and William Cook. Underneath was the motto 'Pro Latria, Patria, Atria.'

* Harris's 'William III.'

CHAPTER XLII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND JAMES.—HE TRIES TO RE-
ESTABLISH POPERY.

Revocation of Edict of Nantes—Sam Johnson placed in the pillory—
James's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience—James attacks the
English Church—He dismisses many Protestants from the Public
Service—He attacks the Universities.

THE overthrow of Monmouth led to the Revolution of 1688 by steps which it is easy to follow. A victory for James's army, it was yet the herald of James's downfall. Whilst Monmouth lived, there were two competitors for the Crown, who, as it were, divided the King's enemies into two factions, looking for a deliverer respectively to William and to Monmouth; but when the head of that ill-fated man rolled upon the scaffold, all hopes were concentrated on the Prince of Orange. James was, therefore, a loser by the death of Monmouth, inasmuch as it fixed the hopes of the disaffected exclusively upon the more dangerous of his two rivals. It was William who really gained, for whilst the hatred felt for James by a large section of the people was appreciably intensified, William was relieved of a British rival, highly favoured by Englishmen, and better known than himself. The cold, rude, and ungainly Dutchman could not hope to compete successfully with Monmouth, whose courtly manners and fine presence had made him the delight of his father's people.* William,

* James asserts that William sent Monmouth to his destruction in order to be rid of a dangerous rival for the Crown of England. Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. i., p. 25.

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the most astute of princes, a Stewart by his mother's side, and married to the Princess Royal, heiress presumptive to the throne, was now more than ever an enemy whom James had reason to fear.

The cruelties of Jeffreys after the rebellion had made James odious to his people. He believed at first that the execution of Argyle and Monmouth had inaugurated a new era for the ancient faith in England. In imagination he already heard the solemn music of the Mass, and saw the smoke of incense rise before the restored altars of every English parish church. The battle of Sedgemoor was something more than the overthrow of a rebellion; it was, in James's eyes, a victory of the Roman religion over that of the Reformation. It made him so inordinately confident of his power that he threw off all disguise as to his intentions. 'It would give him,' he said, 'an opportunity of making himself master of his country.'* After the battle he believed himself to be far more of a king than his brother had ever been. Charles had never dared to attack Protestantism openly, though both brothers equally regarded it as equivalent to republicanism. But James had measured swords with the demon of liberty, had utterly worsted it, and had strewn the earth with the mangled bodies of its champions. With these sights before them, who would dare to babble more of liberty? Who would venture to bandy words about religion with a King who could command the services of a judge like Jeffreys?

In the first blush of his triumph James felt so strong that he even ventured to make a treaty with Holland against the interests of his paymaster, Lewis of France, but the temporary withdrawal of his pension may possibly have inspired this short and passing display of independence.

In the previous reign all the old charters possessed by the towns and boroughs had been annulled, so James was

* He said this in a conversation with the French Ambassador.

now fairly able to have whom he would elected to Parliament. To find willing tools who would do his bidding, he was constrained, however, to select in the counties men of inferior standing and doubtful reputation. He had a splendid position after Sedgemoor, and had he been a William of Orange or a Cromwell he might have accomplished great things. The country was prosperous, his revenue was ample, and, as his army and navy were strong and efficient, his alliance was courted by the two great Powers which divided civilized Europe between them. These advantages, however, did not satisfy the cravings of his narrow mind.

It was gall and wormwood to him to remember that he alone among kings was hampered by the interference of a Parliament. Every little German prince ruled despotically, and it was monstrous, he thought, that he, the descendant and heir of a long and glorious line of kings, should not be allowed to do so too. Lewis encouraged him in these notions, and promised his help to enable him to dispense with Parliaments, and to re-establish the spiritual power of the Pope in his dominions. This was no easy matter, for the people looked upon Parliament and Protestantism as the foundation of their liberties, whilst they regarded Popery as the religion of slaves. James never could grasp the change which the Reformation had brought about in the commonly accepted ideas of civil government, nor would he recognise the permanency of the authority which the struggle between his father and the people had conferred upon the House of Commons. He foolishly believed it possible to revive the power exercised by his vigorous Tudor ancestors. The fact was always present to his thoughts, that, by what might be almost termed an edict, Henry VIII. had changed the established form of religion, and he could not understand why he should not, in a similar way, force the people back to their ancient faith. To anyone holding his views of the kingly office, this was a natural reflection. In his own blind belief in the

hereditary principle and the Divine right of kings, he failed to see that the people could have rights beyond those which had been freely given them by their Sovereign, or that privileges conceded could not be revoked whenever it should please the Sovereign to withdraw them. He fully understood the meaning of high treason as against the King, but he could not understand that treason of the King against his country was equally recognised as a crime by the English people. No private property was sacred in his eyes when the King required it for any purpose, however ignoble that purpose might be. The love of freedom, which for centuries had underlain all other sentiments in the English character, amounted in his eyes to rank rebellion.

The Church of England was powerful all through his short reign; more so, indeed, than it was under William and Mary, when the Non-juror party weakened it considerably. Mary always had a sincere affection for it, but that feeling was not shared by her Calvinist husband. Upon the accession of James, its ministers certainly entertained a deep attachment to their lawful Sovereign, the son of 'Charles the Martyr.' The Church taught that monarchy was a Divine institution, and James foolishly mistook this teaching for determination to support the King in all that he might do.*

But the anti-Popery feeling amongst the people was very strong at this time. The Edict of Nantes, which had secured the French Protestants the right to live and carry on business in their own country, was revoked by Lewis XIV.† Barillon describes to his master the intense satisfaction its repeal had afforded James, and how much

* The High Church Sacheverell thus referred in a sermon to Charles I.: 'Whose death, had it preceded that of Jesus Christ, would have seemed a true type of it, as it was the exact transcript and representation of it afterwards.'

† It had been granted to the Protestants of France in 1598 by Henry IV. His son Lewis XIII. and his grandson Lewis XIV. had both sworn to maintain it.

he approved of the successful fashion in which the system of 'dragonades' had been used to put down Protestantism. A close connection had long been maintained between the Protestant party in France and the English people,* and although James rejoiced that 'his most Christian Majesty' had revoked that memorable edict, the English people regarded the event with entirely opposite feelings. It had driven thousands of Protestant families from France to England and Ireland.† The refugees spread abroad heartrending stories of the massacres, tortures, and cruel injustice inflicted upon Protestants by Lewis XIV., who, the people remembered, was the close friend and ally of King James. Lovers of liberty, who still held the days of the Commonwealth in regretful remembrance, were worked up to fever-pitch by these stories, which lost nothing of their horror by repetition. The French King thus came to be commonly regarded in England as a tyrant, who not only trampled freedom under foot, but ruthlessly handed over the followers of Luther and Calvin to the cruelties of a pitiless priesthood. As the popular detestation of Lewis and of Popery grew deeper and more intense, Englishmen turned all the more to William, the recognised champion of freedom and of Protestantism in Europe.

The Church of England had no real hatred of that absolute power which James claimed. As long as he respected her rights and left her property alone, as his brother Charles had done, she was little concerned whether James ruled with or without a Parliament.‡ According to the Church's doctrine, the people were

* Calamy, vol. i.

† Over 50,000 most industrious people were thus added to our population, and established silk and other industries here, which largely augmented our manufacturing wealth. The French nation, it is often said, never recovered the loss in intellect and honesty which this exodus entailed upon it.

‡ In the seventeenth century 'Divine right' had an extensive literature of its own, which may still be found cumbering the shelves of book-rooms in English country houses.

born his subjects, and he was born their King, and, as it were, elected by God Himself. Between James and the English Church there was, moreover, a great bond of union in their common loathing of Dissenters. The Court party had long accused the latter of being republicans, and, remembering the treatment which all Nonconformists had received since the Restoration, it would have been no wonder had they really sought to rid England of monarchy for ever. The High Churchmen were as anxious to persecute them as James could be. For years the Tory parsons had supported James's claim to the throne from conscientious motives, and they now fondly hoped that Sedgemoor would settle the question of the succession. Had not James promised them the free exercise of their religion and their liberties? A time-serving Dean preached 'that his Majesty's promises were free donatives, and ought not to be strictly examined or urged, and that they must leave him to explain his own meaning in them.*' Poor deluded people! they had still to learn how little reliance was to be placed on the word of a Stewart. Although the High Church party denied the King's authority in matters ecclesiastical, one of its leading principles was unquestioning obedience to the royal will in secular affairs. The Church had long held up to contempt the principle of a 'limited monarchy,' pronouncing it to be opposed to ancient custom and the Bible, and injurious to the welfare of the nation. Her ambition was to secure for herself the position which the Catholic Church enjoyed in France and in Spain; she claimed to dictate what the people should and should not believe, and to visit with condign punishment those who would not accept the 'Thirty-nine Articles.' To accomplish this end, the Church had preached the doctrine of 'passive obedience,' and by so doing had forged an instrument of torture for James's use against her. For every breach of that doctrine he re-

* James made him a Bishop for this sermon. Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 70.

morselessly punished its inventors in person and in purse. Charles II. had contented himself with striking at the civil liberties of his people; he had fined the rich and the great, had robbed cities of their charters, and would fain have made the people forget the very name of Parliament.* But James would go further, and strike at their religion also. 'I have heard it publicly preached,' wrote Defoe, 'that if the King commanded my head, and sent his messenger to fetch it, I was bound to submit, and stand still while it was cut off.' Such was the doctrine which, preached by the Church, helped James in his endeavours to re-establish by his own authority the religion and influence of Rome. 'Passive obedience' to the King—a doctrine imported from Scotland with the House of Stewart—was preached at this time from every English pulpit, whilst all schismatics were denounced as the enemies of God, of the Church, and of monarchy. James, hating both Churchmen and Dissenters, felt that his true policy was to use the former to destroy the latter, and then to turn upon the Established Church and crush it. In order to give effect to this policy in England, he strove to gain over the Bishops and the parish clergy by the persecution of the Nonconformists, whilst in Scotland he sought to force Episcopalianism upon a people who loathed it.

As long as the King confined his illegal action to attacks upon Dissenters and public liberty, the ministers of the Established Church were content to serve him. But as soon as he presumed to tamper with what they conceived to be their privileges, with their property and their Universities, they turned upon him, resisted his action, and denied his authority. When he showed himself determined at all hazards to make his own religion paramount, he was deserted even by Tories like Churchill, because they loved the Protestant faith with a fervour which few in this free-thinking age can comprehend. They not only deserted

* 'Secret History of the Reigns of Charles II. and James II.,' p. 117.

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him, but began to plot his destruction, and those who had believed most strongly in his coronation promises turned upon him with the resentment with which the deceived always regard the deceiver. It is a curious fact that throughout his short and ignoble reign James seems to have sought out the line of most resistance, the path along which he would be certain to encounter the maximum of difficulty and opposition. His folly in this respect was a combination of blindness and obstinacy rarely to be found in the ruler of a civilized state.

The Tory or High Church party persecuted the Dissenters. The Whigs, when in power, persecuted the Roman Catholics, and their penal laws were long a disgrace to the statute-book. But the objects of the two parties were different. The Tories sought to destroy the Dissenters in what they conceived to be the interests of the Church, and because of their opposition to absolute government. The Whigs, on the other hand, were more influenced by zeal for Parliamentary government. In their opinion the Romanists favoured the despotic sway of the King; and it was rather from a love of free institutions than from any undue hatred of Popery that they framed the penal laws.

During the reign of Charles II. the Roman Catholics had been hunted down mainly through the Protestant bigotry of Shaftesbury and his colleagues, whom the King was not able to withstand. The Protestant party had made a foolish and a cruel use of their power in punishing both Catholics and Dissenters; and now, fortune's wheel having turned, the ill-used Catholics avenged themselves upon the Episcopalians for the indignities and wrongs which they had received at their hands. One of the first to suffer was the Rev. Samuel Johnson. He had made himself obnoxious by his writings against Popery, and was prosecuted for libel, as well as for his work on 'Julian the Apostate.' He contended that resistance to the King would be justifiable if 'our religion or our civil rights were invaded.' For this doctrine he was sentenced to stand in the pillory, to be

§§ 11, 1685.

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degraded, and then to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn.* This cruel sentence was carried out to the horror of the whole Established Church.

James felt that one of the first measures required for the re-establishment of the Papal power in England was the repeal of the Test Act, for as long as this law was in force no Roman Catholic could legally hold any public position. James told the French Ambassador 'that he meant to have the Test and the Habeas Corpus Acts repealed by Parliament, as the former was destructive of the Catholic religion, and the other of the royal prerogative.' The Ambassador added that both Charles and James had often told him that no government could exist with such a law as the Habeas Corpus.† The Test Act once repealed, he could at pleasure fill the army and navy with Roman Catholic officers, and by degrees place the whole government of the kingdom in Roman Catholic hands. At first the English Church took no exception to the King's religion, and had he acted with ordinary caution, it is doubtful if it would have openly opposed the repeal of the Act. But under the influence of the hurry which usually accompanies the excessive zeal of small-minded men engaged in public affairs, he did not know how to bide his time.

To get rid of the objectionable law, he angled for the support of the Dissenters, and babbled to them of toleration and liberty of conscience. If he could but obtain toleration for their sects, a similar privilege could not reasonably be denied to his own faith. It has been pleaded by some of his apologists that he aimed at general religious toleration, but his whole history goes to prove that freedom of conscience and religious liberty were equally hateful to him. No Spanish Inquisitor ever detested religious liberty more than he did, and it was not equality, but supremacy, that he wanted for his own faith. In a letter to the Pope,

* Born in 1649, he had been a schoolfellow of Marlborough's at St. Paul's. He had been private chaplain to Lord Russell.

† Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 171.

he admits that he meant to destroy all forms of Protestantism in his kingdom, and that it was 'our determination to spread the true faith over all our dominions.'*

The French archives give us a list, in which Lord Churchill's name is included, of the peers who supported James in his desire to abolish the Test Act. But it may be taken for granted that his name was inserted because he had long been known as one of the Duke of York's most intimate friends. It was evidently assumed that, as a member of James's household, he would support his old master. He did not, however, act according to the hopes of those who compiled the list; and a contemporary writes of him: 'Lord Churchill swears he will not do what the King requires from him.'† James felt that the time had come when he must adopt strong measures if the Act were ever to be repealed. He was fond of repeating the old French maxim, that great evils require strong remedies, and as if to prove its truth, he now resolved to nullify the Test Act by a simple edict, and accordingly published his celebrated 'Declaration for liberty of conscience.'

† 4, 1687.

No more absolutely illegal act was ever done by an English King. Its ostensible object was to remove the disabilities from which Dissenters suffered, but its real aim was to obtain for Roman Catholics equal rights with the Church of England. That position once secured, it was hoped that the time would soon come when the Roman Catholic hierarchy should again occupy its old position of supremacy. By this bid for the favour of the Dissenters James hoped to sow disunion amongst Protestants, setting the whole body of Nonconformists—then probably about one-sixteenth of the population of Great Britain—in antagonism to the Established Church.‡ A few sects were at first taken in, but

* He said, in a Latin letter he wrote in 1689 from Dublin to the Pope: 'Catholicam fidem reducere in tria regna statuisse.' Lord Melfort, who, to please James, became a Catholic, carried this letter to Rome. See Lord Somers' Tracts, No. x., p. 552.

† Johnston's Letters; Mackintosh, p. 198.

‡ Mackintosh, p. 193.

the leading Dissenters saw through the cleverly-devised snare. They had never accepted the theory of passive obedience, and were wise enough to foresee that if the King could destroy the great edifice of the Established Church, with all its wealth, power, and popularity, they, the poor and despised Independents, could have little to expect at his hands. Baxter and Howe would have nothing to do with the trap which James had set for them. Their conduct did them the highest credit, for ever since the Restoration they had suffered cruel persecution at the hands of the Established Church. There were many also who, like Churchill, remembered that this pretended movement in favour of liberty of conscience was wholly at variance with James's conduct when Lord High Commissioner in Scotland. There he had exhorted the Council to suppress the conventicles, or, in other words, to put an end to the religious services of the vast majority of the Scottish people.* That James in his heart loathed the principle he pretended to uphold is evident from the congratulations which he bestowed on Lewis XIV. for his barbarous treatment of French Protestants; and there can be no doubt that he would have liked to deal similarly with his own heretics had he possessed the power. All tests, oaths, and restrictions upon conscience are opposed to the spirit of the present age, but it was not so in the seventeenth century. Full liberty of conscience for all persons as well as for yourself, was an idea not then in harmony with the views of any party in England, or, indeed, in Europe. The common people neither understood nor sympathized with it, whilst the educated perceived the ulterior motive with which it had been offered to them.

The Church soon found to her cost that her former subserviency was of no avail to secure the King's good-will. His public acts had already left her but a precarious right to be regarded as the National Church. To control her more effectually, James now created an illegal court, under the

* 'Life of James II.,' vol. i., p. 694.

presidency of Jeffreys, to try ecclesiastical cases.* This was in direct violation of an express Act of Parliament,† but James declared himself to be above the law, and claimed the right to exempt his Roman Catholic subjects from the operation of any objectionable Act, simply by the issue of a dispensation under the sign-manual. This assumption of authority struck at the root of all law and liberty. He maintained that the laws of England were the King's laws, and that consequently the King could grant dispensations from them. He dismissed four judges who refused to acknowledge this power, but he found others ready to maintain this monstrous doctrine, as illogical as it was historically false. Men whose duty it was to support the laws of the land now trampled upon them 'under colour of law,' simply to please a tyrannical King.‡ The boldness with which James pursued his illegal aims at first secured their success—and success, as usual, soon won him adherents amongst the waverers, who began to range themselves freely on his side.

One of the first to feel the power of the new tribunal was Henry Compton, Bishop of London.§ He was removed from the Privy Council, and suspended from his bishopric during the King's pleasure for refusing to punish Dr. Sharp, a parish rector, for some anti-Popery sermons which had offended the Jesuits. Compton, who subsequently took an active part in the Revolution, was then one of the few prelates of noble blood. He had begun life

* It was styled 'A Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes.'

† Welwood's Memoirs.

‡ Welwood's Memoirs. Welwood was physician to William III. His book was written at Queen Mary's desire.

§ He was fourth son of the Earl of Northampton, who was killed fighting for the King at Hopton Heath, near Stafford. An elder brother of the Bishop, Sir Francis Compton, had commanded the Royal Horse Guards (Blues) at Sedgemoor. He was a Whig in all his principles, and was one of the only two Bishops who voted for a King when Parliament declared the throne vacant in 1688. He was an eminent botanist. Born 1632, died 1717.

as a cornet in the Blues, and only entered the Church at the age of thirty. His avowed hatred of Popery had made him a great favourite with the people, by whom he was nicknamed 'the Protestant Bishop.' He was a Broad Churchman of enlightened views, and by his earnest endeavours to bring the Dissenters within the pale of the Established Church he showed himself far in advance of his narrow-minded High Church brother prelates.

In defiance of the statute law, James now began to fill the Privy Council with men of his own creed. The Jesuit Father Petre was so appointed, and to him the King transferred the confidence which he had previously reposed in Churchill. Another of the many Roman Catholics whom James promoted to high position was the coarse-minded and unscrupulous Lord Tyreconnel, the fifth of that faith appointed to the Privy Council.

The Pope's Nuncio was received in state at Windsor, the Chapel Royal in St. James's was converted into a Roman Catholic church, and London was soon filled with priests, who paraded their monkish dress, to the horror of the people, and even began to rebuild their convents. Jesuits set up schools and seminaries in most of the chief towns. Roman Catholic bishops, consecrated in the Chapel Royal, were appointed to dioceses openly allotted to them, and their pastoral letters were published with royal license by the King's printer.*

The Roman Catholics in England were at this time divided into three parties; the first consisted of a few peers and gentlemen who were in favour of mild measures; the second followed the policy of the Pope, who, working through his Nuncio, wished to moderate James's ardour lest the people should be driven into open rebellion.† The

* Welwood's Memoirs.

† Letter from Innocent XI., in which he warned James not to push his anti-Protestant zeal too far. 'History of William III.,' vol. i., pp. 173, 174. This Pope's name was Odescalchi. He was commonly called the 'Protestant Pope,' from his hatred of the cruelty imposed upon the

third party was known as the French or Jesuit party, of which Father Petre was the recognised head. Its main strength and hope were in the religious fanaticism of the Irish people. The uncompromising zeal of the King caused him to hold by this third party, whilst the Queen leaned towards the second, or Papal, faction.

James asserts that it was by Sunderland's advice that he introduced Roman Catholics into the public service. A small council of Catholic lords, with Father Petre, used certainly to meet at this time in Mr. Chiffinch's apartments under the presidency of Sunderland, and advise the King as to his policy.* Sunderland took care that they should all be men whom he could influence as he wished, and in this way he obtained complete power in the country.

James soon got rid of those who, like Lord Montague, had supported the Exclusion Bill in Parliament during the previous reign.† In fact, all lovers of liberty and of the reformed faith were one by one dismissed from office. The Dukes of Norfolk and Ormond, and a host of others, were deprived of their places because they opposed his measures. His zealous friend, Admiral Herbert, was removed from all his offices. The liberal-minded Halifax was dismissed because he would not help to repeal the Test and Habeas Corpus Acts.‡ James told him 'that though he would not forget past services, yet, since he would not consent to the repeal of the Tests, he was resolved to have all of a

Reformers. He was one of the greatest men who ever wore the triple crown.

* This secret Junto was a sort of inner committee of the Privy Council. It consisted of Father Petre and the Catholic Lords Sunderland, Powis, Bellasis, Dover and Castlemain.

† He was Ralph, third Lord Montague of Boughton, and Ambassador at Paris in 1669. He was dismissed by James from the position of Master of the Wardrobe, and replaced by Lord Preston, a Roman Catholic. He joined William in 1689, and was created first Earl, and then Duke of Montague. He died in 1709.

‡ Barillon to Lewis, 29.11, 1685. Appendix cxxviii. to Fox's history.

piece.* Orders were issued to all Lieutenants of counties, to have none returned as members of Parliament who were not in favour of the King's high-handed proceedings. Sixteen refused to comply, and were at once arbitrarily removed. Many colonels—amongst them Lord Oxford, of the Royal Horse Guards—were removed from the command of their regiments because the King believed them to be opposed to his illegal acts.† Seven members of Parliament were removed for voting contrary to the King's pleasure, and he discharged all the deputy-lieutenants and magistrates of counties whose answers to questions put to them about the Test Act were on the side of liberty and Protestantism. They were mostly replaced by Catholics, or by Dissenters in the few instances in which no Catholics were available.‡ In December, 1686, Lord Rochester, James's brother-in-law, was deprived of his post as Lord-Treasurer because he refused to be converted by certain Roman Catholic divines whom the King had ordered to lecture him on religious subjects. His other brother-in-law, Clarendon, was removed in February, 1687, from the position of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the post was given to the bigoted Tyrconnel. To the clergy who turned Catholic the King, in flagrant violation of the law, granted dispensations to enable them to retain their livings. Roman Catholic Governours were appointed to Portsmouth, Hull, and the other chief fortresses of the kingdom. When the Duke of Somerset refused, as Lord Chamberlain, to introduce the Papal Nuncio at Windsor, pleading that it would be illegal for him to do so, James said, 'But I am above the law!' 'That may be so, but I am not,' was the prompt reply.

The Universities were still anti-Catholic, but James was determined to convert them into Papal institutions. He

* Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 77.

† Sir J. Reresby's diary, January, 1688.

‡ See 'Penal Laws and Test Act,' by Sir George Duckett, Bart., in which are given these questions and the answers to them.

began with Oxford, by an attack upon the rights and privileges of Christ Church, University and Exeter Colleges. The great Locke—Shaftesbury's friend—had been already deprived of his studentship by King Charles to please his brother, and James now proceeded to deal in the same manner with nearly all the Fellows of Magdalen College, and to dispose illegally of its revenues.* Cambridge also was soon made to feel his displeasure. This was but a just retribution for the previous servility of the Universities. The day Lord Russell was beheaded a decree was published by the University of Oxford declaring all restrictions upon the King's authority criminal in the sight of God and man.† The proposition that a free people should make their own laws was condemned, and Passive Obedience was enjoined as a guiding principle of our Constitution, and as a religious doctrine.

But things had changed now, for the King presumed to lay hands on Church property. The Anglican clergy rose as one man to defend these nurseries of learning and religious teaching. James might do as he pleased in civil and military matters, but he must not tamper with the Act of Uniformity. The Church had so long preached the doctrine of Passive Obedience, and had submitted so completely to the King's wishes upon all other matters, that he never expected open resistance to his authority from such a quarter. The view of the Constitution held by the clergy was 'Church and State,' which James construed into 'the King and the Church,' and he had counted upon the support of the Church until the time should come when he might be strong enough to destroy it. The Bishops were indifferent whilst James robbed the towns of their charters and the people of their liberties, but when he began to

* James tried to force upon them, as President, a disreputable man named Farmer, whom even Jeffreys considered too bad for the place. His recommendation in James's eyes was that he had turned Roman Catholic.

† The execution of Russell and Sidney had been, at the time, a great triumph for James's party.

meddle with the Church's property and with its educational establishments, to suspend Bishops and to degrade parish rectors, they turned upon him and upon his co-religionists. Thenceforward the pulpits throughout the country rang, as in the days of the Commonwealth, with denunciations of Popery, and nothing more was heard of royal prerogative as a 'Divine right.' The storm thus raised opened James's eyes for the moment, but did not prevent him from taking further violent measures.

Elated by his easy victory over Dissent in the West, James was not the man to brook this defiance of his authority by the Established Church, and this attack upon ^{his} 3, 1686. his cherished religion. Urged on by the priests, he foolishly prohibited the clergy from preaching on controversial subjects—a measure copied from the days of 'Bloody Mary,' every remembrance of whom was hateful to the nation. He ordered the Bishops to enforce this unlawful decree, and sent those who were contumacious before his illegally constituted Ecclesiastical High Court. The English country gentleman has always been a man of strong prejudices, and at this period he had an intense detestation of priests, Popery, Dissenters and of foreigners, Frenchmen especially. The great bulk of the English people hated Popery more than they loved liberty, and resented James's attacks upon the English Church more than those directed against their free institutions.

This may sound strange to the present generation, but it was in accord with the spirit of the age. Religion then meant everything, and it was political even more than spiritual. A Dissenter was one who looked back with fond affection to the Commonwealth, and forward in hope of the advent of a second Cromwell. A Low Churchman necessarily held Whig principles, and looked for liberty under a limited monarchy and Parliamentary institutions. The High Churchman was a Tory who believed in the Divine right of kings and in Passive Obedience. When it is said that the people hated Popery, it does not imply that

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they did so exclusively on spiritual grounds, or that they were morally better than those who believed in transubstantiation; it means rather that they hated it as a political system based on priestly despotism and upheld by the authority and weight of an alien Church.

In this chapter I have dwelt at some length on King James's treasons against his people; on the measures which he adopted to deprive Englishmen of their liberties and to destroy the Protestant faith to which, under various forms of Church government, they were devoted. I have done so because a knowledge of these facts is essential to a clear understanding of the influences which worked upon the mind and conscience of Marlborough at this great epoch of his life, and drove him, much against his inclination and his interests, to desert his old master and throw himself heart and soul into the Revolution conspiracy.

CHAPTER XLIII.

CHURCHILL BEGINS TO INTRIGUE WITH WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

The Princess Mary forms an ill opinion of Sarah Churchill—The conspiracy against James—Dykveldt's mission to London—Sunderland's want of principle.

THROUGHOUT these years Lord and Lady Churchill lived much at St. Albans, but always spent part of each season at Court. When Sarah was in 'waiting,' both she and her husband lived with her Royal Highness the Princess Anne at the Cockpit, Whitehall.* In May, 1686, they were with the Princess during her lying-in at Windsor, and Sarah was godmother to the child then born. It died in the following November, being one of Anne's many children who seemed to come into the world only to disappoint the people's hope of a Protestant heir to the Crown. During the years immediately preceding the Revolution, Anne maintained a regular correspondence with her sister in Holland. Their letters are interesting, though often coarse in some details, and we gather from them that about this period Princess Mary conceived a rooted dislike for Sarah. Interested motives compelled her to suppress it for a time, but it burst forth unchecked,

* Although this cockpit had been diverted from its original purpose, we read of cockfights being carried on at this time in the King's cockpit at Windsor for a week together. Indeed, we have never had a King more devoted to sport of all sorts than James II. In the *London Gazette* of his reign will be found numerous laws and regulations made by him for the preservation of game.

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8, 1, 1688.

later on, when the Churchills' services were no more required. Busybodies about the Court had poisoned Princess Mary's mind against her sister's favourite, and in writing to Anne she stated what she had heard against her. In the following letter Anne endeavours to remove this unfavourable opinion: 'Sorry people have taken such pains to give so ill a character of Lady Churchill. . . . I believe there is nobody has better notions of religion than she has. It is true she is not so strict as some are, nor does not keep such a bustle about religion, which I confess I think is never the worse, for one sees so many saints mere devils that if one be a good Christian the less show one makes it is the better in my opinion. Then as for moral principles, it is impossible to have better; and without that all the lifting up of hands and eyes and going often to church will prove but very lame devotion. One thing more I must say for her, which is that she has a true sense of the doctrine of our Church, and abhors all the principles of the Church of Rome; so that as to this particular I assure you she will never change. The same thing I will venture, now I am on this subject, to say for her Lord; for though he is a very faithful servant to the King, and that the King is very kind to him, and, I believe, he will always obey the King in all things that are consistent with religion—yet, rather than change that, I dare say he will lose all his places and all that he has.* From this we may infer, that Churchill had repeated to the Princess what he had told Lord Galway in Paris after the death of Charles II., namely, that if James attacked the Church, or attempted to change the Constitution, he would quit his service. In the following year Anne again wrote to her sister about him, saying, 'He was one of those whom I can always trust, and whom I am certain is a very honourable man and a good Protestant.' She adds 'that if things continued as they were then going, no Protestant would be able to live here soon.'

From information obtained through the Churchills,

* Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 167, Appendix to Book V.

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Anne must have been fully aware of the conspiracy to dethrone her father. Indeed, there can be no doubt that she cordially sympathized with the designs of those who felt that, if their religion and liberties were to be preserved, James must be deprived of his crown. Her letters written at this time show the horror with which she regarded her father's treasonable dealings with the people, especially his violation of law in the retention of Roman Catholics in office, and his refusal to nominate English Churchmen to the Privy Council. Writing in 1686 to Lady Churchill about the Catholic Lords Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover, she says: 'I was very much surprised when I heard of the four new privy councillors, and I am very sorry for it, for it will give great countenance to those sort of people, and methinks it has a very dismal prospect. Whatever changes there are in the world, I hope you will never forsake me, and I shall be happy.' Since the notable occasion to which Anne had referred in one of her letters to Mary, the King had never spoken to her about religion, but she daily expected him to renew the subject. Should he do so, she was resolved, she said, to submit to everything rather than change her faith. Lady Churchill contrived by means of visits to Bath and Tunbridge, on the plea of Anne's health, to keep the Princess as much as possible away from Court at this time, and thus to prevent any pressure from her father on the subject of religion.*

In February, 1686-7, William sent Herr Van Dykvelt to London to ascertain the true state of political feeling.† He was to note who were in favour of, and who were against, Dutch intervention in English affairs. He carried back to Holland the written assurances of the best men in the country that the Prince's advent was eagerly looked for by a vast majority of the nation. Danby, Nottingham,

* Vol. 164, folio 217, Archives des Affaires Étrangères.

† He had his first audience with James at Whitehall 21, 2, 1686 (London Gazette), having reached London three days before. He returned to the Hague the beginning of May, 1687.

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Halifax, Rochester, Devonshire, Churchill, and a host of others, both Tories and Whigs, had already entered into correspondence with Prince William. Some desired his coming from strong Protestant sympathies; others from political hatred of Popery; and others, again, from a love of liberty, and of that Constitution which was believed to ensure it. Throughout the reign of easy-going Charles II., there was no great cause to be won; but as soon as the Crown had passed to his bigoted brother, all England rallied to the cause of Protestantism, and it stirred a larger proportion of the people than the cause of liberty had done under the despotic rule of Charles I. Many wished for a new King because they found that there was no public career open to them under James, unless they abandoned a faith they held dear, a faith which was closely associated in their minds with their conception of freedom. The strong men were for strong measures, but the weak gave Dykvelt shifty answers. 'Lord Halifax, with that undetermination of spirit which commonly makes literary men of no use in the world' of action, was amongst the half-hearted and wavering.* Compton, Bishop of London, undertook to manage the Church in William's interests, Churchill was to do the same with the Army, and Admiral Russell with the Navy.

Sunderland, being then Principal Secretary of State, was the most important actor in the Revolution conspiracy. He was poor, shamelessly avaricious, and accepted pensions simultaneously from the King of France and from the Prince of Orange.† Devoid alike of religious convictions and of the moral sense of right and wrong, he had become a Roman Catholic so that James might retain him in office. But he certainly loved England, and wished to see

* Dalrymple, p. 17, Part I. of Book V.

† In a letter of 6, 12, 1685, Lewis XIV. ordered Barillon to allow Sunderland a pension of 20,000 or even as much as 24,000 crowns, 'as long as he shall contribute whatever depends upon him to maintain a good correspondence between me and the King his master, and to remove every engagement which can be contrary to my interests.' Dalrymple, Appendix to Book V., p. 141.

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her people enjoy the benefits of civil and religious liberty. He was absolutely unscrupulous as to the means he employed to secure those rights; and feeling that they could never be safe as long as James was King, he set himself to destroy James and bring in Protestant William in his stead. Besides, he so clearly foresaw that James must ruin himself by the policy he was pursuing, that had he nothing but self-interest to urge him, he would have sought—like the unjust steward—to make a friend of the Prince who was James's inevitable successor. He also loved power, and being the most artful of trimmers, he was determined, whatever might happen, to hold on to office and its emoluments, though the game was no easy one to play. The way in which he conducted it showed that his nerve equalled his cunning and sagacity. Until William should land, it was essential to the success of the plot that James should have complete confidence in his First Minister's loyalty, and this Sunderland accomplished with the most refined subtlety, in the end delivering James over, shorn of all power, into the hands of his enemy.

It must be remembered that Churchill held no military post at this time; Lord Feversham commanded the troops upon all occasions when they were brought together—as, for instance, at the annual camps on Hounslow Heath—Lord Dumbarton, a Catholic, being second in command there. Indeed, James while King never gave his former page any high position, either in the army, at Court, or in the government of the country. He liked and valued Churchill, but owing to his strong Protestantism he never promoted him beyond the position of Gentleman of his Bedchamber. Dykvelt had been especially ordered by William to communicate with Lord Churchill, because of his influence with the Princess of Denmark and with the army. This is the letter he carried back from him to the Prince of Orange:

'SIR,—The Princess of Denmark having ordered me to ¶ 5, 1687. discourse with Mons. Dykvelt, and to let him know her resolutions, so that he might let your Highness and the

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Princess, her sister, know that she was resolved by the assistance of God to suffer all extremities, even unto death itself, rather than be brought to change her religion, I thought it my duty to your Highness and the Princess Royal, by this opportunity of Mons. Dykvelt, to give you assurances under my own hand that my places and the King's favour I set at naught, in comparison of the being true to my religion. In all things but this the King may command me; and I call God to witness that even with joy I should expose my life for his service, so sensible am I of his favours. I know the troubling you, sir, with thus much of myself, I being of so little use to your Highness, is very impertinent; but that I think it may be a great ease to your Highness and the Princess to be satisfied that the Princess of Denmark is safe in the trusting of me, I being resolved, although I cannot live the life of a saint, if there be ever occasion for it, to show the resolution of a martyr.—I am with all respects, sir,' etc.*

This was a treasonable letter, but so also were the letters written to the Prince of Orange at this time by the Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, Nottingham, Clarendon, Rochester, Pembroke, Latimer, Danby, Lumley, Bath, by the Bishop of London, by Admirals Herbert and Russell, by Mr. Sidney, and a host of other leading men. The English Ambassador at the Hague was at this time in the receipt of pay both from Lewis XIV. and from William of Orange, and plotting all the while to allay his own King's suspicions regarding the impending invasion.†

It was but natural that those Englishmen who felt as Churchill did about Protestantism, and as Lords Devonshire, Halifax, and others did about constitutional liberty, should turn to the Prince of Orange to save their country.

* Dalrymple, vol. ii., Appendix to Book V., p. 62.

† The English Ambassador was an Irish adventurer named White, who called himself the Marquis d'Albeville. He was a man of a very disreputable character, who, having long served Lewis XIV. as a spy, was made a Marquis in France.

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The result was that a close correspondence soon grew up between William and those who were conspiring against James.* In July, 1687, Bonrepos informed the French Court that Sunderland, Godolphin, and Churchill were already working in secret to merit the Prince of Orange's favour, and that of all James's Council he was only served faithfully by Lord Jeffreys, whom he described as 'unextravagant.'

Dykvelt's conduct in England was displeasing to James, who thought him too intimate with those whom he knew to be opposed to his measures. The more astute and abler Count Zulestein, William's illegitimate cousin, was consequently sent to replace him in London.†

* Dalrymple and Fox give some of this interesting correspondence.

† Zulestein was son of the General of that name, who was the illegitimate brother of William's father. He was a soldier, and endowed with taking qualities. He was both talented and astute.

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LORD CHURCHILL ADVISES JAMES NOT TO FOLLOW AN ANTI-PROTESTANT POLICY.

James tries to induce his friends to become Roman Catholics—The King makes a Royal Progress, and touches for the 'King's Evil'—Churchill remonstrates with him for introducing Popish Practices into the ceremony.

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KING JAMES did all he could to induce his personal friends to become Roman Catholics. Many did so simply to please him, others in the hope of preferment.* Indeed, it became the fashion at Court to go to Mass with the King. All who looked for public employment soon realized that the surest road to royal favour was through the Confessional, but this was a road that Churchill was not disposed to follow. James became aware of this in the first year of his reign, and it is almost certain that Churchill's openly-avowed determination on the subject had been communicated to James very soon after he had announced it to Lord Galway. Fond as he was of money, Churchill would not sell his faith for office and its emoluments. He was well aware that, holding the position he did in James's personal esteem and trusted as he had been with the King's political secrets, though no party to his religious schemes,

* Amongst these were Lords Lorne, Melfort, Salisbury and Sunderland. The last-named was the most remarkable. James in Council spoke of his conversion as a matter of great importance, though it is tolerably certain that he was in heart a freethinker of Hobbes's school.

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he had only to throw himself warmly into the Roman Catholic interest to become the most powerful subject in the kingdom.

As will be seen later on, Churchill did not hesitate to warn James of the danger he incurred by his Romish practices.* But he advised, he expostulated to no purpose. As a rule, when he sought to convince and win men over, his force of character, coupled with his power of persuasive reasoning, carried the day. But successful as he usually was, he failed to move James in matters of either State policy or religion. James's intolerant mind, ever open to arguments based on superstition, was impervious to those built upon the logic of facts. He lacked the independence of spirit and the magnanimity of mind to appreciate the counsel of a sterling, candid friend like Churchill, and he received his advice with anger and resentment. How and why should the servant he had raised from obscurity to high position presume to advise him—the Lord's anointed, the lawful heir of Saxon Alfred and of Norman William—on a question of conscience which involved his own spiritual welfare, and above all, which concerned the re-establishment of the ancient faith, the only true religion, in a matter upon which his mind was irrevocably made up, and on which his confessor thought as he did?

In the autumn of 1687 the King made a royal progress to Portsmouth, Bath, Gloucester, Worcester, Chester, Lichfield, Winchester, Oxford, etc., and Lord Churchill accompanied him.† As Duke of York, James had been most unpopular because of his religion, and had been roughly handled by the ballad-mongers. He now sought to win the people's favour, and strove to reconcile his subjects to the new order of things which he had instituted. During this progress he touched about 5,000 people for the king's-evil; and at Winchester, to the horror of the Protestants present, 14 9, 1687. the religious part of the rites was performed by two Roman

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 27.

† He started 16, 8, 1687, and returned to Windsor 17, 9, 1687.

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Catholic priests.* Walking alone with Churchill in the Deanery garden before dinner, the King asked him what the people said 'about this method I have taken of performing the ceremony of touching in their churches.' 'Why, truly,' he replied, 'they show very little liking to it; and it is the general voice of your people that your Majesty is paving the way for the introduction of Popery.' 'How!' exclaimed the King in anger. 'Have I not given them my royal word, and will they not believe their King? I have given liberty of conscience to others, I was always of opinion that toleration was necessary for all Christian people, and most certainly I will not be abridged of that liberty myself, nor suffer those of my own religion to be deprived of paying their devotions to God in their own way.' 'What I spoke, sir,' said Churchill, 'proceeded purely from my zeal for your Majesty's service, which I prefer above all things next to that of God, and I humbly beseech your Majesty to believe no subject in all your three kingdoms would venture further than I would to purchase your favour and good liking; but I have been bred a Protestant, and intend to live and die in that communion; that above nine parts in ten of the whole people are of the same persuasion, and I fear (which excess of duty makes me say) from the genius of the English nation, and their natural aversion to the Roman Catholic worship, some consequences which I dare not so much as name, and which it creates a horror in me to think of.' The King listened attentively to what, from anyone else, he would have warmly resented, and then said deliberately: 'I tell you, Churchill, I will exercise my own religion in such a manner as I shall think fitting. I will show favour to my Catholic subjects, and be a common father to all my Protestants of what religion soever; but I am to remember that I am King, and to be obeyed by them. As for the consequences, I shall leave them to Providence, and make use of the power God has put in my hands to prevent any-

* Fathers Warner and Saunders.

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thing that shall be injurious to my honour, or derogatory to the duty that is owing to me.' He then went to dinner, during which he talked only with the Dean, who stood behind his chair all the while, the conversation being exclusively on the subject of passive obedience.* This the King did to make Churchill understand how keenly he resented his freedom of speech. Few princes have sufficient wisdom to appreciate the loyalty of those who, like Churchill in this instance, have the courage to tell them home truths. He who ventures on such a course can seldom hope for much royal consideration. But if it be generally hazardous for the courtier to differ from his master, it was doubly so with a King of James's despotic character. It was, moreover, especially perilous to differ from him upon theological points, for, according to his notions, there could be no discussion upon matters which had been settled by an infallible Church. James cared as much for Churchill as a Stewart could care for anyone but himself. In him James knew that he possessed a faithful servant and a prudent counsellor, who, before Charles II.'s death, had saved James from many a scrape into which his obstinacy and bigotry would otherwise have led him. But James felt that Churchill's Protestantism was invincible—a fact of which the priests about the King made much capital—and although it is possible that James would have denied any change of sentiment on his part, still, little by little he did become estranged from his former favourite. It is evident that Churchill never had a high opinion of James's character, or any great personal affection for him. He knew him too well and had too often witnessed his cold indifference to the sufferings inflicted by his orders to have any sincere regard or respect for one who was certainly no

* Dr. Maggot was then the Dean. This is related by the author of 'The Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals,' etc., 1713, who says he also stood by and heard the conversation, and was told by Lord Churchill of his conversation with the King in the garden before dinner. See p. 21.

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hero to his Gentleman-in-Waiting. Like many a courtier before and since, Churchill, whilst he served the Prince, despised the man. James knew how much Churchill's skilful disposition had contributed to the victory at Sedgemoor; but although he rewarded him, as has been already mentioned, thenceforward he took him less and less into his confidence. He told the French Ambassador later on that he never could put confidence in any man, however attached to him, who affected the character of a zealous Protestant.*

Churchill fully realized the sacrifices which his staunch Protestantism entailed upon him, and deliberately chose the upright course. His resistance to the earnest wishes of the King regarding a matter upon which James believed that he had a right to claim obedience—if not from the people at large, at least from his own household—began the estrangement between them which dates from the overthrow of Monmouth. That rebellion was always regarded by the King as a religious rising. He knew that Protestant London was at the time ripe for a revolt against Popery, and had not Churchill's soldier-like precautions at Sedgemoor saved the Royal army from defeat, it is tolerably certain that Monmouth would have received strong and effective support from the Protestant citizens of the capital.

* Barillon to Lewis, March 24, 1687; Mackintosh, p. 154.

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"A daring imaginative conception embodied with marvellous success. The splendours of the city of Al-Kyris the Magnificent; the luxurious, feverish, selfish, ineffectual life of the idolized laureate Sab-Jumâ; the gorgeous functions of Zephorânim, the still more gorgeous but ghastly and loathsome festivities presided over by that beautiful fiend the High Priestess Lysia, the varied phenomena of the existence in a community given over utterly to the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life; the omens which among all the glories foretell catastrophe and ruin; the catastrophe itself, with all its incidents of strange horror, are painted with an imaginative power which for the time holds us spellbound. The chapters devoted to the fall of Al-Kyris have not often been equalled in English literature for wealth and splendour of lurid invention; some portions of Beckford's 'Vathek' approach them most nearly, but even 'Vathek' is deficient in some of the qualities which give to 'Ardat' its peculiar impressiveness."—*The Spectator*.

117

A ROMANCE OF TWO WORLDS.

"A remarkable work, and whether it be called a novel, or a poem, or a psychological romance, it cannot fail to make a deep impression upon intellectual minds."—*Life*.

"Clever and ingenious."—*The Globe*.

"The author has considerable power of description, and not a little poetical feeling. The book is evidently the outcome of a great deal of serious thought."—*The Saturday Review*.

RICHARD BENTLEY AND SON, LONDON.

By MARIE CORELLI—(Continued).

144

THE SOUL OF LILITH.

"A weird but fascinating novel, intensely exciting, and deals with a strangeness of character that will give even the jaded and habitual novel reader a thrill and an emotion, and yet the story is one of to-day. . . . It is the best Marie Corelli has yet published."—*Observer*.

"The dominant characteristic of this strange and striking book is its poetic quality. . . . Passages of dignity and melody are of frequent occurrence. Happy metaphor and brilliant illustration spring readily to hand. A keen sense of beauty and refinement in the choice of language and a complete mastery of the writer's technique are constant qualities in the work."—*The Literary World*.

120

THELMA.

"A really admirable novel, pure in spirit, wholesome in doctrine, picturesque, poetical, passionate, pathetic."—*The St. James's Gazette*.

"The rich local colouring, the glowing heat, the vivid and subtle descriptions of surroundings and scenery, all help to make the book one of exceptional merit, as the heroine is one of exceptional beauty and of exceptional talents."—*The Whitehall Review*.

"Nothing can be more vivid and at the same time more delicately coloured than the pictures of the Land of the Midnight Sun."—*The Morning Post*.

114

VENDETTA: THE STORY OF ONE FORGOTTEN.

"Is the weather so very cool, my dear Mr. George Bentley; is ice so cheap; are lemon squashes given away for nothing, that you should send me such a very inflammatory novel as 'Vendetta,' by Marie Corelli? The three tomes of this alarming work are bound in sanguinolent crimson, and figured on each is a hand clutching the hilt of a dagger. Blood! Iago, blood! I am reading 'Vendetta' (figuratively speaking) with a wet cloth round my head, and my feet in a basin of iced and camphorated water; but ere I reach the end of the Signora or Signorina Corelli's appalling romance, dreadful consequences will, I fear, accrue. Possibly, human gore, Naples, the cholera, matrimony (very much matrimony), jealousy, the stiletto, and the Silent Tomb in which brigands have buried their treasures! I shudder; but I continue to read 'Vendetta,' just as when I was a child, I used to shudder over the 'Mysteries of Udolpho.'"—*GEORGE AUGUSTUS SALA in The Illustrated London News*.

131

WORMWOOD: A DRAMA OF PARIS.

"A grim, realistic drama. . . . The effects of love, lawless passion, jealousy, hatred, insanity, all are grouped together round the lost 'absintheur' whom the author has depicted."—*The Athenaeum*.

"Like everything heretofore written by this gifted author, it is true to nature. Its pathos, moreover, is sufficiently powerful to sustain the reader's eager interest from beginning to end."—*Galignani*.

By MRS. AUGUSTUS CRAVEN
(Pauline de la Ferronays).

19

A SISTER'S STORY.

"A book which took all France and all England by storm."—*Blackwood's Magazine*.

"'A Sister's Story' is charmingly written, and excellently translated. It is full of fascinating revelations of family life. Montalembert's letters, and the mention of him as a young man, are delightful. Interwoven with the story of Alexandrine are accounts of the beautiful; their letters and diaries abound in exquisite thoughts and tender religious feeling."—*The Athenaeum*.

By HENRY ERROLL.

125

AN UGLY DUCKLING.

"'An Ugly Duckling' is not merely a work of the highest promise, it is a finished masterpiece; its author makes what is presumably his debut with a work of the very finest quality. Moreover, he has successfully occupied new and supremely difficult ground. It is a novel which is strikingly original, powerful in its reticence, full both of humorous and varied observations and of delicate pathos, true to the subtlest lights and shades of human nature, and unfailingly fresh, interesting and charming from beginning to end."—*The Graphic*.

PUBLISHERS in ORDINARY to HER MAJESTY.

By MRS. ANNIE EDWARDES.

A GIRTON GIRL.

110

"Mrs. Edwarde is one of the cleverest of living lady novelists. She has a piquancy of style and an originality of view which are very refreshing after the dreary inanities of many of her own sex. The novel is throughout most enjoyable reading."—*The Academy*.

"One of the best and brightest novels with which the world has been favoured for a very long time is 'A Girtion Girl.' All the characters talk brightly and epigrammatically, and tell their own stories in their lively conversation."—*The Lady*.

"Mrs. Edwarde tells a story which is full of subtle observation, benevolent sarcasm, and irresistible brightness."—*The Morning Post*.

LEAH: A WOMAN OF FASHION.

61

"'Leah' is the best, the cleverest, and strongest novel that we have as yet had in the season, as it is certainly Mrs. Edwarde's masterpiece."—*The World*.

"Mrs. Edwarde's last novel is the strongest and most complete which she has yet produced."—*The Saturday Review*.

OUGHT WE TO VISIT HER?

52

"To this novel the epithets spirited, lively, original of design, and vigorous in working it out, may be applied without let or hindrance. In short, in all that goes to make up at once an amusing and interesting story, it is in every way a success."—*The Morning Post*.

"Mrs. Edwarde has never done better than in her charming novel, 'Ought We to Visit Her?'—*Vanity Fair*.

SUSAN FIELDING.

40

"One has not read far into this novel before one feels that the writer is by no means a common person. So true and vivid is the conception of the various characters that we have sometimes a difficulty in realising that we are, after all, only reading the creations of an author's fancy. As to the style, it is excellent. It becomes firmer as the story advances, but throughout it has a delicate grace which it is impossible to define, but of which every reader will be conscious. . . . We hope we have said enough to show that this is no ordinary book. If our readers make themselves directly acquainted with it they will not conclude that we have given it too hearty a recommendation."—*The Globe*.

By JESSIE FOTHERGILL.

ALDYTH.

133

"It is curious that this, which is the most interesting of Miss Fothergill's novels, should also be the least known. Its republication is very welcome, and there can be no doubt that if it were well known it would be more widely appreciated than any of Miss Fothergill's books."—*Observer*.

BORDERLAND.

116

"Miss Fothergill is one of those novelists whose books we always open with assured expectation, and never close with disappointment. We do not say that the quality of excellence is a characteristic of her achievement; she is too much a writer of genius as distinguished from a writer of talent to work upon a dead level. In all her work we find the unmistakable touch of mastery, the imaginative grasp of the creator, not the mere craftsmanship of the constructor, 'the vision and the faculty divine' which displays itself in substance and not in form. . . . 'Borderland' is certain to be enjoyed for its own sake as a story full of the strongest human interest, told with consummate literary skill."—*The Manchester Examiner*.

THE FIRST VIOLIN.

72

"The story is extremely interesting from the first page to the last. It is a long time since we have met with anything so exquisitely touching as the description of Eugen's life with his friend Helfen. It is an idyl of the purest and noblest simplicity."—*The Standard*.

"A story of strong and deep interest, written by a vigorous and cultured writer. To such as have musical sympathies an added pleasure and delight will be felt."—*The Dundee Advertiser*.

RICHARD BENTLEY AND SON, LONDON.

By JESSIE FOTHERGILL—(Continued).

148

FROM MOOR ISLES.

"'From Moor Isles' is much above the average, and may be read with a considerable amount of pleasure, containing, as it does, many vigorous and affecting passages."—*Globe*.

"The sketches of North-country life are true and healthy."—*Athenaeum*.

"Miss Fothergill has written another of her charming stories, as charming as 'The First Violin.' 'From Moor Isles' will distinctly add to Miss Fothergill's reputation as one of the pleasantest of our lady novelists."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

85

KITH AND KIN.

"In speaking of 'Kith and Kin' it is not necessary to say more in the way of praise than that Miss Fothergill has not fallen below her own mark. None of her usual good materials are wanting. The characters affect us like real persons, and the story of their troubles and their efforts interests us from the beginning to the end. We like the book—we like it very much."—*The Pall Mall Gazette*.

"One of the finest English novels since the days of 'Jane Eyre.'"—*Manchester Examiner*.

76

PROBATION.

"Altogether 'Probation' is the most interesting novel we have read for some time. We closed the book with very real regret, and a feeling of the truest admiration for the power which directed and the spirit which inspired the writer, and with the determination, moreover, to make the acquaintance of her other stories."—*The Spectator*.

"A noble and beautiful book which no one who has read is likely to forget."—*The Manchester Examiner*.

By LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON.

13

LADYBIRD.

"Lady Georgiana Fullerton has wrought out her plot with power, delicacy, occasional depth of thought, and general felicity of language."—*The Athenaeum*.

8

TOO STRANGE NOT TO BE TRUE.

"One of the most fascinating and delightful works I ever had the good fortune to meet with, in which genius, goodness, and beauty meet together in the happiest combination, with the additional charm of an historical basis."—"EINOKACH," in *Notes and Queries*.

By RICHARD JEFFERIES.

136

THE DEWY MORN.

"The beautiful description in which the book abounds is what will lend the work its most potent charm. With the pen of a poet and the appreciativeness of a painter he limns in graceful words his pictures of country life with such truth that one can hear the wind among the trees, and see the great clouds flinging their shadows on the sward, as one reads his charming studies."—*Society*.

"The Dewy Morn' is written from end to end in a kind of English which cannot be imitated, and has rarely been equalled for beauty. The descriptions of scenery and of the aspects of sky and atmosphere are so vitally true as to produce a sense of illusion like that produced by a painting."—*Vanity Fair*.

By JOSEPH SHERIDAN LE FANU.

14

THE HOUSE BY THE CHURCHYARD.

"Le Fanu was one of the best story-tellers that ever wrote English. We protest that, as we write, one fearful story comes to our mind which brings on a cold feeling though we read it years ago. The excitement is so keen that anyone but a reviewer will find himself merely 'taking the colour' of whole sentences in his eagerness to get to the finish. His instinct is so rare that he seems to pick the very mood most calculated to excite your interest. Without explanation, without affectation, he goes on piling one situation on another until at last he raises a perfect fabric. We know not one improvisatore who can equal him."—*Vanity Fair*.

"Le Fanu possessed a peculiar—an almost unique—faculty for combining the weird and the romantic. His fancy had no limit in its ranges amongst themes and images of terror. Yet he knew how to invest them with a romantic charm which ended in exerting over his readers an irresistible fascination."—*The Daily News*.

PUBLISHERS in ORDINARY to HER MAJESTY.

By J. S. Le FANU—(Continued).

99

IN A GLASS DARKLY.

"Even 'Uncle Silas,' being less concentrated, is less powerfully terrible than some tales in Sheridan Le Fanu's 'In a Glass Darkly.' This book was long as rare as a first edition copy of 'Le Malade Imaginaire.' Lately it has been reprinted in one volume by Mr. Bentley. It is impossible, unhappily, for an amateur of the horrible to remain long on friendly terms with anyone who is not charmed by 'In a Glass Darkly.' The eerie inventions of the author, the dreadful, deliberate, and unsparring calm with which he works them out, make him the master of all who ride the nightmare. Even Edgar Poe, even Jean Richepin, come in but second and third to the author of 'In a Glass Darkly.' His 'Carmilla' is the most frightful of vampires, the 'Dragon Volant' the most gruesome of romances; while 'A Tale of Green Tea' might frighten even Sir Wilfrid Lawson into a chastened devotion to claret or burgundy. No one need find Christmas nights too commonplace and darkness devoid of terrors if he keeps the right books of Le Fanu by his pillow. The author is dead, and beyond our gratitude. I cast lilies vainly upon his tomb—*et munere fungor inani*."—From a leading article in *The Daily News*.

11

UNCLE SILAS.

"We cordially recommend this remarkable novel to all who have leisure to read it, satisfied that for many a day afterwards the characters there portrayed will haunt the minds of those who have become acquainted with them. Shakespeare's famous line, 'Macbeth hath murdered sleep,' might be altered for the occasion, for certainly 'Uncle Silas' has murdered sleep in many a past night, and is likely to murder it in many a night to come, by that strange mixture of fantasies like truths and truths like fantasies which make us feel, as we rise from the perusal, as if we had been under a wizard's spell."—*The Times*.

"The first character is Uncle Silas, that mysterious man of sin; the next is the ghoul-like goblin of a French governess—the most awful governess in fiction. Then we have the wandering lunatic whom we take for a ghost, and who is even more dreadful. Finally, there is the tremendous scene in the lonely Irish house. No one who has read it can forget it, or the chapters which precede it; no one who has not read it should have his pleasure spoiled by a description."—*The Daily News*.

By MARY LINSKILL.

130

BETWEEN THE HEATHER AND THE NORTHERN SEA.

"A remarkable book, the work of a woman whose preparation for writing has been her communion with books and nature. This intimacy is wide and apparent. Shakespeare, Milton, Keats, Shelley, Kingsley, Carlyle, Browning, Tennyson, and many more are constantly supplying illustration. The beautiful mottoes to the chapters would make up a choice extract book, and the very names of them are quotations. Her familiarity with nature is as evident as that with books. The grandest passage in the story describes with wonderful vividness and with subtle delicacy the shifting scenes of a great sea storm—we wish we could quote it, but it must not be mutilated—and the aspects of the wild high moorlands; the lonely, desolate, and rocky marshes; the rare bits of cornland, the sheltered orchard, whether by night or day, in winter or in summer, or in lovely cheerful spring, in the storm or in the sunshine—all these aspects of nature on the Yorkshire moors and on its dangerous shores are sketched with the same perfect knowledge, the same fine perception of minute differences and changes, and the same sense of beauty."—*The Spectator*.

141

CLEVEDEN.

"The heroine's story is told, and her character drawn with much delicacy of touch, and our sympathy is powerfully enlisted for the timid and affectionate nature that leans upon love, and the religiousness, vague but strong, that bears her through all the dreariness of her desertion by her first lover, and the trust and dependence that drew her gradually towards the less fascinating, but far deeper and stronger nature of the man who becomes her husband. 'Stephen Yorke's' sketches of dale scenery are beautiful, and clearly the work of one who not only knows them intimately and loves them dearly, but whose tasteful and poetic feeling can appreciate the minutest delicacies of varying seasons and weather, and can gather from Nature in all her aspects her deeper and higher meanings."—*The Spectator*.

157

THE HAVEN UNDER THE HILL.

"In these pages are described many stern battles with the furious and raging sea, when resolute men went under, and ships and life-boats were destroyed as so much matchwood. And the tempest of the ocean finds its counterpart in the tempest of the heart. Dorigen Gower, the heroine, with her strong poetic nature, and brave and noble life, recalls the saint-like characters of the past. . . . A fine healthy, breezy novel."—*Academy*.

RICHARD BENTLEY AND SON, LONDON.

By MARY LINSKILL—(Continued).

139

IN EXCHANGE FOR A SOUL.

"The central figure of the tale is the beautiful fisher-girl, Barbara Burdass. . . . She has the self-restraint, the quiet courage, of the Puritan heroines of old. . . . From first to last she is an original as well as fascinating creation."—*Morning Post*.

145

TALES OF THE NORTH RIDING.

"If Miss Linskill had written only her fine 'Tales of the North Riding,' they would have been sufficient to fix her title of Novelist of the North. Her characters are portraits of northern folk, as they who have lived among them will recognise, and her scenery is precisely what one's memory recalls."—*Sheffield Daily Telegraph*.

"What Mr. Hardy is to the Wessex country, Mary Linskill might have become to the North Riding of Yorkshire, had her life been spared a little longer. The 'Tales of the North Riding' gives many evidences of her real ability, and, in the second story, 'Theo's Escape,' Miss Linskill rises to the level of her best novel, and in it she displays the strongly artistic faculty which is never absent from any of her books."—*Manchester Examiner*.

By MAARTEN MAARTENS.

146

GOD'S FOOL.

"The Story of Elias, God's Fool, is in some respects beautiful, in all curious, and thickest with gems of thought. The picture of the creature with the clouded brain, the missing senses, the pure and holy soul, and the unerring sense of right, living in his deafness and darkness by the light and the law of love, is a very fine conception, and its contrast with the meanness and wickedness of his surroundings is worked out with high art."—*World*.

"A very interesting and charming story. Elias Lossell only became a fool gradually, as the result of an accident which happened to him in early youth. Gradually the light of this world's wisdom died out for him; gradually the light of God's wisdom dawned and developed in him. The way these two lights are opposed and yet harmonised is one of the most striking features of the book. As a subtle study of unusual and yet perfectly legitimate combination of effect, it is quite first-rate."—*Guardian*.

156

AN OLD MAID'S LOVE.

"A picture of a Dutch interior. Cool shadows, fine touches, smooth surfaces, clear outlines, subdued meanings, among these sit Suzanna Varelkamp, the old maid, exactly as you may see in a Dutch picture an old lady in a prim room knitting a stocking and looking as if she and dust had never known each other. The book is fresh, vivid, original, and thoroughly interesting."—*The Saturday Review*.

151

THE GREATER GLORY.

"A number of various types are introduced, sketched with remarkable clearness of touch. Some belong essentially to the soil, but the majority are specimens of those to be met with in all cultivated communities. The plot is one of singular interest, marked by dramatic contrasts and a strong vein of pathos. It would be difficult to conceive figures more touching than those of the old Baron and Baroness Rexelaer, nor, in a different way, than the pair of young lovers, Reinout and Wendela, charming creations of a poetic fancy."—*Morning Post*.

158

THE SIN OF JOOST AVELINGH.

"A masterly treatment of a situation that has an inexhaustible fascination for novelists, but which very few are strong enough to treat worthily. An admirable novel. Has throughout the merits of Dutch art. . . . combined with a most delicate loveliness."—*The Guardian*.

"Maartens has inherited many of the special gifts which once distinguished his great countryman—but that is not all. 'The Sin of Joost Avelingh' has qualities of imagination which Dutch pictorial art hardly ever achieved, save on the canvases of Rembrandt."—*The Manchester Examiner*.

From the French of HECTOR MALOT.

83

NO RELATIONS.

"A cheap edition of a book which, within the short space of a year, has reached the almost unprecedented sale of 200,000 copies in France, and which has been there awarded the valuable Academical prize of M. Monthyon, cannot fail to meet with appreciation in this country."—*Preface*.

[Reprinting.]

PUBLISHERS in ORDINARY to HER MAJESTY.

By HELEN MATHERS (Mrs. Reeves).

50

COMIN' THRO' THE RYE.

"A clever novel; never dull, and never hangs fire."—*The Standard*.
 "There is a great deal of power in 'Comin' thro' the Rye.' There is originality in the tragic plot, and an unceasing current of fun which saves the tragedy from becoming sombre."—*The Athenaeum*.

By FLORENCE MONTGOMERY.

88

MISUNDERSTOOD.

"Read 'Misunderstood'; very touching and truthful."—*Diary of Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester*.
 "This volume gives us what of all things is the most rare to find in contemporary literature—a true picture of child-life."—*Vanity Fair*.

89

SEAFORTH.

"In the marvellous world of the pathetic conceptions of Dickens there is nothing more exquisitely touching than the loving, love-seeking, unloved child, Florence Dombey. We pay Miss Montgomery the highest compliment within our reach when we say that in 'Seaforth' she frequently suggests comparisons with what is at least one of the masterpieces of the greatest master of tenderness and humour which nineteenth-century fiction has known. 'Seaforth' is a novel full of beauty, feeling, and interest."—*The World*.

87

THROWN TOGETHER.

"This charming story cannot fail to please."—*Vanity Fair*.
 "A delightful story. There is a thread of gold in it upon which are strung many lovely sentiments."—*The Washington Daily Chronicle*.

By W. E. NORRIS.

112

A BACHELOR'S BLUNDER.

"We have endeavoured in noticing some previous books of this author to express our high appreciation of his graphic powers and his right to be reckoned one of the leading English novelists—one who has been compared to Thackeray in reference to his delicate humour and his ready seizure of the foibles as well as the virtues of mankind, and to Anthony Trollope in a certain minuteness of finish in the depicting of people and of scenes. This story of a natural and unsophisticated girl in the midst of the intense worldliness of modern English society, and of a marriage deliberately viewed in advance and by both parties as one entirely of convenience, affords an excellent field for his characteristic modes of treatment."—*The Boston Literary World*.

"Exceedingly good reading, as Mr. Norris's novels nearly always are. The situation is, so far as we know, original, which is a rare merit."—*The Guardian*.

119

MAJOR AND MINOR.

"The author's fidelity of analysis throughout this clever book is remarkable. As a rule he here deals with ordinary sentiments, but the more complicated characters of Gilbert Segrave and Miss Huntley are drawn with the subtle touch of the accomplished artist. These merits are familiar to the readers of Mr. Norris's former works, but in none of these is to be found a vein of such genuine humour as in 'Major and Minor.' The irrepressible contractor Buswell, Mr. Dubbin, and the fair Miss Julia, whose admiration for poor Brian lands him in a more than awkward dilemma, are each and all as life-like as they are diverting. In this, his latest book, Mr. Norris remains the elegant and slightly caustic writer he has ever been, while his knowledge of the world and sympathy with human nature have become wider and more real."—*The Morning Post*.

128

MISS SHAFTO.

"The books of Mr. Norris are worth reading, not because he recalls this or that distinguished predecessor, but because he has a charming manner of his own which is rendered recognisable not by eccentricity or whim, but by a wholesome artistic individuality, and one does not nowadays often read a fresher, brighter, cleverer book than 'Miss Shafto.'"—*The Academy*.

RICHARD BENTLEY AND SON, LONDON.

By W. E. NORRIS—(Continued).

123

THE ROGUE.

"Mr. Norris is just now to the fore. He is probably one of the first amongst rising novelists. Mr. Lang speaks of him as 'the Thackeray of a later age.'"—*The World*.
 "Mr. Norris is always an artist. Tom Heywood is by no means the author's only triumph. Lady Hester and Stella are in their way almost equally, and Mr. Fisher, the unscrupulous financier who is prompted by his one unselfish emotion to a heroic act of self-abnegation, is even better; but our space is exhausted, and we must content ourselves with a hearty commendation of one of the cleverest and brightest novels of the season."—*The Spectator*.

By MRS. NOTLEY.

73

OLIVE VARCOE.

"A sensational story with a substantial fund of interest. It is thoroughly exciting."—*The Athenaeum*.
 "Among the pleasures of memory may be reckoned the impression left by a perusal of 'Olive Varcoe,' a story sufficiently powerful, picturesque, and original to raise hopes of still more excellent work to be achieved by the writer of it."—*The St. James's Gazette*.

By FRANCES M. PEARD.

106

NEAR NEIGHBOURS.

"The home life of the Dutch, sketched with eloquent touch, forms the scene of Miss Peard's latest labours. And the story is such that you'll find there is much to like in her pleasant 'Near Neighbours.'"—*Punch*.
 "'Near Neighbours' is an excellent novel. It is a story of modern life in the Netherlands, and it reminds one of a gallery of Dutch pictures without their coarseness."—*The Saturday Review*.

By MRS. J. H. RIDDELL.

104

BERNA BOYLE.

"In 'Berna Boyle' this very clever author has broken new ground. A more fiery, passionate, determined, and, we must add, more uncomfortable lover than Gorman Muir could hardly have been evolved out of the consciousness of Emily Brontë herself."—*The Standard*.
 "'Berna Boyle' is one of the best of Mrs. Riddell's novels; certainly the best I have read of hers since 'George Geith.'"—*Truth*.

106

GEORGE GEITH OF FEN COURT.

"Rarely have we seen an abler work than this, or one which more vigorously interests us in the principal characters of its most fascinating story."—*The Times*.
 "The author carries the reader with her from the first page to the last. And of all the girls we can call to mind in recent novels we scarcely know one that pleases us like Beryl. She is so fresh, so bright, so tender-hearted, so charming, even for her faults, that we fall in love with her almost at first sight. The subordinate characters are sketched with great felicity, and considerable skill is displayed in the construction of the plot. We like, too, the thoughts, pithily and eloquently expressed, which are scattered throughout the volume."—*The Fortnightly Review*.

By MAJOR HAWLEY SMART.

80

BREEZIE LANGTON.

"A capital novel, full of sweet English girls and brave, open-hearted English gentlemen. It abounds with stirring scenes on the racecourse and in the camp, told with a rare animation, and a thorough knowledge of what the writer is talking about."—*The Guardian*.
 "We predict for this book a decided success. Had the author omitted his name from the title-page, we should unhesitatingly have credited Mr. Whyte Melville with his labours. The force and truth of the hunting and racing sketches, the lively chat of the club and the barracks, the pleasant flirting scenes, and the general tone of good society, all carry us back to the days of 'Kate Coventry' and 'Digby Grand.'"—*The Saturday Review*.

PUBLISHERS in ORDINARY to HER MAJESTY.

By the **BARONESS TAUTPHÆUS** (née Montgomery).

THE INITIALS.

"One of those special and individual tales the coming of which is pleasantly welcomed. It must please all who love character in persons lower than Antony and Cleopatra. No better humoured or less caricatured picture of life in Germany has ever been executed by an English pencil."—*The Athenæum*.

QUITS!

"'Quits!' is an admirable novel. Witty, sententious, graphic, full of brilliant pictures of life and manners, it is positively one of the best of modern stories, and may be read with delightful interest from cover to cover."—*The Morning Post*.

By **ANTHONY TROLLOPE**.

THE THREE CLERKS.

"... Trollope's next novel was 'The Three Clerks,' which we have always greatly admired and enjoyed, but which we fancied had come before the ecclesiastical fictions. The sorrows, the threatened moral degradation of poor Charlie Tudor, the persecution he underwent from the low money-lender—all these things seemed very actual to us, and now we know that they were photographs reproduced from the life. The novel seems to have been a special favourite of its author's, and perhaps he places almost higher than we should be inclined to do the undoubtedly pathetic love-scenes of which Kate Woodward is the heroine. He declares elsewhere, if we remember aright, that one of these scenes was the most touching he ever wrote. And he says here, 'The passage in which Kate Woodward, thinking she will die, tries to take leave of the lad she loves, still brings tears to my eyes when I read it. I had not the heart to kill her. I never could do that. And I do not doubt but that they are living happily together to this day.'"—*The Times* (reviewing *Anthony Trollope's Autobiography*).

From the German of **E. WERNER**.

FICKLE FORTUNE.

"Werner has established her claim to rank with those very few writers whose works are, or should be, matters of interest to all readers of cultivation throughout Europe."—*The Graphic*.
"The tale partly resembles that of Romeo and Juliet, in so far as the hero and heroine fall in love almost at first sight, and discover that they belong to families which are at deadly feud, but such deadly feud as can be carried on by means of lawyers and lawsuits. The style of writing is excellent, of the easy, lucid, vivacious sort, which never induces weariness and scarcely allows time for a pause."—*The Illustrated London News*.

SUCCESS, AND HOW HE WON IT.

"'Success, and How He Won It' deserves all praise. The story is charming and original, and it is told with a delicacy which makes it irresistibly fascinating."—*The Standard*.
"A book which can hardly be too highly spoken of. It is full of interest, it abounds in exciting incidents, though it contains nothing sensational; it is marvellously pathetic, the characters are drawn in a masterly style, and the descriptive portions are delightful."—*The London Figaro*.

By the **HON. LEWIS WINGFIELD**.

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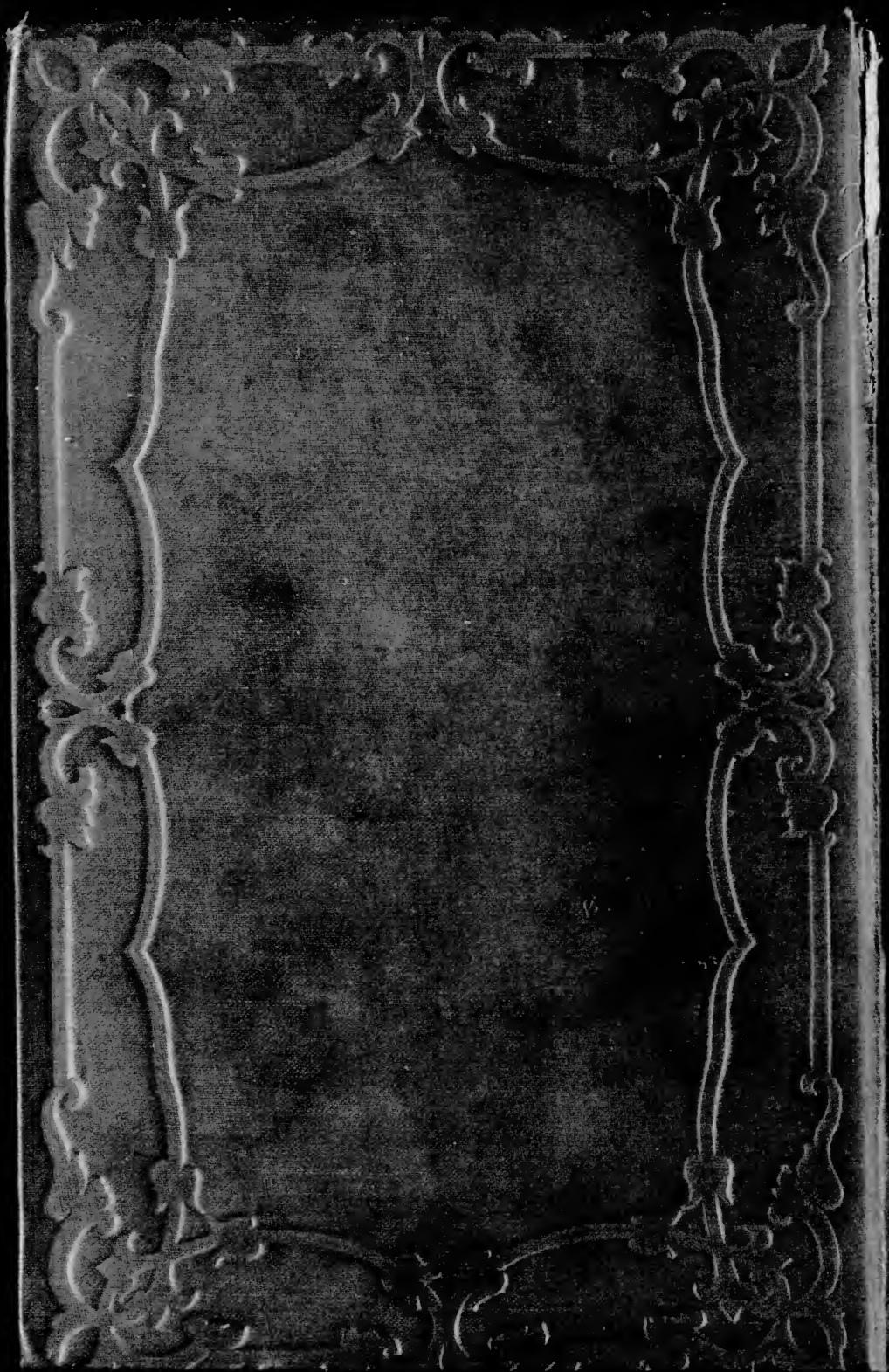
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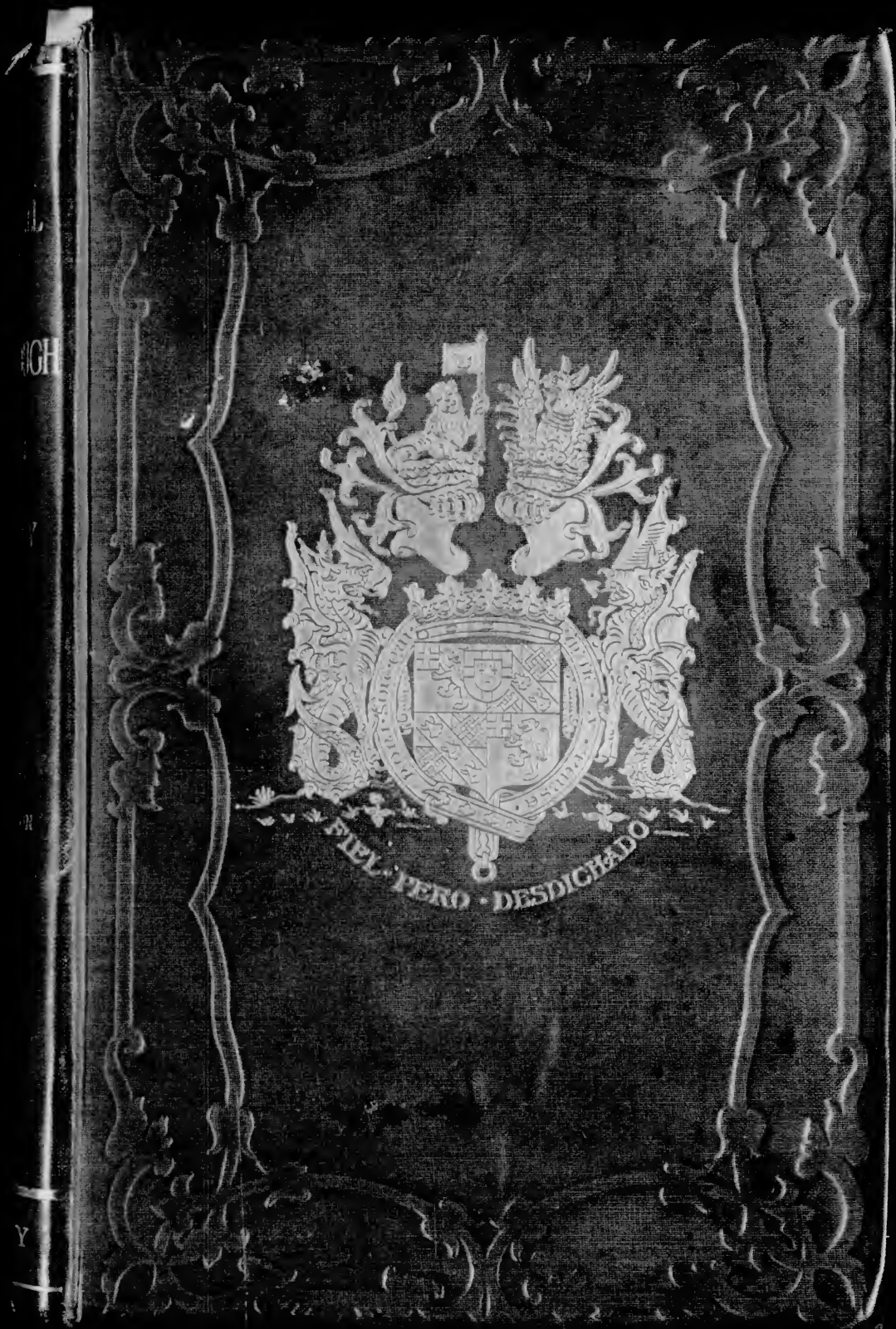
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THE LIFE
OF
JOHN CHURCHILL
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

TO THE
ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE
BY
FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT WOLSELEY, K.P.



TOWER OF LONDON

VOLUME TWO

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THE year 1688, which ended with the Great Revolution, was ushered in by violent storms, and by an epidemic which struck down both man and beast. The Angel of Death stalked through the land attacking high and low, and it is said that the astrologer of the Restoration had predicted that this year would be fatal to King James.* It is not intended to give a connected history of the events which contributed to the fulfilment of that remarkable prophecy, further than is necessary to illustrate the important part which Lord Churchill took in placing William and Mary on the throne.

For the successful issue of the Revolution we are more

* Partridge. Calamy's 'Historical Account of my own Life,' vol. i., p. 181. Partridge had also foretold the burning of Rome in 1666, which prediction, those who believed in his science asserted, was borne out by the burning of London that year. He was commonly called the 'Protestant almanack-maker.'

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indebted to Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, and to Lord Churchill, than to any other two Englishmen of those who brought it about. Both were disloyal to James, but in helping forward the Revolution they worked for what they believed to be the real interests of their country, and in Churchill's case for what he conceived to be a duty to his God. It is difficult to say whether the Revolution would have been accomplished in 1688 had Halifax, Sidney, Cavendish, Shrewsbury, etc., done nothing to help William's invasion, but there can be little doubt that without the cordial co-operation of James's trusted Secretary of State, and of his best-known English General, that invasion would have been practically impossible. The part which Sunderland played in the plot was far more important than that taken by Churchill, yet historians have more or less spared the Minister to pour out all their stock of invective upon the soldier, who is commonly condemned as the worst sort of traitor. But when we honestly endeavour to judge the conduct of each, it is essential to remember that whilst Sunderland held a high office under James, and took bribes all round, no considerations of money had any influence with Churchill, and that since the battle of Sedgemoor he had not been employed, nor was he in the King's secrets.

From the assiduity with which William strove to gain over Churchill, it is evident that he fully understood the importance of having the English army on his side, the necessity of at least having its power of resistance neutralized, and this he could only hope to compass with the connivance and help of Lord Churchill. The Princess Mary's letters to Sarah at this time, of course inspired by her husband, make this clear.*

The Revolution was a matter of the deepest moment, not only to England, but to Europe generally. The history of its events, however, is little more than the personal history of King James, the Prince of Orange, and the few leading

* See two letters from the Princess Mary to Sarah, printed in 'The Conduct,' pp. 50, 51.

Englishmen who helped William to the throne. We are too apt to regard it as the result of some great national rising, whereas the people took but little active part in its proceedings. Their sturdy Protestantism and hatred of Roman Catholicism caused them to regard William as their only possible protector, but without the cabal almost exclusively composed of peers who plotted against James, and without Prince William to lead and direct the conspiracy, any attempted rising in 1688 would certainly have ended as did Monmouth's rebellion.

In the many popular declarations made after William had landed, the English gentry stated that they were determined to maintain the ancient laws, rights, and liberties of the English people. They asked for nothing from the Crown beyond the free exercise of their ancient privileges, of which the Stewart kings had one and all conspired to deprive them. The Revolution guaranteed to them these rights; and the laws then enacted were intended to protect the nation for ever against the tyranny of unconstitutional kings. The triumph of the Revolution was no democratic victory like that which ended in the despotism of Cromwell, nor was it any general uprising of the people to assert their rights against a tyrannical aristocracy, as in French Jacobin days. It was planned and carried out by the aristocracy, but on lines and with aims that were entirely in accord with the sentiment of the people. In fact, it was the House of Lords who fought out the question of the Protestant succession, and protected the Dissenters against the hatred of the majority in the House of Commons. The strength of that majority was neutralized by divisions amongst the Tories, for the burning question of Protestantism versus Divine Right tore them asunder and rendered them powerless. Every Tory was horrified at the proposal to change the reigning dynasty by Act of Parliament. There could be only one legitimate King according to their faith. But at the same time, nine-tenths of them, like Churchill, sympathized with the nation in their deter-

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mination to get rid of the Roman Catholic monarch, who sought to destroy the Established Church and to trample on civil liberty.

Many circumstances combined to favour the Revolution, and of these, the great strategical mistake made this year in the selection of a line-of-operations for the French army was not the least important. Instead of wasting his strength upon the Upper Rhine, Lewis XIV. should have delivered his blows upon the Meuse and the Lower Rhine. But he went off on a side-issue to attack the Emperor, when he should have struck at William of Orange to prevent his invasion of England.* Barillon fully understood this mistake, and later on, when the French army sat down before Phillipsburg, he urged Lewis to raise the siege, and to carry the war into Holland. Lewis, through his Ambassador in London, proposed this to James, who discussed it in Council. Although some were for it, the majority opposed any fresh invasion of Holland by France on the ground that it would alienate James's Protestant subjects. An attack upon Holland was the move which William and the other conspirators dreaded most, for it would effectually stop the Prince's expedition to England. If Lewis had threatened Holland, William would neither have ventured to denude his country of the troops he took to England nor to quit Holland himself. In other words, the Revolution could not have taken place in 1688.

As long as James occupied the Throne, Lewis, his paymaster, could count upon English support in all operations against the Netherlands. But should James lose his Throne as the result of a successful rebellion, England would at once become Holland's ally. This was evident to Lewis, and he had consequently from the first regarded James's proceedings with grave apprehension. Gladly as he would have helped to bring back England into the Catholic fold, the enlargement of France was still nearer his heart. He had, therefore, always deprecated those violent measures

* Lewis declared war against the Emperor on 24, 9, 1688.

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against Protestantism which he had long felt assured would sooner or later force the English people into revolt, for he foresaw that the revolution which destroyed his friend James would exalt his enemy William. England under the rule of William would become the active enemy of France on every sea, and her soldiers would swell the confederate ranks on every Flemish battle-field. It was for these reasons, and not from any feelings of humanity or of justice, that Lewis XIV. discountenanced James's attacks upon Protestantism.

The Princess Anne was an important factor in the Revolution. Had she taken her father's part, King William's difficulties would have been most seriously increased. To her dull and toping husband she was a faithful wife, but he exercised no influence over her. Sarah Churchill was the real keeper of her conscience and director of her actions. The line which Anne would take in the conspiracy against her father would be that which her favourite recommended her to follow. William was well aware of this, and the fact naturally enhanced the value of Lord Churchill's co-operation. In this particular instance Sarah had an easy task, for Anne's mind turned naturally to the preservation of the English Church, to which she ever remained faithfully devoted. Her letters to Mary are full of the horror with which she viewed the efforts against Protestantism made by 'Mansell,' as she irreverently styled her father for purposes of concealment.

Meanwhile, dull as James was, he could see that troubles must be encountered before his designs could be accomplished, and he wanted to be better prepared for them than he had been for Monmouth's rebellion. He relied more upon his army than upon the hearts of his people. As a preliminary measure, he asked William to send back the six British battalions in the Dutch service. This request, made upon the advice of Lord Sunderland, was partly prompted by a new cause of dislike on the part of James to the Prince of Orange, namely, William's positive refusal to aid him

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in his attempt to repeal the penal laws against Roman Catholics. The States-General refused to allow the regiments to leave Holland, which so enraged James that he straightway issued a proclamation, ordering all his subjects to quit the Dutch 'service and return home within the space of two calendar months,' etc. The States persisted in their refusal, but permitted the officers to choose for themselves. About forty officers and a few privates—mostly Catholics—availed themselves of this permission. One result of these withdrawals was that the regiments were purged of those whom William feared to employ, yet hesitated to dismiss. He counted much upon these British troops in his long-thought-out plans for the invasion of England, inasmuch as they would, he thought, invest the undertaking with the aspect of an English rising, instead of an invasion by a foreign army.*

The officers and men who thus returned from Holland became the nucleus of three new battalions which James raised. The French King agreed to pay them, and promised to send him additional troops 'when he wanted them to put down his enemies, and to force his disobedient subjects into allegiance.'† Lewis deemed the presence of these British regiments in Holland to be prejudicial to his designs upon that country, and he was consequently anxious for their recall. But Sunderland was not prepared to recommend this course to his master without a bribe from Lewis XIV. over and above his ordinary pension.‡ The story of his successful treason has hardly a parallel in history.

* Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 93. These regiments formed a very important part of the army that came to England with William. The three English regiments were commanded by Tolle-mache, Henry Sidney and Sir Henry Bellasis. The whole brigade of six battalions numbered about 4,000 of all ranks when it landed in England with William.

† Barillon to Lewis XIV.

‡ Vol. i. of Sidney's Diary, edited by Blencowe. Henry Sidney commanded one of the six British regiments in the Dutch service.

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THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS.—THE CONSPIRATORS INVITE WILLIAM TO INVADE ENGLAND.

The Bishops sent to the Tower—The garrison in their favour—Birth of the Pretender—Bishops acquitted—Invitation sent to William to come over and defend the liberties of the English people—The Warming-pan story—Meetings of the conspirators—Churchill's letter to William.

ONE of the greatest of James's blunders was his arbitrary arrest of the 'seven Bishops'—'the seven lamps of the Church,' as they were commonly called by the people.* Of all the trials in his short but calamitous reign, theirs was the most remarkable. It excited the deepest interest in all parts of the kingdom, and more than all his other oppressive acts served to disclose the true object of his un-English schemes. The crime imputed to the Bishops was a refusal to order their clergy to read in Church the King's second declaration upon liberty of conscience. This declaration was nothing more in form than a royal edict removing the disabilities under which the Roman Catholics then suffered. But it was in substance an assertion on the part of the King that it was within his competence to override the law as enacted by Parliament. And while every-

* They were Archbishop Sancroft, Bishops Ken, Lloyd, Turner, Lake, White, and Trelawney of Bristol. Bishop Lake, like Mews, who fought at Sedgemoor, had been a soldier. Except Lloyd and Trelawney all subsequently refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III.

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one in these days will applaud the object proposed, all will equally condemn the process by which James attempted to accomplish it.

Sancroft, the friend of Dissenters and most liberal and broad-minded of prelates, called the Bishops together at Lambeth, where it was resolved to petition the King against his order.* The petitioners declared that their conscience would not allow them to publish any declaration 'founded on a dispensing power which had been declared illegal by Parliament.' James was furious, called the petition 'a standard of rebellion,' and peremptorily rejected it with the words, 'God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it.' With such a man no compromise was possible, and it may be truly said that the Bishops' protest began the Revolution.

The King committed the seven recalcitrant Bishops to the Tower, a proceeding which outraged public opinion. The Royal Fusiliers, who formed the garrison of the fortress, evinced the utmost sympathy with their prisoners, and drank frequently to 'their lordships' health.' The Catholic Constable, Sir E. Hales, tried to suppress this open expression of feeling, but was told that the men were at that moment toasting the Bishops, and would continue to do so as long as they remained in confinement.†

Whilst the trial was proceeding, James Prince of Wales —afterwards known as the 'Old Pretender'—was born, and Sunderland, Jeffreys, the Quaker Penn, and the Catholic lords all urged the King to commemorate the event by the grant of a general pardon to all prisoners. They felt how much the release of the Bishops in this way would relieve the King from the embarrassment into which his ill-directed zeal had led him. But he refused; he

* It was Sancroft who had crowned James, and had afterwards urged him to return to the Church of England in a sermon which lasted an hour and a half.

† When the Bishops were acquitted, the Royal Fusiliers were removed from the Tower and replaced by Irish Catholic soldiers under Sir Charles Carney.

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could not forgive men who had openly defied his authority, and his only answer was, 'indulgence had ruined his father.*' The trial proceeded, the Bishops were acquitted, and as they left the Court of King's Bench, the Abbey bells rang out a joyful peal. When the verdict was pronounced, Lord Halifax, who was in court, waving his hat, shouted, 'Huzza!' and all present joined in the cry, which spread eastward into every alley of the city, and westward until it was taken up by the troops encamped at Hounslow. The King, who was dining in the camp, desired Lord Feversham to ascertain the cause of the shouting. He soon came back, saying that it was 'nothing, only the soldiers cheering at the acquittal of the seven Bishops.' 'And you call that nothing?' growled the King. 'But so much the worse for them.' There was, indeed, good reason to take the shouting seriously, for it told James that he could no longer count upon the army in his attacks upon the Church. It ought to have warned him that even with soldiers there is a limit beyond which they will not go when rulers deal unrighteously with the soldiers' loyal countrymen in civil life.†

On the day following this iniquitous and ill-advised trial, ‡§ 6, 1688. Henry Sidney sent to the Prince of Orange the famous though somewhat half-hearted invitation, signed by seven of the chief conspirators, to come over and defend the religious liberties of the English people.‡

No one now believes the celebrated 'warming-pan story'; but the arrangements for the Queen's lying-in were so badly managed that at the time it was commonly accepted as true by an ignorant, bigoted, and suspicious public. Amongst James's trusted advisers there were doubtless

* Plumptre's 'Life of Ken,' vol. ii.

† Sir J. Reresby says: 'The acclamations were a very rebellion in noise.'

‡ The seven were Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Bishop H. Compton, Admiral Russell, and Colonel H. Sidney. Swift abuses Sidney very scurrilously, but, then, Sidney had offended that most revengeful ecclesiastic.

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some who would not have shrunk from such a fraud in order to prevent Protestant Mary and her Dutch husband from coming to the throne; but James, to his credit be it said, was not capable of any such infamous deception. But far and near the English Protestants doubted the legitimacy of the newly-born Prince of Wales. Lord Churchill, amongst others, had been specially summoned to attend 'the Queen's labour,' but purposely absented himself from Court. After some time, James became aware of the general suspicions about the young Prince's birth, and summoned a Council, at which Churchill attended, to record the evidence of the Queen Dowager and of some peers' wives who were present, that the Queen had been delivered of a son.*

² 11, 1688.

On the birth of a Prince of Wales the Princess Mary ceased to be heir presumptive to the throne. Neither she nor her husband could in future have any right to lecture, or even to advise, James upon English public affairs. The event was a serious blow to William's ambition. For more than two years he had been in close correspondence with the discontented Protestant party in England and Scotland. He now saw his hopes shattered, and the cup of his ambition dashed to the ground. There can be no doubt that this sudden extinction of his long-cherished hopes hastened the Revolution. As far back as 1679 he had discussed his wife's chances of succession to the English crown with Henry Sidney, who records in his diary: 'He (William) is convinced the Duke will never have the Crown, and I find would be very willing to be put in a way of having it himself.'† As long as Mary was next in the succession, William could afford to wait; but now the Crown could only be obtained by a revolution, and, in fact, by force. He therefore entered the more closely into the views and plots of the many Englishmen who had taken refuge in Holland from James's tyranny.

* Dom. Papers, Jac. II., 1688, Rolls House.

† Henry Sidney's Diary, vol. i., p. 130, 7, 9, 1679.

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Anne's letters to her sister prove how much she doubted that the Prince of Wales was really the Queen's son. In a letter dated July 24th, she gives a full account of the lying-in, and amongst the ladies present in the room she mentions Lady Tyrconnel, Lord Churchill's beautiful sister-in-law.

Lords Halifax, Danby, Nottingham, Mordaunt and Lumley, Admirals Herbert and Russell, Colonel Sidney—afterwards Lord Romney—and the Bishop of London often met either at the Earl of Shrewsbury's or the Earl of Devonshire's to discuss the situation, and there they hatched their plan to dethrone James, and to place the government in the hands of William and Mary. With the exception of Devonshire, the conspirators seem to have been timid, weak, and all jealous and suspicious of one another.

In revolutionary councils the advice of the pusillanimous is generally to 'wait,' and 'not to be in a hurry.' Some peculiar, perhaps impossible, combination is said to be expected; but whether really believed in or not, want of nerve often causes the conspirator to pretend he does believe in it in order thereby to excuse his cowardice and indecision. In such councils, and at such moments, the decision of the man of action is invaluable. It makes itself felt at once, for there are many who require and even wish to have their minds made up for them. It is then that the resolute man draws his sword, and throwing away the scabbard, commits his fortune to the weapon he knows how to wield. Caution generally means failure; bold measures alone win in revolutions.

Early in the year the conspirators sent Admiral Russell to the Hague to confer with William, and lay before him the state of the nation.* It is, therefore, tolerably certain that the determination to get rid of James had been arrived at before his second 'Declaration of Indulgence,' in April, ²⁷ 4, 1688. and before the prosecution of the Bishops in June.

* Note by Lord Dartmouth, p. 279, vol. iii., of Burnet.

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The following letter from Lord Churchill to William of Orange describes very fairly the feelings which animated, not only him, but nearly all the leading men in England at this time: 'August 4, 1688. SIR,—Mr. Sidney will lett you know how I intend to behave myselfe: I think itt is what I owe to God and my contry: my honour I take leave to put into your Royalle Hinesses hands, in which I think itt safe: if you think there is anny thing else that I ought to doe, you have but to command me, and I shall pay an intiere obedience to itt, being resolved to dye in that relidgion, that itt has pleased God to give you both the will and power to protect.—I am, etc., etc., CHURCHILL.'*

This letter should be read in conjunction with that which he wrote to James when he left him finally at Salisbury. It is the letter of a patriot, not of a mere conspirator; the letter of one who was risking all for conscience' sake. Those who read it in any other light can never have fully appreciated Churchill's position when James came to the Throne.

* The original letter is in Mr. Alfred Morrison's collection of autographs.

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JAMES REFUSES TO BELIEVE IN THE POSSIBILITY OF INVASION.

Lewis sees through William's intentions—Treacherous part played by Sunderland—James at last realises his position—He restores the Charters taken from the cities—He trusts in the loyalty of his soldiers and sailors.

LEWIS XIV. had seen through William's plans at an early date, and had earnestly sought to warn James of the impending storm. But though he did his best to arouse the infatuated King to a sense of his danger, all warnings passed unheeded. In a letter to his ambassador in London, Lewis says: 'At the Court where you are they seem asleep and spellbound, whilst threatened at home and abroad with the greatest conspiracy ever formed.' Barillon replies that 'James and his Secretary of State, Sunderland, think the invasion visionary,' etc. It was, he added, 'the fashion at Court to laugh so at those who believed in the possibility of an invasion, that he was consequently the subject of much Court raillery.' James tells us the same thing, and that of all whom he trusted, Admiral Lord Dartmouth alone credited the reports of William's preparations which reached him from Holland.* The secret, although well known to hundreds, was so well kept that James could not be induced to credit the story. The success of the enterprise depended much upon secrecy, but still more

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* James's Memoirs, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 158. Clarke's 'James II.,' vol. ii., p. 177.

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upon being able to persuade James that no conspiracy existed.

But anxious as the French King undoubtedly was to prevent William's projected invasion, he was more than others responsible for its success. First, as already pointed out, by sending his army into Germany, instead of keeping it to threaten Holland; and, secondly, by not using his powerful fleet to watch the Dutch coast and prevent the sailing of William's army of invasion.

When Colonel Skelton, the English ambassador at the Hague, demanded explanations as to William's military and naval preparations, he was told that they were not aimed at King James, and the Dutch envoy in England declared that they were directed against France. William also gave James repeated assurances to the same effect in his private letters. Tyrconnel, with all his faults, was a faithful servant to James, and if not the first, was amongst the earliest of the King's friends to warn him of William's real intentions. It was the wily Sunderland, helped by the Spanish ambassador, who succeeded in allaying James's suspicions and anxiety. He played his treacherous part so skilfully that no preparations to meet the coming storm were made until too late. He afterwards confessed that during these proceedings he daily expected to lose his head.* Endowed with a smooth tongue, ready wit, great fertility of resource, and restrained by no regard for truth, Sunderland succeeded in persuading James that Lewis XIV.'s warnings were those of the 'panic-monger,' and that the Dutch war preparations were really aimed at France. Above all, he succeeded, in opposition to the advice of the Roman Catholic party, in dissuading the King from accepting the proffered aid of the French fleet, and of the 30,000 soldiers whom Lewis wished to send him.† He frightened James into this refusal by impressing him with

* Sunderland's letter of 2^d-3^d, 1688.

† Lord Ailesbury in his Memoirs states that Sunderland himself told him this, p. 184.

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the idea that the presence of such a French force in England would degrade him to the position of a viceroy to Lewis. Lewis was naturally angry when he found his warnings disregarded, and his offers of ships and troops refused. Determined, however, to thwart the machinations of William, he ordered his ambassador to inform the Prince that he, at least, understood the real object of these warlike preparations, and that he would regard an attack upon his friend and ally, the King of England, as a *casus belli*. At the instigation of Sunderland, this conduct on the part of Lewis was resented by James, who, to mark his disbelief in any threatened attack, recalled Colonel Skelton, and committed him to the Tower as a purveyor of false intelligence. Sunderland is described in the following terms by a contemporary: 'Trimming goes on at a great rate, but Sunderland, as he is like the devil in the whole tenour of his conduct, so he is particularly in this instance. He tempts and damns two-thirds of mankind, and yet the hungry maw of this roaring lion yearns after the other part.* In acknowledging the part he played in persuading James to refuse the French King's offers of an army and a fleet, he says of himself: 'I opposed to death the acceptance of them, as well as any assistance of men: and can say most truly that I was the principal reason of hindering both, by the help of some lords, with whom I consulted every day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great prejudice, if not ruinous to the nation.'†

It is curious that James should have so liked and trusted one who in the previous reign had strenuously supported the 'Exclusion Bill.' But he was deceived by Sunderland's pretended conversion to Popery, and by his cunning assurance that he had really supported that Bill in James's interest. He said he knew that the Bill would not pass,

* Letter from Bolingbroke of July, 1702, to Sir William Trimbail. Spencer House Papers.

† Kennet, vol. iii., p. 518. This letter was addressed to a friend. It was licensed and, I think, published.

and that had it not been supported vigorously by his party, the 'Limitation Bill' would certainly have become law, which would have hampered the King in all his actions, degrading him to a position little better than that of the Doge of Venice.*

In the autumn James begged for money from Lewis to equip more ships, and he in every way did his utmost to strengthen the Channel fleet. He was given 400,000 livres (about £16,000). Sunderland asked for more, but had to rest content with that amount. Vessels were hastily prepared as fire-ships, all naval officers were refused leave, and every available ship of war was sent to the Downs, where the fleet was ordered to remain. The French King wisely urged James to bring over from Ireland all the Catholic troops he could depend upon. But the Irish troops were no less dreaded in England than the French; and James was easily persuaded by the Duke of Grafton, Sunderland, Churchill and others, to refrain, for a time, from taking this step.

In the middle of September it was at one time resolved to arrest Halifax, Nottingham, Danby and some others, whom the Catholics strongly suspected of intriguing with William. This was a move which Henry Sydney dreaded greatly; for should the plot be discovered a couple of weeks before the Dutch fleet sailed for England, and should the chief conspirators be imprisoned, its success would be extremely doubtful.†

About the middle of August James was 'greatly awakened' by the unusual preparations being made in Holland for some naval expedition, but it was not until September 23 that he became aware of William's true object. The information which convinced him came from his minister at the Hague, who reported that the pensionary Fagel had at last frankly owned the truth to him. James was speechless with astonishment. It was a

* Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 61.

† Sydney to William, Dalrymple, p. 231.

staggering blow; for though he had known for some time that Bishop Burnet, Lord Shrewsbury, Admiral Herbert and many other leading Protestants were at that moment with the Prince of Orange, he now realized for the first time that there must also be a powerful and active faction against him at home. His eyes became suddenly open to the fact that he had been living in a fool's paradise. No time was to be lost, and orders were promptly issued to still further strengthen the army and the fleet. As it was impossible to obtain the number of sailors required, although the press-gang was freely used, drafts were obtained from the army. The whole country, from John of Groat's House to Land's End, resounded with the drums of recruiting parties. Five new regiments of Horse and six of Foot were raised in all haste.* The troops in Scotland were ordered to march South,† and a regiment of Dragoons and three battalions of Foot were summoned from Ireland. James hoped to collect an army of about 40,000 men, which he considered ample to meet the Prince of Orange, as indeed it would have been, had Churchill remained faithful to him.‡ James, expecting that William would land in the North, as he intended to do if the wind was from the south, sent three regiments of Horse and one of Dragoons to Ipswich, and two regiments of Horse and one of Dragoons to Colchester.§ Had William landed in

* These were nearly all disbanded by William on his accession. The Protestants in the regiments of Horse were formed into one regiment, which is now the 7th Dragoon Guards. Of the Foot regiments, there still remain the Bedfordshire, the Leicestershire, and the Lancashire Fusiliers.

† They consisted of a troop of Life Guards, a regiment of Horse, another of Dragoons, a regiment of Foot Guards, and two battalions of Foot, one of which is now the Royal Scots Fusiliers.

‡ James's Memoirs, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 159.

§ The regiments sent to Ipswich were Sir J. Lanier's (now the 1st Dragoon Guards), Major-General Lord Arran's (now the 4th Dragoon Guards), and Colonel Richard Hamilton's (now 5th Dragoon Guards) regiments of Horse, and the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons (now 3rd Hussars), under Colonel Cannon. Hamilton was a Roman Catholic.

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the North, Sir J. Lanier, who commanded one of these regiments, was to have made the other colonels prisoners and joined the invader. The fleet of thirty men-of-war and sixteen fire-ships, under the faithful Lord Dartmouth, was stationed at Harwich, where there was a garrison, and the regiment of Lord Montgomery—a Roman Catholic—occupied Hull. The regiments raised for Monmouth's rebellion were for the most part in good order, while the English army, as a whole, stood high in the estimation of foreign countries, and was looked upon as the best paid, the best appointed, and one of the best disciplined armies in Europe.*

When it was too late, James strove to reverse the illegal changes—religious and political—which he had introduced. He endeavoured to make friends with the Archbishop of Canterbury; he removed the suspension imposed upon Compton; he made peace with the Universities, and proclaimed a general pardon, from which only sixteen persons were exempted. He also promised to restore to London and the other cities the ancient charters of which they had been robbed, and finally he issued writs for a new Parliament, which he promised to assemble as soon as the Prince of Orange should be disposed of.

²⁸⁻¹⁰, 1688. Sunderland's treachery having at last become clear to James, he was summarily dismissed, and his place given to the Roman Catholic Lord Preston, on whose loyalty the King could thoroughly depend. It was now too late for him to obtain troops from France, for Lewis's army was already engaged in operations against the Emperor on the Upper Rhine; but he believed that his own army was amply large enough to ensure him victory. In October he ordered the Lieutenants of Counties and other local officers to watch the coast, so that on the approach of the enemy all horses and cattle might be driven at least twenty miles inland.

* Lingard's 'History of England.' Clarke's 'James II.,' vol. ii., p. 71.

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All England seemed in league to deceive this wretched King. 'Whitehall was never more crowded with people of quality who came to give assurance of their fidelity.'* But as they knelt to the King, their thoughts were with the Prince of Orange, and the officers, as they kissed his hand, were framing plans to desert him.

Notwithstanding the strong anti-Catholic feeling displayed upon several recent occasions by both soldiers and sailors, James still trusted in their personal loyalty to himself. Indeed, until the date of Lord Cornbury's desertion, it never seems to have dawned upon his mind that his army could or would, under any circumstances, be more loyal to England than to him personally. He believed that the influence of discipline alone would cause his soldiers to stand by him, no matter how many Bishops he might try, how many cities he might deprive of their charters, or what other despotic and un-English measures he might decree. He had done much for his soldiers, and to the last, he fondly trusted in their attachment to his person. As he wrote when about to quit England, 'Never any Prince took more care of his sea and land men, as I have done, and been so ill repaid by them!† But he never fully understood how strong was the dread and hatred of Popery in all classes of the community, nor could he believe that any such feeling would ever make his soldiers and sailors unfaithful to him. Besides, he imagined that he had taken ample measures to keep in check any untoward spirit of Protestant independence, by the appointment of Catholic officers, and the enlistment of many private soldiers of that faith. He had brought over to England whole regiments of Irish Catholics, and he had taken the precaution of appointing Roman Catholic Governours to the Tower, Tilbury, Portsmouth, Plymouth and other important fortresses.

* Clarke's 'James II.,' vol. ii., p. 190.

† James to Lord Dartmouth, ¹⁰/₁₀ 12, 1688. Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 226.

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Those were stirring times in England. The King in fear for his Crown and for his head, not knowing whom to trust outside his own faith; and the conspirators upon whose invitation William was bound for England, trembling lest their treachery should be discovered before he could land to save them!

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THE INVASION OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

Many refuse to believe in the possibility of invasion—William's address to the English people—Admiral Herbert's address to the Fleet—William starts for England—Composition of his Army—A storm disperses his Fleet—The Fleet refitted, and William starts again and lands at Torbay—The naval conspirators send a captain to William's headquarters—Military arrangements to meet the invasion—James's Army—Desertion of Lord Cornbury and other officers—Effect upon James—He receives the Bishops—He starts for Salisbury—His nose-bleeding—Assembles a Council of Officers—Lords Forbes and Feversham recommend James to arrest Churchill and others.

THE possibility of a Dutch invasion was still generally discredited. The prosperous citizen always dislikes the contemplation of threatened national danger, and prefers to live in a state of peaceful optimism, lest his taxes should be raised in order to make his country safe from attack. The party politician seldom listens to warnings until the 'country in danger' has become a popular cry. Indeed, he is apt to denounce as professional alarmists those experienced soldiers and sailors who, knowing that under certain conditions the invasion of England is a very possible operation, would warn the country of the grave risks to which an inadequate army and navy expose her. Upon this occasion, many, King James included, pinned their faith upon the strength of the Channel fleet, under the faithful and loyal Dartmouth, and maintained that it was a complete safeguard against any descent upon the

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English coasts. He believed, as many do in these days, that with a fleet in the Channel, no hostile landing would be possible. But he soon learnt the unsoundness of this theory. Others argued that, as the despatch of an army to England would leave Holland at the mercy of France, no invasion need be apprehended; for it was well known that William was not the man to endanger his own country by any pursuit of personal ambition. As a matter of fact, the reason why William postponed his invasion till the beginning of winter was, that he did not dare to denude Holland of troops until he was satisfied that no French army could that year operate against him in the Low Countries.

It was further alleged that, as Holland and England were at peace, it was monstrous to imagine that the virtuous Dutch nation would, without provocation, commit the crime of attacking us. But the history of the world bristles with examples which prove the folly of depending for immunity from attack upon either treaties or national honour. 'The pious and immortal' William had given the most positive assurances that he contemplated no attack whatever upon England, and it was because James was fool enough to rely upon those assurances rather than upon his own power to resist invasion that he lost his Crown.

In the last week of September, when James did at last recognise that an invasion was impending, he issued a proclamation to warn his people of the coming danger.

²⁸⁻³⁰₈₋₁₀, 1688. William's object was declared to be the subjugation of England to a foreign yoke, but the King relied upon the courage and loyalty of his subjects.

¹⁸⁻¹⁹₈₋₁₀, 1688. Some ten days before the invading army started from Holland William published his celebrated address to the English people, setting forth the nation's grievances, enlarging upon the insecurity of life and property under James's rule, and dwelling upon the evils and troubles from which the country suffered. He referred to the

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suspensions regarding the Prince of Wales, inferring that he was not Queen Mary's son. He said that both he and his wife, the Princess Royal, as the lawful heirs to the Crown, took the deepest interest in the people's welfare, and were most anxious to protect their rights, and to re-establish their ancient laws. Many of the peers and other people of importance had, he added, invited him to England, and he had at last resolved to comply with their request. He would take a sufficient force as a protection against James and his priest-ridden councillors, but he would send back to Holland all his foreign troops, as soon as the peace of England had been secured. His intention was, as soon as possible, to assemble a free and lawful Parliament, to inquire into the legitimacy of the alleged Prince of Wales, and into all grievances, and, finally, he promised to uphold the Protestant religion, and to protect the people from injury at the hands of his soldiers. He further published an appeal to the English army, calling upon all Protestant soldiers to help in his attempt to secure the liberty of their country. Admiral Herbert, one of the conspirators who had but recently joined him, issued a similarly worded appeal to the sailors of all ranks, in which he said, 'Ruin or infamy must inevitably attend you, if you do not join with the Prince in the common cause for the defence of your religion and liberties.' It would be infamous, he added, if they suffered him to fail, and that if he succeeded all those who did not join him would be dismissed from the navy.*

Mary was fully persuaded of the justice and lawfulness of her husband's attempt upon England.† A firm believer in the efficacy of prayer, she earnestly besought God to

* Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals,' vol. iii., p. 118. Herbert's proclamation to the fleet was addressed 'To all Commanders of Ships and Seamen in His Majesty's Fleet.' It was dated from 'On board the *Leyden*, in the *Goree*.'

† Burnet, who saw her shortly before William sailed, records this fact. See Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 153.

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bless and direct the expedition, and public supplications to the same effect were offered up four times a day by her orders. Two great influences were ever at work within her: an absorbing devotion to Protestantism, and an earnest love for her cold-blooded and unsympathetic husband.*

‡ 10, 1688.

‡ 10, 1688.

Before William embarked, on October 19, he took a tender and solemn farewell of the States General, calling God to witness that 'he went to England with no other intentions but those he had set out in his Declaration.'† His fleet consisted of 50 men-of-war, 25 frigates, 25 fire-ships, and about 500 transports. This large number of merchant-men was hired in Holland in the short space of three days. Even two centuries ago it was possible thus hurriedly to collect sufficient transport for the invasion of England.‡

Much to the annoyance of the Dutch naval officers, William gave the command of his fleet to Admiral Herbert. The Prince's ship carried the English flag, inscribed with these words, 'The Protestant religion and liberties of England.' Underneath was William's family motto, 'Je maintiendrai.'

The army intended for the invasion of England consisted of one troop of Life Guards, one regiment of Horse Guards, five regiments of Horse, eight of Dragoons, one of Foot Guards, and fifteen battalions of the Line, including the six British regiments in the Dutch service, which were by far the best of all.§ These English troops were commanded by a Scotchman, General McKay, Churchill's great

* All who wish to know Mary's character should read 'Lettres et Memoires de Marie Reine d'Angleterre, Epouse de Guillaume III.,' La Haye, 1880, edited by the Countess of Bentinck. Mary wrote well and clearly.

† Burnet, Book IV., p. 782.

‡ Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 154, MDCCXXV. Burnet, Book IV., p. 781.

§ Three of these regiments were English and three Scotch. Tolle-mache, who was killed in the attack on Brest in 1694, commanded one of them, which is now the Northumberland Fusiliers. Another is now the Warwickshire Regiment.

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friend. There were in all about 3,600 Cavalry and 10,600 Foot. Some three hundred excellent officers, who had been driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, swelled the ranks of William's army, amongst them the aged Marshal Schomberg, one of the ablest of European generals. Many English officers who had left or been turned out of James's army also accompanied the expedition, and 20,000 muskets were embarked to arm a British contingent, should it be found necessary to raise troops in England. This was but a small army for so serious an operation, and without the sympathy of the English people the attempt would have been ridiculous; however, William felt that, as Churchill was on his side, he had little to fear from James's troops.

The morning after sailing a terrible storm began, which lasted some days, and damaged so many ships that the fleet had to put back. Well aware of the importance of deceiving your enemy, William circulated exaggerated accounts of the injuries sustained, and these reports found easy credence at the English Court, where James and those about him were always ready to believe what was pleasing to them. Despondency gave place to joy and laughter, and it was generally accepted that William's attempt had failed. James was at dinner in Whitehall Palace when he heard the news, and exclaimed, 'At last the wind has declared itself a Papist,' adding, 'it is not to be wondered at, for the Host has been exposed several days.*' Characteristically enough, he immediately revoked some of the concessions he had made to his people under the dread of imminent invasion. In London expectation was on tiptoe. The City was in a ferment; news was eagerly asked for at every moment, and business was almost entirely suspended. Nothing was talked of but the impending invasion, and even during the night men rushed from their houses to see which way the weathercocks were pointing. 'A Protestant wind,' as that from the

* Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 155.

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east was now called, was anxiously and universally looked for.*

The damage done by the storm was quickly repaired, and the Dutch fleet, though with fewer transports, again put to sea before a strong easterly wind. Soon after starting, Admiral Herbert learnt from an English vessel that Lord Dartmouth with a fleet of sixty-one vessels, thirty-eight of which were line-of-battle ships, besides some eighteen fire-ships, was anchored at the Gunfleet.† Sailing down Channel, William's fleet reached Dartmouth on November 4, his own birthday and that of his mother, and also the anniversary of his marriage and of the death of his father. During the night the ships were carried by a strong wind somewhat too far to the westward, but they at last anchored in Torbay on the following morning. The disembarkation began at once, and on Tuesday, November 6, William with his army marched for Exeter, and entered the ancient capital of the West in great state on the following Thursday.

The 'Protestant wind' from the east-south-east which carried William's invading ships into Torbay prevented Lord Dartmouth's fleet, which had moved to the Downs, from intercepting them. He succeeded, however, in getting under way the day after the Dutch fleet had passed Dover, and started in pursuit, but before Portland Bill was reached heavy weather forced him to take refuge in St. Helen's and Spithead. Here he became aware that Admiral Herbert's appeal to the sailors had taken effect, and that there was a marked unwillingness in the fleet to act against the Prince

* It is generally said that the weathercock on the Banqueting House in Whitehall was erected by James at this time, so that he could see from his palace windows which way the wind was blowing each morning and evening. In Lillibullero, the popular ballad of the day, William's expected arrival is thus referred to:

'Oh! but why does he stay behind?

By me sowl 'tis a Protestant wind!

† Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 155, and Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii. The Gunfleet was then an important anchorage behind an outlying bank north of the Thames.

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of Orange, whom the country welcomed with acclamation. Dartmouth, the hard-drinking Admiral, was loyal to the last, and the orders he gave his captains were to fight the Dutch wherever they met them.* On November 17 he wrote to Lord Berkeley that he expected to reach and fight the enemy in Torbay on the following day. But for many months there had been a strong party in the fleet in William's favour, of which Captain George Churchill, of the *Newcastle*, and Captains Hastings and Matthew Aylmer were the moving spirits, whilst the Duke of Grafton, Lord Berkeley, and Admiral Sir J. Barry knew of its existence.† Herbert most probably was in the secret when he issued his address to the sailors.

These traitors to James even went so far as to send Captain Byng to William's headquarters at Sherborne to ask for instructions, where Lord Churchill was about the first person he met. Byng returned to the fleet with a letter from William to Dartmouth, and with gratifying assurances in William's name to the officers generally. It is, however, tolerably certain that, had Dartmouth succeeded in intercepting William's fleet in the Channel, his crews, who had many old scores to settle with the Dutch for defeats inflicted upon us at sea, would have fought stoutly for James. And, further, notwithstanding the plot amongst the officers, there is reason to believe that the loyalty of the men was not seriously affected until it became known that many officers and soldiers of the army at Salisbury had deserted to the Prince of Orange.

The news of William's landing spread with lightning rapidity through the length and breadth of England. Every county blazed with bonfires, and all classes, high and low,

* It must be admitted that Lords Dartmouth and Feversham and General Edward Sackville were amongst the few Protestants who remained faithful to James in 1688. The Jesuit Father d'Orleans, in his work on the Revolution, hints a doubt, in which James also in his memoirs concurs, as to Dartmouth's loyalty.

† James's 'Memoirs,' vol. i., p. 158 of Macpherson. Captain Churchill was the Duke of Marlborough's brother.

were in transports of joy at the arrival of their deliverer. In the midst of this general outburst of jubilation, why should Churchill be expected to hold aloof? The time had now come when all Englishmen must decide whether they would or would not surrender their civil liberties and their constitutional rights. Would they or would they not obey the unlawful orders of their legitimate King? That was the question, and a very serious one it was, and always will be, for a people under such circumstances to decide. It is one thing to submit to a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Napoleon, whose despotism often ensures peaceful prosperity at home and strength and respect abroad, but it is a very different matter for a people to surrender their rights to a priest-ridden bigot like James II., incapable alike of earning confidence at home or of securing respect from abroad.

The alteration in the place selected for a landing was a serious disappointment to those of William's friends who had gone North to meet him, and accounts in a great measure for the time which elapsed before any number of leading men arrived to greet him.* William was much put out at this delay, and at the small number, even of common people, who joined his standard. With the fate of Monmouth's adherents still fresh in their memory, few were disposed to risk their lives in his cause, and many were 'much troubled with dreams of gibbets.'†

* 11, 1688. When the news reached London that the great Dutch fleet of warships and transports, sailing westward, had been seen from the cliffs of Dover by crowds of excited spectators, there was joy in the City of London, but fear and trembling in the palace of Whitehall. The Duke of Berwick was at once ordered to Portsmouth, of which he was Governour, with three battalions of Foot Guards, the King's Regiment of Horse, the Blues, and one hundred Horse Grenadier Guards. If upon arrival at Portsmouth it was found that the Dutch fleet had gone further westward, these troops

* Kennett, note to p. 528.

† Ellis's original letters, vol. iv., pp. 142, 143, second series.

were to march on Salisbury. The Queen's Regiment of Horse proceeded to Warminster, where James had ordered his advanced guard to take up position under Major-General Kirke, whilst his main body assembled at Salisbury under the temporary command of Sir J. Lanier.* The Royal Regiment of Foot, two battalions, also marched for Warminster.† As soon as it was known that William had landed, the cavalry regiments at Hounslow and in the neighbourhood of London were ordered to Salisbury by forced marches.‡

This is the first occasion upon which we hear of the Horse being ordered to leave their defensive armour in store. Some did so, others retained it, whilst in several regiments the officers alone kept their breast and back pieces.§ Before the troops left London James reviewed them in Hyde Park. Churchill was present, and is accused by an enemy of being seen 'to loll out his tongue, and to laugh at the whole proceeding.'||

* The Queen's Regiment of Horse is now the King's Dragoon Guards.

† Now the Royal Scots. Each battalion was 900 strong. None of this regiment went over to William. When ordered to retire behind the Thames, it moved by Devizes to Windsor, which it reached November 29. It subsequently mutinied when ordered to Holland, as described further on.

‡ The cavalry from the neighbourhood of London consisted of two squadrons of the Royal Dragoons under Lord Cornbury, the 8th Regiment of Horse under Colonel Thomas Langston (it was then commonly known as the Princess Anne's Regiment, and sometimes as the Duke of St. Alban's, after its Colonel), and two squadrons of Sir J. Fenwick's regiment (now 3rd Dragoon Guards) under Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland. The 8th Horse, raised by Lord Scarsdale in June, 1685, was disbanded after the battle of Steenkirk, where it had done good service but lost heavily. It took part in the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim. Its commander, Thomas Langston, died of fever at Lisburn in the Irish campaign of 1689 under Schomberg. He was succeeded by his brother Francis, who became a distinguished officer, and died 6, 3, 1723. Both these brothers were strong Protestants and Whigs.

§ Berwick wrote to ask for armour for his own regiment, the King having allowed it to be again taken into use. Historical MSS., Second Report, p. 2.

|| Lord Ailesbury's 'Memoirs,' p. 185.

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Lord Feversham was to command the army and to accompany James to Salisbury. Until their arrival Berwick was to command the troops ordered to assemble there and in its neighbourhood. Berwick's orders were dated November 6, but many days elapsed before they reached him at Portsmouth. In his memoirs he accuses Mr. Blathwayte, the Secretary for War, of having intentionally kept these orders back, in order to give Lord Cornbury and other officers time to join the Prince of Orange.

We have a minute detail of the army with which James hoped to repel the Dutch invasion. It consisted of five so-called 'troops'—they were regiments in reality—of Life Guards, sixteen regiments of Horse, five of Dragoons, four of Foot Guards, and twenty-seven of Foot—in all about 37,000 men. But of these, the 3,700 men drawn from the Scotch establishment only reached Carlisle when James arrived at Salisbury, and but few of the 2,800 from Ireland had yet passed Chester,* nor had the artillery which left London on November 10 yet arrived.† The slowness of their progress was doubtless due to the treachery of Sunderland and Blathwayte. The force to assemble at Salisbury was still further reduced by about 7,000 men, whom it was considered necessary to leave in London to overawe that dangerous centre of Protestantism. James's plan was to push forward his Horse and Dragoons to delay the Prince's advance until all the Royal army had assembled at Salisbury. This plan would also restrict the enemy's operations to the Devonshire-Somerset peninsula—a matter of some consequence, as the King hoped thereby to check the spread of William's influence, and to prevent many of the disaffected from

* The Royal Irish Regiment of Foot reached Salisbury about the same time as King James. Seven of the thirteen companies of which the Irish Guards consisted came over and were given new arms from the Tower. They are described as 'tall, sightly young men.' Additional MSS., No. 3,929, L. 47 B.M. These men were eventually transferred to the service of the Emperor of Germany.

† Appendix to Fifth Report of Historical MSS., p. 379.

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joining him. But of the cavalry which reached Salisbury, the officers commanding the King's Regiment of Horse (the Blues), St. Albans' Regiment of Horse, and the Royal Dragoons, only waited for a favourable opportunity to join the invaders with as many men and officers as they could induce to desert. Colonel Sutherland, who commanded Fenwick's Horse, was not in the conspiracy against the King.

Before the troops left London for Salisbury, it had been arranged by those colonels who were in the conspiracy that they were to take the first good opportunity of deserting, and of carrying off to the Prince's headquarters as many junior officers and soldiers as they could induce to go. Arrived at Salisbury, they devised and carried out the following plan of operations. It was given out generally that orders for an advance upon the enemy would reach Salisbury by the post expected on November 11. The post-bag arrived at midnight, and Colonel Langston, in command of St. Albans' Regiment, opened it in the presence of his officers. What were apparently marching orders from London—cunningly introduced by him amongst the letters—were carried to Lord Cornbury, who was then in command at Salisbury. Having read or seemed to read the orders, he at once announced that the three cavalry regiments present—whose commanding officers were in the conspiracy—were to advance on the enemy at five o'clock the following morning. They set out accordingly, and, marching for two days with but few short halts to refresh men and horses, reached Axminster, a distance of fifty miles, on the afternoon of the 13th. At Axminster, which is only six miles from Honiton, then William's headquarters, they were joined by the Earl of Abingdon, Sir W. Clerges, and about thirty other gentlemen. To keep their intentions still secret and deceive the men and officers who were not in the plot, Lord Cornbury issued orders to beat up the invaders' quarters at Honiton that night, and accordingly, soon after sunset, the three regiments were again on the march. The Prince of

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Orange, apprised of this by Cornbury, sent out some cavalry to meet and conduct them to his camp, where they were received with open arms by two battalions of infantry.* When the men took in the situation, most of the Blues and of the Royal Dragoons galloped back to rejoin the King at Salisbury, but the whole of the Duke of St. Albans' Horse followed their commanding officer and joined the Prince of Orange.† This desertion was not only a loss of fighting-power, but it had a demoralizing effect on the rest of James's army. Every man began to suspect his comrade, and the infection of disloyalty, once caught, quickly spread throughout the ranks. It also gave great encouragement to the country gentlemen to join William.

James was at Windsor, and about to dine, when the news reached him that Lord Cornbury and others had deserted to the enemy, with some of their men. It was a terrible shock to him. He was in no humour for dinner; 'so, calling for a piece of bread and a glass of wine, went to consult what measures' should be taken.‡ At the same moment Lords Sunderland, Godolphin, and Churchill 'were seen unawares going hand in hand along the gallery, in the greatest transport of joy imaginable.'§ This disastrous intelligence caused James for the moment to change his plans. He ordered the artillery train, his own equipage, and the troops then on the march for Salisbury, to halt, as he now hesitated about going there himself. His reliance had been in his army, and he at last realized that it could no longer be trusted. In reporting this serious news from Salisbury, Feversham pointed out in his letter

* Colonel Tollemache commanded one of these regiments, which is now the Northumberland Fusiliers. He had been one of those who were active in the conspiracy against James, and had recently bolted to Holland, whence he returned to England with William, who had given him command of a regiment of infantry to fight against his old master James.

† This regiment, afterwards the 8th Horse, was disbanded in 1693.

‡ See Macpherson.

§ Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 218.

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how important it was that the King should at once appear amongst his troops; James, after much hesitation, accordingly resolved to set out forthwith.

Before he did so, all the Protestant peers in town sent him a petition by the hands of the two Archbishops, in which they besought him to call a free Parliament together, and thereby save the country from civil war and bloodshed. The Roman Catholics about James dreaded Parliament as much as they dreaded William's arrival in London, and as the King cordially disliked the proposal, he was easily persuaded to reject it. The refusal sealed his doom; it was his last chance, and he missed it. Thenceforward it was evident to all classes of the people that the only hope for liberty and Protestantism rested on the Prince of Orange, to whom every heart went out when he proclaimed that he had come to uphold the laws, liberties, and religion of England. Protestants in high position now only looked for favourable opportunities to join William, for all felt that a victory for James would place them at the mercy of an implacable tyrant. Three years only had elapsed since Monmouth's defeat, and the horrors which, by order of James, had followed upon that event were still unforgotten.

On the 17th of November the King, with Prince George 17 11, 1688. of Denmark, the Duke of Grafton, the Earl of Dumbarton, Lord Churchill, the French Ambassador, the Count de Roye,* and a numerous staff, including a Protestant chaplain for the sake of appearances, left Windsor for the headquarters of the army at Salisbury,† which he reached in two days, disordered in mind, fatigued in body, and troubled with a copious bleeding at the nose, probably the result of intense excitement. He took up his quarters in the Bishop's palace.‡ To Churchill and the others who had 18 11, 1688.

* Lord Feversham's brother.

† The King's escort consisted of a detachment of the Horse Guards and the Irish Dragoons.

‡ Kennett; *London Gazette*; Echard, p. 175.

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made up their minds to join the Prince of Orange the journey must have been trying, with deceit in their faces and treachery in their hearts. When James reached Salisbury, William had already marched into Sherborne. Why the King allowed so many days to elapse, after hearing of the landing at Torbay, before he set out to join his army, is a question not easy to answer. The delay argued a want of vigour and confidence that was injurious to his cause, and also gave rise to the idea that he feared to encounter his lion-hearted son-in-law.

‡ 11, 1688. Lord Churchill was promoted to be a Lieutenant-General before leaving London, and on arriving at Salisbury he took over the command of a brigade of about 5,000 men. It was asserted by many who were aware of the circumstances at the time, that had James marched against William at once when he reached Salisbury, his soldiers would have fought for him.* Lord Forbes pressed the King to attack forthwith; for, as he truly said, soldiers only desert when left inactive; they do not do so when marching upon an enemy.† The foreigner Feversham did not possess the qualities of a General, and had no influence with his troops; but had there been at the King's side a real soldier of Churchill's military capacity, and who preferred the King's interests to the liberty and religion of the English people, how different even then might have been the history of the time! The military student will readily understand how much we are indebted for the successful issue of the Revolution to Marlborough's desertion.

§ 11, 1688. James reviewed his troops at Salisbury and made them a gracious speech on the day after his arrival. To every soldier whom Cornbury had endeavoured to carry over to William, but who had returned to his allegiance, he gave a gratuity, and said that any who wished to quit his service were at liberty to do so. In order to inspire the troops with confidence, an immediate attack upon the

* Lord Onslow's note in Burnet, vol. ii., p. 791.

† Memoirs of the Earls of Granard.

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enemy's troops was talked of, and to strengthen this idea James announced his intention of going the next day—Wednesday—to Warminster, a small town some twenty-one miles off, to inspect the advanced guard, which was under the command of General Kirke.* The King was to have travelled in his son Berwick's carriage, but was prevented from going at the last moment by a return of the bleeding, from which he had again suffered on the previous evening, immediately after the review, and to which he appears to have been subject.† James avers: 'It was generally believed afterwards that my Lord Churchill, Kirke, Trelawney, and some others in that quarter, had layd a design to seize the King, either in his going thither or coming back, and so have carried him to the Prince of Orange.'‡ Now, this statement, which has been repeated over and over again, rests upon no good evidence. Lord Ailesbury, though, in his 'Memoirs,' declares it to be true 'on my own certain knowledge';§ but he wrote many years after the events he describes,

* This advanced guard consisted of the following regiments: The third troop of Life Guards (disbanded in 1746; Lord Churchill was its Captain in 1688); the Queen Consort's Regiment of Horse, now the 1st or King's Dragoon Guards; Werden's Regiment of Horse (disbanded in 1690); the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, now the 3rd Hussars; two battalions of Dumbarton's, now the Royal Scots; Kirke's Regiment, now the Queen's; and Trelawney's, now the King's Own or Royal Lancashire Regiment.

† See Echard's 'History of the Revolution,' p. 175. In James's own account, in vol. i. of Macpherson, he says he 'was not naturally subject to' this bleeding, but there is good evidence to show that he had suffered from it before. In Luttrell for 7, 1, 1688; it is stated 'the King of England continues at St. Germain, and hath lately had a violent fit of bleeding again,' and in another place he says that James, 'in his way to Brest,' was said to have been taken 'with a paralytick fitt and a violent bleeding for some time.' In fact, he may be said to have died of it. His brother Charles also died of apoplexy.

‡ Macpherson, in his wish to favour James, has garbled this passage in a most dishonest way. See Macpherson's Papers, vol. i., p. 162, and Cox, vol. i., note to p. 40. Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 222.

§ Lord Ailesbury's 'Memoirs,' p. 189.

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and in so many instances misstates facts, that I do not think any reliance can be placed upon his uncorroborated testimony. It was, in fact, a mere camp rumour set on foot at James's headquarters, when Churchill went over to the Prince of Orange.

§ 11, 1688. On the 19th William left Exeter for Axminster, and learning there that James had reached Salisbury, he pushed some troops forward towards that place. On the 20th a skirmish took place at Wincanton—about thirty miles west of Salisbury—between an advanced patrol of the invading army and a detachment of Irish troops under the gallant Sarsfield. Several Irish were killed and wounded, but with the exception of this, and of another trifling skirmish at Reading, in which again a few Irish were killed, the Revolution was accomplished without fighting.

§ 11, 1688. When James relinquished his intention of going to Warminster, he assembled a Council of superior officers. Some, including Churchill, urged him to fight; indeed, it is said that he pressed James to adopt this course with a view to remove the suspicion under which he felt that he then lay. Feversham, his brother the Count de Roze and Lord Dumbarton advised James not to fight, but to fall back behind the Thames.* Believing that everything depended upon the army, whose fighting value had been somewhat rudely shaken by the desertion of Lord Cornbury and others, James made a touching appeal to the loyalty of the officers present at the Council. He tells us in his memoirs: 'They all seemed to be moved at this discourse, and vowed they would serve him to the last drop of their blood—the Duke of Grafton (James's nephew) and my Lord Churchill were the first that made this attestation, and the first who, to their eternal infamy, broke it afterwards, as well as Kirke, Trelawney, etc., who were no less lavish of their promises on this occasion, though as false and

* Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 223, and Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 201.

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treacherous as the rest in the end.* He forgot to add that *he* also had been equally guilty of treachery and broken vows. If this statement be strictly accurate, truth and honesty would indeed seem to have had no home in England then, for if absent from the officers of the Army and Navy, they need not be looked for elsewhere. There is no doubt that Grafton, Churchill, the Prince of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, Generals Kirke, Trelawney, and a host of other officers, were only awaiting a favourable opportunity to desert to the Prince of Orange. They could not, of course, help attending a meeting called by the King, and when in his presence they could hardly tell him to his face of their intention to desert, besides, the statement as to their loud protestations of loyalty is probably exaggerated. From what we know of Churchill's character, I think it may be fairly assumed that he confined himself upon this occasion, as in his letter to James, to asserting his willingness to hazard both life and fortune in his endeavours to preserve the King's person and lawful rights. Immediately after the meeting most of the superior officers, including some of those who had just assured James of their loyalty, went in a body to Lord Feversham and gave him to understand 'that however devoted they were to his Majesty's service, they could not in conscience fight against a prince who was come over with no other design than to procure the calling of a free Parliament for the security of their religion and liberties.†

Lord Forbes, in command of what is now the Royal Irish Regiment, had reached Salisbury on Wednesday, and supped that evening with Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, and the other officers concerned in the plot against James. In

* James says this took place at the Council of officers he held in London before setting out for Salisbury, but I am inclined to think it was at the Council he held at Salisbury, as described above. Amongst other reasons for believing this, neither Kirke nor Trelawney was in London the day before James started for the West.

† Ralph, vol. i., p. 1044. Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 176.

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very guarded terms they all strove to win him and the Duke of Northumberland—who commanded the second troop of Life Guards—to the cause of the Prince of Orange.* Forbes went forthwith to the King, told him what had passed at supper, and advised him to arrest the conspirators and transfer their commands to men whose fidelity could be relied upon.† But James refused to believe the story or to arrest the incriminated officers, although urged by Lord Feversham on his knees to do so in order to strike terror into the other conspirators.‡

* This troop is now the second regiment of Life Guards. This was George, Duke of Northumberland, the third illegitimate son of Charles II. by the Duchess of Cleveland. He remained loyal until James quitted London on December 11. He was removed from command of this second troop of Life Guards by William III. in April, 1689. The Duke of Grafton, his full brother, went over at Salisbury to the Prince of Orange.

† 'I have heard wise men say that if James II. had turned out the old officers and made new ones amongst the common soldiers, King William would not easily have brought about his enterprise; at least, there would have been more bloodshed.'—Speech of the Duke of Wharton in the House of Lords in 1724. See 'Parliamentary History,' vol. viii., p. 389.

‡ Dr. King's 'Anecdotes of his own Times,' p. 352. He asserts that Lord Granard (Lord Forbes in 1688) told him this story.

CHAPTER XLIX.

LORD CHURCHILL DESERTS KING JAMES.

Churchill's letter to James announcing his desertion—Other officers desert also—The infection spreads to the Navy—James orders his Army to fall back behind the Thames—Prince George deserts.

To Lord Churchill the night of November 21 must have been one of mental torture, for the moment had come when he must either desert and sacrifice the King, or renounce his own religious convictions. Few can pretend to realize what his determination must have cost him. His conduct has been attributed by some to a cold-blooded self-interest, which it is said outweighed all other considerations. But surely this view can hardly be maintained, looking to the fact that the step which he took was in direct opposition to his personal interests. The time had come for declaring himself, if he were to carry out his long-announced intention of standing by the Protestant cause. He must now desert the master whose fortunes he had followed for no less than twenty-three years—the master who had raised him step by step until he had at last become a peer and a Lieutenant-General. From his very boyhood James had helped and befriended him. Was he now to use the position he had acquired, and the influence in the army which it gave him, to destroy his benefactor? When the supreme moment came, it was but natural that he should feel the weight of the decision which he had deliberately taken some three years before. It was not that James had been a peculiarly

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indulgent or open-handed master, for when we consider the scale upon which Court favourites were usually rewarded, it does not appear that Churchill had been treated with undue liberality. Personal kindness and geniality have never been attributed to James, except by those who seek to make out a case against Churchill. He himself was under no delusion as to the nature of James's heart and disposition. He knew his master thoroughly, and that master's conduct after the battle of Sedgemoor had revealed him in his true colours. Still, the severance of old ties and associations touched the cool-headed, calculating, though tender-hearted Churchill. To those in distress, he was always a kind friend, but, except towards his own family, he was generally unsentimental in disposition; but he would not have been human had he left James at Salisbury without sorrow, anxiety, and distress of mind, from all which we know he suffered.

The conspirators assembled at Salisbury felt that they were suspected. Delay might imperil their safety, and, as far as Churchill was concerned, possibly the success of the whole plot. No time, therefore, was to be lost. That very night Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and some other officers, with about twenty troopers of the Royal Dragoons, quietly left Salisbury for Axminster, where they joined William on November 23.*

Churchill wrote the following letter to James when he left him:

'SIR,—Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests, and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majesty in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions, yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of Government, may reasonably convince you

* Burnet. This Bishop was with William at the time. Berkeley was equerry to the Princess Anne.

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Majesty and the world that I am actuated by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest as to desert your Majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest obligations to your Majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion (which no good man can oppose), and with which I am instructed nothing can come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your Majesty's true interest and the Protestant religion; but as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect, so I will always with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concerns and dutiful respect that becomes, Sir, your Majesty's most dutiful and most obliged subject and servant,—CHURCHILL.*

Let those who are disposed to join in the condemnation under which Marlborough has so long lain, carefully read this straightforward, but touching letter. It is a clear, manly exposition of his feelings, and requires no comment to point its meaning. <Whatever his enemies may say to the contrary, its expressions are all his own, and they are not those of a villain, but the plain outspoken sentiments of a man driven to treason against his King by that King's treason against his country, and driven to leave the master he had long and faithfully served by that master's flagrant betrayal of his sacred trust.> He was indeed justified in saying that under no other Government could he ever hope to 'enjoy the great advantages' he possessed under James.

It was a curious coincidence that he should join William

* State Papers, Dom., first bundle for 1689.

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in the immediate neighbourhood of his own birthplace, to which, also, his military operations during Monmouth's rebellion had been chiefly restricted. Far-off recollections of a childhood passed in poverty must have crowded upon his memory as he rode into Axminster; and the familiar scene must have recalled to his mind tales of fights between Royalist and Roundhead, to which as a boy he had eagerly listened in Ash Hall. And he, the son of a devoted Cavalier who had fought and suffered for his King, is now compelled by his conscience to desert the cause of that King's son, his own lawful Sovereign! Had he been the most hard-hearted of men, the feelings and recollections which then filled his brain must have moved him strongly as he rode into the headquarters of the foreign Prince now in arms against his master.

< This was the great turning-point in his life. Actuated by lofty motives, and in what was to him a sacred cause, he was breaking away from the patron of his boyhood, the friend of his mature years. He, a Cavalier, was becoming a traitor, in the common acceptation of the term, and throwing in his lot with his King's greatest enemy. James and Churchill alike suffered for their steady adherence at this epoch to the faith that was within them. One lost his Crown, and died in exile the despised dependent upon the bounty of a foreign sovereign; and the other, though he lived to be the foremost man in Europe, died detested and vilified by the nation which he made great and famous.>

Churchill's desertion was a heavy blow to James, for, apart from all personal feelings, he well knew what great influence his former favourite possessed in the army. When told that Churchill had left to join William, he turned to Feversham, who stood near, and said: 'Feversham, I little expected this severe stroke; but you, my lord, understood him better than I did, when you advised me yesterday to secure him and the others who have gone off with him. My only resource now is in Providence; I can no longer count on my troops, who no doubt have been

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corrupted by the pernicious advice of their disloyal officers.*

From this moment the number of deserters increased rapidly. Brigadier-General Trelawney, with Colonel Charles Churchill and some of his non-commissioned officers and men, quitted Warminster to join William. On some frivolous pretext, Kirke, when ordered to march to Devizes, refused, and was sent a prisoner to London before he had found an opportunity of deserting.†

James now sent General the Earl of Dumbarton with a couple of squadrons of Horse, to bring back the remainder of the four battalions from Warminster. But no officer of influence was left to strike a blow for the King. Churchill's defection had turned the scale hopelessly against him, and the army could no longer be depended on. 'Abundance of officers are gone, but not that proportion of souldgers,' wrote one on the spot.‡ As might, however, be expected, the discipline and military spirit of those who remained with their colours were seriously shaken.

James now heard that the garrison of Plymouth had declared for William, and that the infection had spread to the Navy, for upon the arrival there of Lord Churchill's brother George, in command of the *Newcastle*, he also had deserted. The King sent Lord Dartmouth a warrant to arrest him, but two days afterwards it became known that Lord Bath had seized Plymouth for the Prince of Orange, so no further steps were taken in the matter.§

James knew not which way to turn or whom to trust, and when told that Marshal Schomberg was advancing upon Salisbury, he gave orders for the retreat of his army, and set out himself for Windsor. The Foot were to retire ¶-11, 1688.

* Lediard's 'Marlborough,' vol. i., p. 52.

† Brought before the Council in London, he was discharged, 'nothing being positive against him.'—Luttrell's Diary of December, 1688.

‡ Sir J. Bramston, p. 336.

§ Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 214.

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behind the Thames, whilst Feversham, with the bulk of the Horse and Dragoons, was to remain south of the river at Reading as long as possible, so as to eat up the forage, which might otherwise fall into the hands of the invading army. Though no coward, James lacked the highest kind of courage. He could not play a losing game, and at this crisis he displayed neither firmness nor spirit. Lord Danby, who knew James well, when he heard that William was advancing towards London, repeated a former saying of 'Schomberg and other old officers,' that James was at heart a coward: he was sure, he said, that James would not meet the Prince.*

William, having stayed four days at Axminster, moved forward towards Salisbury, taking Churchill with him.† He rode into the town escorted by those who had joined him, and took up his residence in the Bishop's palace.‡ His adherents were now numerous enough to be formed into three regiments, Lord Mordaunt, Sir John Guise, Bart., and Sir Robert Peyton being selected as the three Colonels.§ Several independent companies of pikemen were also raised, and afterwards formed into what is now the Yorkshire Regiment.

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The Somerset gentry who joined William stated in their published 'Declaration' that they had done so 'for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for maintaining the ancient government and the laws and liberties of England,' etc. They swore to stand by William 'until our religion, our laws and liberties are so far secured to us by a free Parliament that we shall be no more in danger of falling under Popery and slavery.'

Prince George of Denmark—lately made a Knight of

* Echard's 'Revolution,' p. 171.

† On his way he lodged at Wincanton, 'in the house of one, Mr. Churchill, a merchant.'—'Harleian Miscellany,' vol. i., p. 439.

‡ Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii., p. 215.

§ Sir Robert Peyton's commission as Colonel is dated 20 11, 1688, and his regiment is now the Lancashire Fusiliers.

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the Garter—had left London with the King, intending, like Churchill, to join William upon the first favourable opportunity. Why he did not accompany Churchill and the Duke of Grafton is not known. Supping with James at Andover during the retreat from Salisbury, as the news of each fresh defection from the King was announced, the Prince said, 'Est-il possible?'—he never learnt to speak English intelligibly. That night he and the young Duke of Ormond, with some others, started for William's headquarters, and when this was reported to James in the morning he exclaimed, 'How!—has "Est-il possible" gone off too? I only mind him as connected with my dearest child, otherwise the loss of a stout trooper would have been greater.'

James distributed his army north of the Thames, at Maidenhead, Windsor, Staines, Egham, Chertsey, Colbrook, etc., and went himself to London. His oldest servants were deserting him, and he began to think that he, too, might share the fate which overtook his father.

CHAPTER L.

KING JAMES LEAVES ENGLAND FOR EVER.

The Princess Anne flies at the approach of her father—An account of her proceedings—James calls a Council in Whitehall—He resolves to leave England—His order to disband the Army—William reaches Windsor—Churchill arranges for the distribution of the troops in London—The Act of Association—The Convention Parliament—The question of a Regency—William and Mary declared King and Queen—They resent Lady Churchill's influence over Anne—Churchill reorganizes the Army, and is created Earl of Marlborough.

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THE first news which greeted the dejected King upon reaching Whitehall was that the Princess Anne had fled from London. Both his daughters had now turned against him; and it is not surprising that he shed tears as he exclaimed, 'God help me; even my children have forsaken me!'^{*} Their desertion was not only a grievous shock to him as a parent, but a disastrous blow to his cause. Both were known to be sound Protestants, and many who might otherwise have held back from fighting against the Lord's anointed threw in their lot with William when the Princesses set the example. To account for her sudden disappearance, Anne left a letter, addressed to her stepmother, which discloses a baseness and a refinement of perfidy which it would be hard to match. To put it plainly, 'Good Queen Anne' lied the more effectually to destroy

^{*} Barillon, who had returned from Salisbury to London the same day as the King, mentions in one of his letters to Lewis XIV. having heard that Anne had fled when he was passing through Staines that morning.

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her own father. Her flight was planned by Lady Churchill as part of the arranged scheme, and was put into execution as soon as Prince George's defection became known. To avoid suspicion, Anne retired to rest as usual on the previous night, Mrs. Danvers, her lady-in-waiting, sleeping in the anteroom. The following morning the Princess was not to be found; her bed had not been slept in, and the clothes she had worn the day before, even to her shoes and stockings, were left behind. It appears that when James was first told of Churchill's desertion, immediate orders were given to have his lodgings in Whitehall and his house at St. Albans searched for papers; and writing on the evening of the 25th, from Hartley Row, to the Secretary of State, James desired that Sarah Churchill should be confined to Lady Tyrconnel's rooms in St. James's Palace, and Mrs. Berkeley to the house of her father, the Knight-Marshal.* But the order came too late, for the ladies had fled before it could be executed.† James could find out little regarding Anne's flight, beyond the fact that the sentry over her door had seen a coach drive up between two and three o'clock in the morning, pick up some ladies, and drive off again. We now know that the coach contained the Earl of Dorset and Compton, Bishop of London, who, being joined by the Princess, Lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley, drove to the Bishop's residence in Aldersgate Street.‡ The Princess had not passed through the anteroom where Mrs. Danvers slept, but through the closet

^{*} Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 214; a letter from Pepys to Lord Dartmouth; also Appendix to Sixth Report, p. 261, p. 350, and p. 418.

† Letters from Lord Middleton to Lord Preston, Hartley Row, November 25, 7 p.m. Preston Papers. The Lord Chief Justice Wright granted a warrant to seize Sarah and her goods, but it was never executed. Luttrell, vol. i., p. 479.

‡ Mrs. Berkeley's husband had deserted with the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and others. He was subsequently created Viscount Fitzharding. His wife was a Villiers, and an intimate friend of Marlborough's wife.

and down the back-stairs. The Duchess of Marlborough would have us believe that Anne was surprised and alarmed upon learning that Prince George had joined William, and she herself says in her letter to the Queen: 'I am so deeply afflicted with the surprising news of the Prince's being gone,' etc. But this is clearly false, for it is certain that the whole plot had been concocted before Churchill started with the King for Salisbury. By Lady Churchill's advice, Anne pretended that she had fled in order to avoid her father's anger at the Prince's desertion, and, according to Sarah's account, the Princess had told her 'that sooner than see her father she would jump out at window.'* She must, however, have been aware that flight was more necessary for herself than for the Princess. Sarah's influence over Anne was notorious, and James would be sure to visit his anger upon her rather than upon his daughter. It is vain for her to pretend that she merely acted in obedience to Anne's orders, and that the whole affair was 'sudden and unconcerted,'† for on another page she confesses, or rather boasts, that she influenced her mistress in all that she did. Her husband had promised William, before he left Holland, that Anne and Prince George should join him upon his landing in England, and Anne had written wishing him 'good success in this so just an undertaking, and *I hope the Prince will soon be with you, who, I am sure, will do you all the service that lies in his power. He went yesterday with the King towards Salisbury, intending to go from thence to you as soon as his friends thought proper.*' She goes on to say: 'I am not yet certain if I shall continue here, or remove into the City; that shall depend upon the advice my friends will give me.'‡ Her destination in the City was Bishop Com-

* She says so in the letter she wrote to her stepmother the night she fled from Whitehall. The letter was evidently written under the dictation of Sarah. 'Conduct,' p. 16.

† 'Conduct,' p. 18.

‡ Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 333, Appendix.

ton's house, in Suffolk Street, Strand, a secret address which Sarah naïvely says had been sent to her in case Anne might require the worthy Bishop's services. The probable contingencies had been well thought out, and the action to be taken decided upon, whenever it should become known that James was on his way back to London.* Further evidence to the same effect is not wanting, for on December 4 Churchill asked Lord Clarendon, whom he met at William's headquarters, 'when the Princess left the Cockpit. When I told him,' writes Clarendon, 'he said he wondered she went not sooner.'† Anne's flight from London was so clearly a part of the plot that the efforts of the Duchess to excuse or misrepresent it are alike futile. Anne was fully aware that the army intended to desert her father, for when Lord Clarendon spoke to her of his son's desertion she coolly answered: 'People were so apprehensive of Popery, that she believed many more of the army would do the same.'‡

Anne and her companions having passed the night in the City, proceeded the next morning to Lord Dorset's place, Copt Hall, and thence to Northampton, which she entered in triumph. There the people rallied round her, and she felt herself safe among the friends of the Prince of Orange.§ Accompanied by Lady Churchill and the Bishop, she next went to Oxford, where she was joined by ¶ 12, 1688. her husband and some troops sent by the Prince of Orange. The Bishop, who had resumed his old military garb, rode in front of her Dragoon escort with pistols in his holsters and a drawn sword in his hand. He subsequently returned to London in the same fashion, and on the banner of his troop was inscribed, 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.'

James, dejected and humbled in spirit, knew not what

* That Sarah was untruthful is apparent from many incidents of her career, but this instance affords the most direct and complete evidence on the point.

† Clarendon's Diary, by Singer, vol. ii., p. 214.

‡ Clarendon's Diary, 20, 11, 1688.

§ 'Remarks upon the Conduct of a certain Duchess,' p. 12.

to do. At last he resolved to call a Council to advise him; and to allay the public excitement only Protestants were summoned. About forty spiritual and temporal peers met accordingly in the dining-room at Whitehall, the morning after his arrival. The questions of opening negotiations with William, and of summoning a Parliament, were discussed. Clarendon and some others spoke their minds freely, to James's infinite annoyance, while James related his proceedings at Salisbury and tried to explain his conduct. He laid stress upon the Providential bleeding of the nose which had prevented him from going to Warminster, and had saved him, he said, from being handed over to the Prince of Orange. 'He had,' he added, 'great reason to believe that Lord Churchill then designed to give him up to William.* His Roman Catholic advisers, as well as the French Ambassador, recommended him to send the Queen and the infant Prince to Paris without loss of time, and to follow them himself as soon as possible, to beg help from the French King. To the Earl of Ailesbury, who endeavoured to persuade him not to leave England, James said: 'If I should go, who can wonder, after the treatment I have found? My daughter hath deserted me, my army also, and him that I raised from nothing, the same on whom I heaped all favours; and if such betrays me, what can I expect from those I have done so little for? I know not who to speak to or who to trust.† He decided to follow the advice of the Roman Catholics, and accordingly sent off the Queen and her child by night. Two days later, having thrown the Great Seal into the Thames, he started for France himself. Before leaving Whitehall, he wrote the following letter to his faithful Lord Feversham: 'Whitehall, December 10, 1688.—Things are now come to that extremity that I have been forced to send away the Queen

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* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii., p. 208.

† Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, by himself, Roxburghe Club Papers, p. 195.

and my son the Prince of Wales, that they might not fall into my enemies' hands, which they must have done had they stayed. I am obliged to do the same thing, and to endeavour to secure my life the best I can, in hopes that it will please God, out of His infinite mercy to this unhappy nation, to touch their hearts again with true loyalty and honour. If I could have relied on all my troops, I might not have been put to the extremity I am in, and would at least have had one blow for it; but though I know there are amongst you very many loyal and brave men, both officers and soldiers, yet you know that both yourself and several of the general officers and others of the army told me it was no ways advisable for me to venture myself at their head or to think to fight the Prince of Orange with them. And now there remains only for me to thank you and all those officers and soldiers who have stuck to me, and ever truly loyal, and hope you will still retain the same fidelity to me, though I do not expect you should expose yourselves by resisting a foreign army and a poisoned nation; yet I hope your former principles are so enrooted in you that you will keep yourselves free from associations and such pernicious things: time presses so that I can say no more.—J. R.

'I must add this, that as I have always found you loyal, so you have found me a kind master, as so you shall still find me to be.—J. R.'

Upon receipt of this letter, Feversham wrote as follows from Uxbridge to the Prince of Orange: 'Noon, $\frac{1}{2}$ Decem-ber.—SIR, Having received this morning a letter from his Majesty, with the unfortunate news of his resolution to go out of England, and that he has actually gone, I thought myself obliged, being at the head of the army, having received his Majesty's orders to make no opposition against anybody, to let your Highness know it, with the advice of the officers here, as soon as it was possible to hinder the misfortune of the effusion of blood. I have sent orders already to that purpose to all troops that are under my

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command, which shall be the last order they shall receive from' (*sic*).^{*} This letter was signed by the writer, and by Lanier, Fenwick, and Oglethorpe.[†]

Feversham forthwith disbanded the army in obedience to the orders he had received from James. He was not justified in adopting this course, and it was the more unwarrantable inasmuch as the men were sent away without the pay which was due to them. This was done for the express purpose of embarrassing William, and it did so considerably. It led to panics in London and elsewhere, and occasioned riots in which the Spanish and Florentine Embassies were sacked, and the newly-erected Roman Catholic churches destroyed. It might have led to great disorders; for a number of men, especially wild Irish Catholics, suddenly released from the restraints of discipline and let loose upon an unarmed population, could not fail at least to create alarm, even if no more serious consequences followed. James told Lord Dartmouth that any of the men under his command who wished to remain faithful to him should join Tyrconnel in Ireland. 'If they will not, there is no remedy,' he added. Already his thoughts and his hopes turned to Ireland, where his active Lord Deputy had raised a strong Catholic army, upon whose fidelity he knew he could depend.

The Duke of Northumberland,[‡] on hearing of James's flight, reassembled his troop of Life Guards, which had just been disbanded by Feversham,[§] and the Marquis de Miremont^{||} did the same with his regiment of Horse, dismissing the Catholics. Meanwhile the officers commanding regiments in London sent an express to tell William of the King's flight, and to assure him that 'they would assist the Lord Mayor to keep the City quiet till his arrival.'

^{*} Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 229.

[†] Note to p. 250, vol. ii., of Clarke's 'Life of James.'

[‡] Illegitimate son of Charles II.

[§] This troop is now the 2nd Life Guards.

^{||} A Frenchman, who was cousin to Feversham.

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At Hungerford William met the three Commissioners sent by James to treat with him.* Churchill was present during the interview, but said little.[†] In the evening William went to Littlecote, where Churchill and several other officers supped with him. On the 11th it was generally known in London that James had fled. The peers then in town, numbering twenty-two, together with seven archbishops and bishops, met at once to consider the situation. They resolved to send two of their number to the Prince of Orange to beg him to assemble a free Parliament without delay, for the settlement of the kingdom. They also sent for the keys of the Tower, and appointed Lord Lucas Governour.

Meanwhile William arrived at Henley, and sent Churchill forward with instructions to reassemble his old troop of Life Guards, and to assume command of the other regiments that had just been disbanded in London. He was directed to quarter the English troops in Southwark, and to disband the Marquis de Miremont's and all other regiments whose loyalty was considered doubtful. At the same time a declaration was published desiring the commanding officers of the disbanded regiments which could be depended upon to call them together again. Churchill's command was not confined to London, for we find orders countersigned by him which refer to movements elsewhere.[‡] Of the old army, about half rejoined their regiments; of the other half, a large proportion returned to Ireland, and many went abroad to seek their fortunes in Catholic countries.[§] Every effort was made by the Jacobites to foment divisions amongst the troops that remained, espe-

* They were the Earl of Nottingham and Lords Halifax and Godolphin, with Dr. Wynn as secretary.

[†] Singer's 'Clarendon Correspondence,' vol. ii.

[‡] Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 237. Throughout 1689 and 1690 orders for the movement of troops in and from England were all signed by Marlborough. The War Office marching books of those years, now in the Rolls Office, are full of such orders.

[§] Luttrell's Diary for 1st 1, 1688.

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cially among the officers, and some time elapsed before the loyalty of all the regiments could be entirely relied upon.

James left London with the intention of taking ship for France, but, arrested and ill-treated by the country-people in Kent, he was brought back to Whitehall, and was received by the fickle populace of London with every mark of rejoicing. Had he been a man of firm resolve and of a stout heart, it is possible that he might, even at the eleventh hour, have saved his Throne. This revival of popular feeling in James's favour made his presence in London hurtful to William's ulterior objects, so he was encouraged to take up his residence for the time at Ham House, near Richmond. But he begged to be allowed to stay at Rochester instead, doubtless with a view to escaping from the kingdom. The request being granted, he quitted London for ever, and five days later sailed for France, accompanied by his son, the Duke of Berwick. Dethroned by his people, deceived by his friends, and deserted by his daughters, he fled from the land of his birth with all the appearance of fear for his life. His was indeed a pitiable fate, and yet few pitied him; the majority detested, and all despised, him. His daughter Anne was apparently as glad as others to be rid of him. She and Lady Churchill, both bedecked with a profusion of orange-coloured ribands, went to the play in state the very evening that her unfortunate father was being taken by river, in the worst of weather, to Rochester. James was King no more, and William of Orange, the first constitutional sovereign of England, though not yet crowned, reigned in his stead.

At St. Germain's the impression made by James was anything but favourable. 'There goes a silly, weak man,' said the witty Archbishop of Reims, 'who has given up three kingdoms for a Mass.*' The light-hearted Frenchmen despised and turned him into ridicule; but he was well received by Lewis XIV., who ordered him to be treated with the ceremony due to a crowned head, and settled upon

* He was Louvois's brother. Vol. lxxv., p. 62, of Petitot.

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him an annuity of about £24,000 as long as he should remain in France.*

On the arrival of William at Windsor, he took possession of the Princess Anne's apartments, which had been specially prepared for his reception; and on the following day he wrote to Lord Craven, who commanded the Foot Guards round the royal palaces, and announced his intention of proceeding to London on the following Tuesday. He desired that all the British troops should be moved out of the capital on the previous day, and sent to the quarters he had appointed for them. He directed 800 of his Dutch Horse Guards and 3,000 Dutch Foot Guards to reach Whitehall on Monday, and desired that they should occupy the quarters vacated by the English Household Troops. He told Lord Craven that he had given detailed instructions on these points to Lord Churchill, 'to whom I do therefore refer you for his assistance as there shall be occasion.'† Lord Craven, though eighty years of age, would have fought sooner than give up to Count Solmes his guard over his Sovereign's person; but he was persuaded to comply, in order to avoid bloodshed.‡ Many of the English Guards obeyed their orders in a mutinous spirit, and some threw down their arms in disgust. The British troops being removed from London, the protection of the city was committed to the 'ill-favoured and ill-accoutred Dutchmen.' But it is added that the citizens were 'mightily pleased with their deliverers, nor perceived their deformity,' etc.§

Churchill carried out his orders with his usual vigour, urbanity and skill; and, thanks to his intimate knowledge of the army and his influence with the officers, tranquillity and confidence were so quickly re-established that William

* 'Louis XIV. et son Siècle,' par A. Dumas, vol. iv., p. 105.

† Domestic Papers, British Museum, marching orders of the Royal Dragoons.

‡ Lord Craven, the son of a merchant-tailor who was Lord Mayor of London, was a gallant soldier who had seen a great deal of war service abroad.

§ Memoirs of Sir J. Reresby, Bart.

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was enabled to hasten his arrival in London. Apparently in high favour with William, Churchill, ever anxious to serve his friends, did not forget his cousin and old comrade, George Legge, Earl of Dartmouth. Lady Dartmouth, writing to her husband, says: 'Lord Churchill sent me a compliment if he could serve you to the Prince, I might command him in your absence.*' And again: 'Lord Churchill has already acquainted the Prince how useful a Minister in the management of affairs he (Lord Dartmouth) is.†' Dartmouth was anxious to retain his position as Master-General of the Ordnance, and Churchill pleaded his cause with William.‡ All through life he stood by his friends, and helped them to benefit by his own success.

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Upon reaching St. James's Palace William held a court, which was numerously attended. When Serjeant Maynard, a man of ninety years, made his bow, the Prince said: 'You must have outlived all the lawyers of your time.' 'I should have outlived the law itself if your Highness had not come over,' was the ready answer.

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The 'Act of Association' was signed at Westminster by seventy peers, of whom Churchill was one. In it they assured one another of mutual support, and promised to use all their efforts to bring about the objects enumerated in the Prince of Orange's proclamation. Churchill was also one of the ninety peers who, four days later, petitioned William to summon Parliament, and in the meantime to assume the government of the country, and especially to protect Ireland. In the absence of a legal Parliament, a National Convention was assembled, consisting of those who had been members of Parliament under Charles II., the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and fifty councillors of the City of London. Lord Churchill's brother George—the

* Historical MSS., Dartmouth Papers, p. 234.

† *Ibid.*, p. 242. A letter from P. Bowles to Lord Dartmouth of 2nd 1st, 1688, in which he describes what Dartmouth's chances are under William.

‡ James's Memoirs.

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sailor—was one of the representatives for St. Albans in this Convention, which practically dethroned James and crowned William, and from which, a century later, the National Convention of France took its name.

In the interests of free institutions it was necessary to call this Convention Parliament together for the purpose of settling the question of the succession, for it might otherwise have been open to William or his successors to plead that they ruled by right of conquest. The House of Commons was strongly in favour of dethroning James and permanently excluding his son from the succession. The Lords, no less anxious to protect the country from Popery and despotism, were, however, profoundly imbued with a sense of Divine Right, and sought some middle course by which they might, while getting rid of James, ease their consciences and sustain their principles. In a powerful maiden speech, Somers, in the House of Commons, argued that James had forfeited his right to the allegiance of the English people. The report which he drew up for the committee of the House was the groundwork of the subsequent Bill of Rights, which was prepared under his direction. Somers was strongly opposed to the Militia law, and in the fifth clause of his report stated that it was 'grievous to the subject.' This clause was not, however, included in the 'Declaration of Rights,' and the legal obligation of every man to serve in the Militia survives to the present day.

It is tolerably certain that many of those who wished William to come over did not wish him to be made the King. Sarah declares most solemnly that she 'never once dreamt of his being King.' Her husband, pleading sickness, kept away from the House of Lords when the discussion took place as to whether there should be a King or a Regent. But he was too astute a man of the world, and was too well acquainted with Princes, to imagine that William would be content to return to Holland as Stadtholder, when, as Sarah puts it, 'he had made us all

happy.* Deeply imbued from childhood with a belief in Divine Right and in the principle of 'a Deo Rex, a Rege Lex,' it was but natural that Churchill should wish the crown to remain in abeyance during James II.'s life, and the royal authority to be exercised by William under the title of Regent. But none understood more clearly than he did how impossible was any such arrangement with a man of William's ambition and temperament. It was plausibly argued that, as the Crown was hereditary, to create a King by Act of Parliament would be, in fact, to reduce England to the level of a republic. Such an innovation would strike at the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, and introduce an element of uncertainty into the Constitution that must inevitably weaken the executive to a dangerous extent. To meet the difficulty, there was a strong and general disposition to make William only Regent. Under that title—known to the laws of England—he would carry on the government of the country for his father-in-law, who was disqualified from reigning by the fact of his being a Roman Catholic. The Tory lords and bishops were in favour of this proposed arrangement, and pretended to believe in the warming-pan story in order to account for their exclusion of the Prince of Wales. But William would listen to no such plan, and began to talk of returning to Holland. He had promised to abide by the decision of the Parliament he was to summon when he landed. But he disliked Parliaments as much as all the Stewarts did. In a letter to Bentinck he says of them: 'Et pourtant remettre son sort à eux, n'est pas peu hasarder.' He said to Lord Halifax that he had 'not come over to establish a Commonwealth; and he was sure of one thing, he would not stay in England if King James came again. He roundly declared that 'he would go if they went about to make him Regent,'† and he added that he did not mean to

* 'Conduct,' p. 20.

† Minutes of conversation with William made by the Marquis of Halifax. In the Spencer House Papers.

be his wife's Gentleman Usher. Mary announced at the same time that she would not accept the Crown unless it were shared by her husband on equal terms. The debate in the House of Commons ended with the following resolution: 'Resolved that King James II., having endeavoured ²⁸⁻¹, 1688. to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between the King and the people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws and withdrawn himself out the kingdom, hath abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant.* The many crimes and treasons of James towards his people were dwelt upon, and—evidently as a warning to William—the ancient rights and liberties of Englishmen, and the terms of the contract which, it was stated, had always existed between the King and his people, were recited at length. The resolution wound up by settling the Crown on William and Mary, and upon Anne after their death. Carried up to the House of Lords on the following day by Hampden, grandson of the patriot, this resolution was agreed to without alteration.†

The question discussed by the Lords was 'whether, the ¹⁷ 2, 1688. Crown being vacant, it ought to be filled by a Regent or a King.' Halifax's earnest speech turned the scale by a majority of two in favour of a King, but this small majority was only secured by the abstention of Lord Churchill and a few of his most intimate friends. He had taken part in most of the previous debates, but upon this occasion he 'kept at home upon some indisposition.'‡ A natural and commendable delicacy forbade him to take part either in the discussion upon his master's future, or in the negotiations which led up to it. Godolphin and Dartmouth both voted for a Regency. William was clearly

* 'Parliamentary History,' v., p. 50.

† Later on this grandson of the patriot accepted bribes from Lewis XIV. to vote in favour of French interests.

‡ Parliamentary Register, xxv., Lords' Proceedings, i., 1660 to 1697; 51 voted for a King, and 49 for a Regent.

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made to feel that the Crown was bestowed upon him as a free gift to be held in trust for the people. Parliament wished to settle the Crown upon Anne should Mary die before her, but William positively refused his consent to the proposal. He must be King for life, and he would accept no other terms. Anne was at first decidedly opposed to any such arrangement. Her uncle, Lord Clarendon, said, 'It was given out that my Lord Churchill had undertaken she would give her consent,' but she indignantly denied that he had done so on the strength of an assurance which she had received from him. Clarendon distrusted the Churchills, and believed that they were anxious to please William at his niece's expense in order to obtain favour and consideration from him.* It is, however, plain from Anne's subsequent conduct, and from a later conversation which she had with Clarendon, that her objections to the proposed settlement of the Crown were ultimately removed through the persuasion of the Churchills.† Sarah states that at first she was opposed to William's pretensions on the ground that they were injurious to the interests of her mistress, and she adds that neither he nor Mary ever forgave her opposition. Later on, however, it became evident, she says, that the proposal was for 'the publick welfare,' and she consequently advised Anne to acquiesce in it.‡ Marlborough's calumniators would have us believe that Sarah withdrew her objections for value received from William; but as there exists no shadow of proof for the accusation, it must be put down to the malignity of her assailants. In the inscription on the monument she erected at Blenheim Palace in honour of Anne, the Duchess says, the Queen 'had no false ambition, which

* See Lord Clarendon's Diary of 29, 10, 1688, where he states he did not attempt to speak to Anne because Sarah was present.

† Clarendon Correspondence, Singer, vol. ii., p. 260.

‡ 'Conduct,' pp. 21, 22. Sarah in her 'Conduct' states that she consulted Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lady Russell, before she advised Anne as she did in this matter. It was that divine who finally persuaded the Princess to consent, she says.

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appeared by her never complaining at King William's being preferred to the Crown before her, when it was taken from the King, her father, for following such counsels and pursuing such measures as made the Revolution necessary.'

That Anne did object to the arrangement at first is proved by papers now accessible to everyone, but that she never complained after her objections had been overcome by her favourite is a fact to which her conduct during William's life bears ample testimony. Nor is the statement on the monument inconsistent with the assertion that Sarah persuaded Anne to forego her claims in favour of William. Sarah's action in this matter did not, however, constitute in William's opinion any great claim on his favour. She quickly found 'that all the principal men, except the Jacobites,' wanted a King, 'and that the settlement would be carried in Parliament whether the Princess consented to it or not.*' Moreover, it must have been plain to Anne, to Mary, and to all concerned, that by right the Crown belonged to James alone, and that it was by Act of Parliament that he had been dethroned and his son debarred from the succession. They clearly understood that the power which could do this could as easily and as lawfully settle the Crown and the succession upon whomsoever it would, and Anne must have realized, that if she were to succeed to the Throne during the lifetime of her father or of her brother, her only title would be a Parliamentary one.

From the first Mary strongly resented the domination which the Churchills exercised over her sister. Towards the end of the year Lord Halifax had a conversation with William upon the manner in which the consent of Anne to the Act of Settlement had been obtained, and put it upon record that William expressed his determination that Churchill should not govern either himself or his wife as he governed the Prince and Princess of Denmark. Halifax adds the following remark upon William's character: 'A

* 'Conduct,' pp. 21, 22.

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great jealousy of being thought to be governed; and 'this showed that Lord Churchill was very assuming, which he (William) did not like, and it showed a jealousy of the Princess Anne and of that side of the house.* At this time there was a close daily intercourse between William and Lord Churchill, who, by his knowledge of the army and of its officers was able to give William the best possible advice on military matters. In January we read of his being closeted for hours with the Prince at St. James's Palace, presumably occupied in the discussion of questions relating to army administration.† 'Lord Churchill is the greatest man next to Marshal Schomberg in army affairs,' is the news sent from London to Lord Dartmouth.‡ He was appointed to be Lieutenant-General in February, and William committed to him the task of reorganizing the army, especially the five regiments of Horse and three of Foot recently raised by James. In carrying out this duty, he dismissed the Catholics and all whom he believed to be personally hostile to William. Several regiments were disbanded, to the great annoyance of their colonels and other officers. Lord Macclesfield remonstrated about the manner in which his son's regiment of Horse had been dealt with, but Churchill replied that he had disbanded the regiment because it had been raised to oppose William's policy.§ Officers and men were ordered to rejoin their regiments, the Paymaster-General was directed to discharge all arrears of pay, and intimation was given that in future pay and subsistence allowances would be issued regularly. As a mark of William's personal interest in the army, one of his first acts after he had been proclaimed King was to hold a grand

* Memoranda of conversations with William, made by Lord Halifax. In the Spencer House Papers.

† Singer's Clarendon Correspondence. The Diary, January 13, 1688.

‡ Historical MSS., Eleventh Report, Appendix, p. 249. See also Lord Ailesbury's Memoirs, p. 244.

§ Lord Macclesfield's son was Viscount Brandon, who had commanded Lord Gerard's regiment of Horse.

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review of the troops. Churchill was reinstated in his former position as Captain and Colonel of the third troop of Life Guards, from which he had been removed by James.* Marshal Schomberg, old, gouty, and arrogant, was the nominal head of the army, but it was really Churchill who appointed and promoted officers.† It was the custom of the day to pay for commissions and promotions, and it would have been strange indeed had Churchill refused to accept what were regarded as the ordinary fees of office. It is alleged that he amassed a considerable sum of money in this way, and he is accused of having corruptly promoted notoriously incompetent officers. On this point Lord Ailesbury writes: 'The harvest my Lord Churchill made by this was vast, for all is sold. Colonel Selwin, of the Foot Guards, of little merit and service, obtained a regiment and Governour of Tilbury, etc.; and his footman told one of mine that his master gave him at twice a purse of a thousand guineas to hold for him until his master entered into that lord's lodgings at the Cockpit.' He goes on to say that about a year and a half after this time he was walking with Lady Marlborough alone in her garden at St. Albans, when she said: 'Lord!' (a common word with her) 'they keep such a noise at our wealth. I do assure you that it doth not exceed £70,000, and what will that come to when laid out in land? And besides, we have now a son and five daughters to provide for.'‡ Although there is no evidence whatever for or against him in this matter, it may be, I think, fairly assumed that he accepted the usual fees and gratuities of his office, and it may be as confidently asserted that the charge of corruptly promoting incompetent men is without foundation.

Lord Churchill had been appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber by William, and, two days before the Corona-

* This troop was disbanded 25, 12, 1746, when the Life Guards were reduced from four to two troops.

† Lord Ailesbury's Memoirs, pp. 244, 245.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

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tion, he was advanced to the rank of Earl.* He chose the title of Marlborough, by which, with varieties of spelling in various languages, he is known in history. He was distantly connected, through his mother, with the Ley family, four of whom had borne that title. It had become extinct at the death of the fourth Earl in 1679. The third Earl, who signed himself 'Marleburgh,' was killed in 1665 in a naval battle with the Dutch in Southwold Bay.† The first Earl married Jane Butler, daughter of John, Lord Butler, who was grandfather to Lord Churchill's mother. Jane, Lady Marleburgh, had no children, and the title descended to the issue of a previous marriage. There was, consequently, no blood relationship between any member of the Ley family and that of Lord Churchill.

Others besides Churchill were rewarded by William for the part they took in the Revolution—Lords Winchester and Devonshire and Field-Marshal Schomberg were made Dukes, while Admiral Russell, Henry Sidney, and the favourite Bentinck were made Earls.

* The Duke of Ormond, Earl of Oxford, Lord Mordaunt (afterwards Earl of Peterborough), Lord Lumley (afterwards Earl of Scarborough), and Mr. Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney), were all made Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.

† He was killed in the act of re-taking the *Montague*, a ship of fifty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Carslake, which the Dutch had captured. See a remarkable letter from this Earl of 'Marleburgh' to Sir H. Pollard, Controller of the King's Household. It is dated 'Old James, near the coast of Holland, 2^d 4th, 1665.' In this action a single round shot killed, on board the Duke of York's ship, Charles Weston, the Earls of Portland and Falmouth, the Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, one of the Earl of Cork's sons. See Eleventh Report of Historical MSS., Part VII., p. 85.

CHAPTER LI.

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

The Royal Scots Regiment mutinies—The Annual Mutiny Act—The benefits gained by the Revolution—Marlborough's part in it.

ON Ash Wednesday William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen, and on the following day the Privy Council was formed and Churchill was sworn in.* England at once began to settle down, but the condition of affairs both in Scotland and in Ireland had assumed a serious aspect. Ireland was held by Lord Tyrconnel for James, whilst in Scotland Viscount Dundee, with an army of Highlanders, set William at defiance. A redistribution of the military forces of the Crown became, therefore, a matter of imperative urgency. It was also necessary to send some regiments to Holland, whence all available troops had been withdrawn in order to make up the army of invasion.† Those whose loyalty to William was most doubtful were selected, and of these, Dumbarton's—now the Royal Scots—was put under orders for embarkation.

This had been a favourite regiment with James, and its Roman Catholic Colonel, Lord Dumbarton, had accompanied him to France. William made Marshal Schomberg Colonel in place of Dumbarton, an appointment which was so dis-

* There was an interregnum of two months between this proclamation and the abdication of James on 1st 12, 1688, when at 1 a.m. he quitted the kingdom.

† This order of 1st 3, 1688, was addressed 'To our Rt. Trusty and worthy Councillor John Lord Churchill, Lieut.-General of our forces.'

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tasteful to the regiment that the men refused to embark. A number of the officers and others seized the money destined for the payment of the men, and with four guns the regiment set out for Scotland.* Viscount Dundee's regiment of Scots Horse followed their example, and also marched northwards.† It was necessary to put down this mutiny at once, but instead of employing Churchill or some other English General to do so, William gave the command to the Dutchman, De Ginkel, appointing Major-General Sir John Lanier as second in command. This was the first instance in which he showed that preference for his own countrymen over English officers which thenceforward gave such great offence to his new subjects.

The troops employed to suppress this mutiny were two English regiments of Horse and three of Dutch Dragoons.‡ The mutinous Infantry, consisting of about twenty officers—including the ringleader, Lieutenant A. Gawen—and 500 men, were overtaken near Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, when they laid down their arms and were escorted to London. Ten of the officers were tried at the Bury assizes in July, 1689, when one was convicted, six pleaded guilty, and three threw themselves on the King's mercy. Of all the twenty, three or four only were dismissed, the others being pardoned by William, whose policy was to gain over the English army to his side. He foresaw that Lewis XIV. would not allow him to become King of England without further opposition, and a loyal and efficient army and navy were therefore amongst his most pressing needs.

The mutiny of Schomberg's Regiment may be said to

* They started from Ipswich, to which place they had gone to embark for Holland.

† This regiment must not be confounded with the Scots Greys. These mutineers, if they can be styled so, escaped to Scotland, where many joined the Highlanders in their resistance to William. The regiment was at once disbanded.

‡ The English regiments were the King's Regiment of Horse, now the King's Dragoon Guards, and Colonel Langston's, the 8th Regiment of Horse, which was disbanded in 1693.

have brought about the system of annual Mutiny Acts. It afforded strong proof that military discipline cannot be maintained by the milder laws which suffice to hold ordinary society together. The soldiers of an army, all of about the same age, and full of youth's passions, suffer from the disadvantage of being brought but little into contact with the softening influence of the old in civil life. Cut off from the moral example and healthy restraints of home, they are apt to become restive and more difficult to manage than their fellows living quietly amidst more natural and domestic conditions. On active service, where their path lies daily along the borderland between life and death, the frequent struggle with man's final enemy engenders a contempt for his terrors which is often accompanied by recklessness and violence. Such men are not to be kept in order by laws which fail to punish even the tenant who pours boiling water on the head of the landlord who presumes to call and ask for his rent. A code of special and more stringent laws is required for the government of soldiers if they are to live, even in time of peace, in the midst of a civil community without becoming a terror to it.

From time immemorial, the House of Commons had dreaded a standing army in England, as fatal to the liberties of the people. Were the King allowed to maintain an army during peace, it was believed that he would use it at his own discretion and without the sanction of Parliament. We had no standing army until the establishment of Cromwell's military despotism, when it may be said that he ruled the nation through a military council. But the army rule which he established was hateful to the nation, a fact which greatly facilitated General Monk's restoration of the monarchy. A contemporary historian records, that 'the people had suffered so much from the army that he (Charles II.) was received with the utmost joy and transport.'*

* 'A Short History of Standing Armies in England,' third edition, London, 1698, p. 12.

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§§ 4, 1688.

To the House of Commons, always on the look out for means of increasing its powers, this mutiny of the Royal Scots afforded an opportunity to obtain by law a firm hold over the army. They passed the Mutiny Act with alacrity, but it only gave the King and his military officers power for one year to punish soldiers guilty of mutiny, desertion, and other military crimes therein specified. Henceforth the King must ask the House of Commons annually to give him this power, and if in any year it should be refused, the King could no longer keep his army together, since he could not lawfully enforce discipline. The preamble of this Bill—repeated annually in every subsequent Mutiny Act down to the year 1880—set forth the principle contained in the ‘Declaration of Rights,’ that ‘the raising or keeping of a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against the law.’ It was this Act which transferred all real power over the army from the Crown to Parliament.

In previous reigns the King, or sometimes the General commanding in the field, had issued ‘Articles and Rules for the better Government of his Majesty’s Forces by Land.’ Until the reign of James II. these were, however, only recognised as having the force of law during the continuance of the war for which they were specifically enacted. But in the ‘Rules and Articles’ published by James II. in 1688 there is no allusion to their being enacted for use in any particular war, or even for any specified time. They are to be ‘duly observed under the pains and penalties therein expressed.’ In other words, they were to be the permanent laws for the standing army which he was determined to maintain.* In the Mutiny Act

* I possess a copy of the ‘Articles and Rules for the better Government of His Majesty’s Forces by Land during this present war,’ ‘published by His Majesty’s command’ in 1673 for the iniquitous war against Holland. There is in the library of the University of Glasgow a book of rules entitled ‘The Lawes and Ordinances of warre, for the better government of His Majesty’s army Royale, issued by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, etc.

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passed by William’s first Parliament, there is no allusion to the soldier’s ‘Duties to Almighty God,’ or ‘to his Sacred Majesty and Kingly Government,’ with which the articles of war of Charles II. begin. There is, however, a recital in it of the principle laid down in the Petition of Rights, that all billeting of soldiers upon the inhabitants against their will was illegal; but seeing that the nation was then engaged in war with France, which necessitated ‘the marching of many regiments, troops, and companies in several parts of this kingdom towards the sea-coasts and otherwise,’ it was enacted that the system of billeting should be continued as long as the war lasted, and no longer. After the passing of the Mutiny Act, we read from time to time in the *London Gazette* and contemporary papers of soldiers being shot in Hyde Park for mutiny.*

So ended the Great Revolution, the most notable event which stirred the hearts of Englishmen in the seventeenth century. It was a great victory for Protestantism, that essentially democratic form of truth. Apart from its spiritual side, Protestantism taught the right of individual judgment in moral questions to England, and through her to all nations. Mankind had been befooled for ages by the preaching of false prophets, and puzzled by the symbols and trappings of a mystic religion; but the veil which had so long concealed its so-called altars was now rent asunder, and men began to see the light clearly. It cannot be said, however, that Marlborough truly estimated, or even took note of, the moral forces put in motion by the Revolution, for the virtue of liberty, apart from the material blessings which freedom of thought confers, had no abstract excellence for him. The Revolution effected no violent or abrupt

etc., and General of all His Majesty’s Forces in the present Expedition for the defence of the Realme.’ It was printed at Newcastle. My copy of King James II.’s ‘Rules and Articles,’ etc., is dated London, 1688, and ‘printed by Charles Bill, Henry Hills, and Thomas Newcombe, printers to the King’s most Excellent Majesty.’

* Appendix to Fifth Report of Historical MSS., p. 382.

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change of sentiment, manners, or moral opinions. That it was no civil war is evident from the 'Declarations' of the gentry of counties; nor did it leave behind that legacy of hate between the two sides which is the usual outcome of a great rebellion. It did not alter in any way the relation between the rich and poor, the peer and peasant, but it reformed our monarchical institutions and balanced the political forces, the constituent elements represented respectively by King and people. It was surely a constitutional reformation rather than a political revolution. It did for monarchy what the Reformation had done for religion; it purified it, and transferred it into a clearer atmosphere of liberty, where the individual was allowed to think out for himself social and moral as well as spiritual questions.

Men sometimes compare it with the 'Great Rebellion,' but surely we owe it far more. When we have put out of sight the noble gallantry of the cavalier and have forgotten his unselfish loyalty, and when the glamour which still surrounds the Royal Martyr and his cause is no longer thought of, the Revolution will still stand forth as one of the very greatest landmarks of English history. Upon its results depended whether liberty or tyranny was to be supreme in this realm of ours. The Great Rebellion was towards its close a mere question between the tyranny of an hereditary King and the despotism of a great military adventurer. In that struggle England lost much realized wealth, but gained no abiding political or constitutional advantage, and it exercised comparatively little permanent influence upon the future of this country; but the Revolution laid for us the foundations of our present system of Parliamentary government, and its principles still pervade the public life of the nation and continue to influence the private conduct of individuals in every English-speaking community.

We no longer refer to the Revolution in the glowing and exaggerated terms used by our great-grandfathers, but none the less we value the assured freedom and other blessings which it brought to the nation. But we purchased this

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freedom at a great price, for it entailed upon us the system of government by party, 'the madness of the many for the gain of the few.'*

Years after these events, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, wrote as follows: 'I had several very curious things in my power to prove concerning the behaviour of both parties, Whig and Tory, after the Revolution. But I imagine it would be best to let all that drop, because I really can't say which side is most infamous; I can't see much difference between them, both sides designing nothing but their own advantage. The Whigs had the advantage that their pretended principle was for liberty and the good of their country. The Tories was (*sic*) for pure Divine (right?), by which, I suppose, they imagined they should have all the power and places of advantage divided amongst themselves. But everything they did was very short of the great performance from the great parts and honesty of my Lord Carteret and his father, my Lord Bath.'†

In the events upon which the success of the Revolution turned it is interesting to note how slightly the balance turned on William's side. Had Churchill and his friend Godolphin, over whom he exercised a great influence, worked against the Prince of Orange, it is doubtful if the Throne would have been declared vacant even after William's undisputed occupation of Whitehall. Indeed, the more closely the history of the exiled Stewarts is studied, the more apparent becomes the weakness of the foundation upon which the Protestant succession rested even down to the accession of George III. The more we scrutinize the illegal tyrannies of James which caused the Revolution, and investigate in all their details the motives and actions of those who brought it about, the more evident it becomes that we are greatly indebted to Marlborough for the free constitution which we now enjoy; whilst his name cannot justly be connected with any one of James's many foolish and wicked measures.

* Swift.

† Spencer House Papers.

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It is not because Marlborough saved Europe in Queen Anne's reign from the ambitious clutches of Lewis XIV. that we should alone feel grateful to him; but every Englishman should cherish his memory for the part he took in bringing about that Revolution which finally established Protestantism in England, and which secured to us the political liberty we have enjoyed ever since.

Wherever the English language is spoken or British law enforced, the community owes much to William of Orange and to all who helped him to gain the crown; and amongst those traitors or patriots, whichever we may elect to call them, Marlborough must always be accorded a high place.

CHAPTER LII.

WAS LORD CHURCHILL'S DESERTION JUSTIFIABLE?

The necessity of dethroning James if the English were to remain a free people—Resistance the only effective remedy for despotism—Churchill's reluctance in leaving James—His determination to do so if James interfered with the English Church—Loyalty has its limits—Duplicity of Anne, of William, and of Mary—Lord Macaulay's abuse of Marlborough—The military aspect of this question—The 'Article of War' on desertion—The defection of Marlborough lost James his Crown—The report that Marlborough intended, if necessary, to assassinate James.

We usually associate revolutions with anarchy and violence, but in 1688 a spirit of law and order prevailed which made it a revolution prevented rather than a revolution accomplished.* Whenever men strike for liberty or in the cause of religion, it is easy for the skilled advocate or critic to frame a plausible indictment against the rebel, and the task is all the easier if he has received favours at the hands of the Sovereign whose authority he has sought to subvert. Macbeth in a moment of remorse says:

'We will proceed no further in this business;
He hath honoured me of late.'

The remembrance of benefits received from James must have caused Lord Churchill many a pang, for James had raised him step by step to the position he had then attained. On the other hand, Churchill had been to the King for twenty years a valuable and faithful servant; and if we

* Burke.

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calmly review his services, and compare them with his rewards, the debtor and creditor account does not seem to be unfairly balanced.

But we have now to consider two questions vital to the character and reputation of Marlborough; firstly, was he justified in deserting James? and secondly, can the treachery which marked his desertion and the time he selected for it be excused or forgiven?

The first is simply a question of patriotic duty; the second, if not a purely military question, is one in which the political exigencies of the moment must be weighed against military law and custom.

It was clear that the reign of James II. must be brought to an end if the English people were to have any voice in the management of their country's affairs. Want of money had compelled him to meet Parliament upon his accession, but as soon as he had obtained from it the settlement of an ample revenue for life, he prorogued it, and never again called it together. Throughout his reign he showed an open determination to re-establish Popery, to destroy Protestantism, and to rule despotically, regardless of his oaths and of the laws and immemorial rights upon which English liberty is based. Churchill clung to the hope that James would keep his Coronation Oath, and that, although a Roman Catholic, he would maintain the English Church as established by law; and it was not until he realized how vain that hope was, that he joined with Devonshire and others in making overtures to the Prince of Orange.

He entered most unwillingly into treasonable correspondence with the Prince of Orange, nor did he take part in the conspiracy until he had realized the impossibility of inducing James to abide by his Coronation vows, and until he clearly saw that if the rights of the Church and the liberties of the people were to be maintained, William must be established as ruler in his place. For what we call the philosophy of the Revolution as it was represented by Lord Somers, Churchill cared nothing.

As a rule, resistance is the only effective remedy for despotism, whether it be the despotism of a King, a President, or the more intolerable despotism of a Parliament or a mob. But when a nation has been saved by this means, it is scarcely fair to denounce its saviours and to stigmatize them as traitors. Further, when men deliberately resort to treason, as Churchill did in 1688 and as Washington did nearly a century later, upon the conscientious conviction that such treason is necessary for the safety and welfare of their country, then indeed, we should pause before we condemn them. Such men do not act with a light heart or without the strongest reasons, and before we pass sentence upon them, their motives should be carefully examined. Men have often been guilty of treason in the pursuit of rank, power, or wealth, and could it be proved that Churchill was actuated by unworthy motives in 1688, no denunciation of his conduct could be too severe. But in joining the conspiracy against James he relinquished the almost certain possession of all those objects which men are usually most anxious to secure. He quitted the service of a King who was attached to him, and would presumably have advanced his fortune, to throw in his lot with a Prince who might not even succeed in his enterprise, and if he did succeed might prove to be no friend.

We have good evidence of the extreme reluctance with which Churchill entered into treasonable correspondence with William, and with what repugnance he plotted against his old master. Nor did he finally decide to take part in the Revolution until he had taken the advice of his friend, the Bishop of Ely. The Bishop told him that it would be rebellion against God if he sided with those who sought to destroy the civil and religious rights of the people, and that to refuse assistance to those who 'came to the help of the Lord against the mighty' would be to incur the curse pronounced against Meroz.*

* Dr. Turner was then Bishop of Ely. See 'The Lives of Two Illustrious Generals,' etc., 1713, p. 23.

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He had striven earnestly to find excuses for James's illegal and outrageous conduct; but the dictates of his conscience and his deep interest in the preservation of Protestant liberty would no longer allow him to remain with a King who had so signally disregarded his promises and his Coronation Oath. Churchill had no personal affection for James, but he felt grateful to the master who had afforded him opportunities to rise in life, and was deeply pained at being compelled to join that master's enemies.

The following extract is from a remarkable memorandum dictated by Sarah when an old woman, for the use of those whom she had commissioned to write her husband's life: * 'When he (Marlborough) left King James, which was with the greatest regret imaginable, but he saw it was plain that King James could not be prevented any other way from establishing Popery and arbitrary power to the ruin of England, and I really believe he then thought that the army would force the Prince of Orange to go back to Holland when they had found some way to secure the Prince of Orange's interest, and to have the laws of England continued, which King James had so solemnly promised to do when he came to the Crown. Everything that has happened since demonstrates that no King is to be trusted, and it is as plain, that if the Duke of Marlborough had had the same way of thinking that our present wise Ministers have, he might have been anything that an ambitious man would desire by assisting King James to settle Popery in England.'

What Churchill had laid out for himself, and what he promised he would do if William landed in England, that he resolutely did, for, as he wrote: 'I thinke itt is what I owe to God and to my country.'† No dispassionate judge can withhold his admiration for this manly, honest, and steadfast resolution. To this day we have reason to be thankful that he preferred the cause of the Reformation to

* Spencer House Papers.

† His letter to William of 14 8, 1688; see p. 12, vol. ii.

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the loyal promptings of his heart, and to all immediate consideration of his own personal interests.

The thought of English gentlemen and officers deliberately planning to desert with those under their command is repugnant to our ideas of honour and duty. But before we condemn those who went over to the Prince of Orange at the Revolution, we should in justice consider their position.

When Admiral Herbert, Lord Churchill, and other officers deserted King James at the Revolution, and took up arms against him, they must have fully understood the serious nature of the line they adopted. What they did was not the outcome of any sudden impulse; it was done deliberately and after much thought.

There can be no doubt that this question had long been fully and carefully weighed by Churchill. The contingency of having at some time or other to decide this important point did not come upon him unawares, and it is greatly to his credit that he had openly announced beforehand the course he meant to pursue.

Fortunately for Churchill's reputation, he had openly announced that he would abandon James if he attacked the English laws and the English Church. He had solemnly warned the King not to attempt the re-establishment of Popery; and the fact that no high command or office was bestowed upon him shows how fully James gauged the depth and sincerity of his convictions. Thus it was that, when he deserted James, he neither quitted the service of a master whose confidence he enjoyed—for the King had long ceased to admit him to his secrets—nor did he violate any rule of the moral code of his day. He made his choice between what he conceived to be crime and what he believed to be duty, knowing that he would thereby incur the active enmity of his master and the inevitable odium which justly attaches to military desertion.

Few will deny that loyalty has its limits. A man may strive, as Churchill strove, to remain faithful to his King,

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and shrink from the very idea of turning against his lawful Sovereign. But should the Sovereign violate his oaths, infringe the rights of his people, sequester their property, and strike at their cherished convictions, must the subject still submit? Even hereditary Royalty has its duties as well as its privileges, and when a King neglects his duties and breaks his engagements, he then forfeits his rights and prerogatives. Churchill would have been a traitor to his country and to his religion had he remained loyal to James at the Revolution. In all free countries there is either a written or a well-understood agreement between ruler and subject; and James II. trampled that agreement under foot. Edward II., Richard II., and lastly James II., were deposed for breaking the contract they had made with the nation at their Coronation.

The English country gentleman has ever been renowned for his loyalty. Before the Revolution he believed that the right of the King to rule rested upon 'Right Divine,' and it has ever required much violence and tyranny on the Monarch's part to drive him into rebellion. It has never been easy for him so to break with old associations and principles as to cast in his lot with Roundheads or rebels. But in 1688 James had come to be regarded by his people more as a traitor than as a King, and they deemed that it was he, and not they, who was guilty of treason. The popular view is fairly set forth in the declaration published at Nottingham by Lord Delamere and others, which begins thus: 'We, the nobility, gentry and commonalty of three northern counties, assembled together at Nottingham for the defence of the laws, liberties and properties, according to these freeborn liberties and privileges descended to us from our ancestors as the undoubted birthright of the subjects of this kingdom,' etc. It goes on to say: 'We own it rebellion to resist a King that governs by law; but he hath been always accounted a tyrant that made his will the law, and to resist such a one we justly esteem it no rebellion, but a necessary defence,' etc.

3^d. 4th. 1688.

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Churchill was not the only deserter. Admiral Herbert not only left James, but strove by a proclamation addressed to the seamen and junior officers of the fleet to induce them to follow his example, and he accepted the command of the fleet which brought William and his soldiers to this country. Queen Anne entered fully into the plot which destroyed a fond and indulgent father, and eventually mounted the Throne from which she had helped to drive him. The consummate villainy of Sunderland, and the duplicity of Halifax, Godolphin, Somers, Sidney, Shrewsbury, and others, are known to every reader of history.

'Had I a son,' wrote the Duke of Shrewsbury, 'I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman.*' And writing upon the morality of his time, Lord Halifax, an upright statesman as men went, said: 'I agree with you, this is not an age for a man to follow the strict morality of better times, yet sure mankind is not yet so debased but that there will ever be found some few men who will scorn to join in concert with the public voice where it is not well grounded.†' Had he lived to our day, he would have found that many politicians lacked the courage, loyalty, and patriotism to oppose a popular cry, even when they knew it to be wrong, and perhaps immoral.

The Prince of Orange was in reality the chief plotter and the central figure in the Revolution, and he, of all the conspirators, gained most by it. All, including Churchill, were guilty of deception towards the King, but the greatest sinner was William III. He was hypocrite enough to have prayers offered up daily in his wife's chapel for the baby Prince of Wales, while Mary was in close correspondence with her sister upon the subject of the 'warming-pan' story, and active preparations were being made for the invasion of England. He not only lied himself, but he

* In a letter from Rome of 17, 6, 1701 to Lord Somers. Vol. ii., p. 440, Hardwick Collection.

† Letter of 1st 1, 1689 to his brother Henry Savile.

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made the King's daughter lie also in order to deceive her own father, and as late as the month of September she was made to write to him in affectionate terms with the object of disarming his suspicions. A contemporary ballad-monger was indeed justified when he sang:

'Mary and William, George and Anne,
Four such children never had man.*

Could falsehood go further than the following avowal in William's letter to the Emperor? 'I have not the least intention,' he wrote, 'to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his kingdom, and still less to make an attempt upon the Crown, or to desire to appropriate it to myself.'† He adds further on: 'I pray God, who is powerful over all, to bless this my sincere intention. I have more than ever need for Divine direction, not being sufficiently enlightened as to what action I should take.'‡ Over and over again he assured his father-in-law that his preparations were aimed at France, and that he had no designs upon England. Had he failed, he could have returned home to reassume the government of Holland. But not so Churchill. At the age of thirty-seven, with a young wife and several children dependent upon him, he threw in his lot with the Revolution, and elected to sink or swim with the cause of religious liberty. His stake in the game was greater

* In a Jacobite song of the period I find as follows:

'There's Mary the daughter, there's Willie the cheater,
There's Geordie the drinker, there's Annie the eater.'

Another contemporary ballad runs thus:

'From undutiful children and subjects ungrateful,
From Wildman's and Churchill's crews equally hateful,
And from the outlaw'd Bishop who hath his pateful,
Libera nos Domine.'

The Bishop was Compton, and Wildman was the well-known violent republican.—Wilkins's 'Political Ballads,' vol. ii.

† Dalrymple, vol. ii., Appendix to Book V., p. 182.

‡ William to his friend Bentinck, 1^o 8, 1688.

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than William's, for he staked his life, his property—indeed, his all.*

Lord Macaulay praises King William III. in extravagant terms. Yet William was the leader of the Revolution conspiracy, and where all were guilty of treachery and the basest deceit, he was prominent for his crafty dissimulation and unblushing perjury. As a contrast to his heroic idol, Macaulay singles out Churchill, and denounces him with a scathing condemnation, remarkable even from one gifted with his unrivalled command of language. The distinction which he labours to draw between Churchill and the other conspirators is manifestly unfair. Tories like Clarendon and Nottingham, and Whigs like Somers, Halifax, and Devonshire, are thankfully remembered to this day, and if we acquit William of Orange, the daughters of James II., the Ministers who were in James's secrets, and the others who helped to bring about the Revolution, we must acquit Churchill, whose conduct was actuated by higher motives than theirs. Of him it may be fairly urged, that he was only a conspirator when he had the majority of his countrymen as accomplices, and when, in common with them, he sought to save the nation.†

Let us now turn to the second question, namely, the military aspect of the charge against Marlborough.

Desertion in the face of the enemy is the greatest of military crimes. It is greater even than cowardice, for cowardice may be constitutional, whereas desertion is deliberate and premeditated. And of all forms of desertion,

* He so fully realized the gravity of his decision that he made his will in the summer of this year. We have no copy of it, but in a will made two years later by his wife she refers to the sum of £7,000 which he had left her in it to dispose of as she thought fit. The copy of her will is amongst the Spencer House Papers. It is dated 19, 9, 1690. She bequeathed £500 out of this £7,000 'to release poor people out of prison, which I desire Mr. Gydott, Sir John Briskeo, and Lord Marlborough will take care may be disposed of where they find there is most charity.'

† Talleyrand said this of himself.

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the worst is that in which an officer not only joins the ranks of the enemy himself, but carries, or attempts to carry over, his men with him.

An officer has no right to command soldiers if he be not imbued with that deep sense of honour which alone can hold an army together. Without it no system of discipline, however admirable or strictly enforced, can suffice. Can it be believed that our men fight because we give them a shilling a day, the wages of a boy or girl in a manufacturing district? Eliminate the feelings of honour and pride in their calling and in their regiments, with which we try to inspire our men, and then see if the poor private will expose his body to the enemy's bullets from the love he bears to the British taxpayer, or for the miserable pay so grudgingly allowed him.

From a military point of view, it is impossible to acquit Marlborough of desertion in 1688. Although he was not then in James's confidence and held no military command, still, as a favourite of many years' standing, and as a courtier who had been most in his secrets and had been promoted by him to high honour, we must be painfully impressed with Churchill's ingratitude and heartlessness. His conduct was in the highest degree treacherous and deceitful, and it is revolting to think of him and other officers travelling with James from Windsor to Salisbury, and showing him all outward marks of loyalty and obedience while they were in league with his enemies to betray him on the first favourable opportunity. To hold daily converse with the man whom they were seeking to destroy, and to act towards him as if they were still his faithful servants, implies a depth of baseness and treachery which is all but diabolical.

It must be freely admitted that during the ten years between 1688-1698 Marlborough's career was sullied with acts which in the present day would place him beyond the pale of society, and which furnished Swift and Macaulay with ample materials for condemning him. But the real

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question is, had Marlborough the public good in view when he deserted James, or was his conduct inspired by motives of personal ambition?

There is no practical standard by which the conduct of great men of action can be measured. Patriot leaders have generally been unscrupulous as to the means they employed to secure their aims. Thus, without attempting to extenuate or excuse the gravity of his military crimes, the point to be considered is, whether in a supreme national crisis his duty to his country did not outweigh and override his duty as a soldier? In 1688 Marlborough was something more than a mere soldier, owing military obedience to his Sovereign before all things. He was a power in the country. The time was one of intense excitement, religious as well as national, the forces were evenly balanced, and Marlborough's influence, into whichever scale it should be cast, would decide the issue. The question he put to himself was, Should he remain faithful to James and rivet, perhaps for ever, the yoke of despotism and Popery upon the neck of the English people, or should he, by transferring his allegiance and service to William, set them free?

As I read history, England owes him a debt of gratitude for the calculated deceit which marked his desertion, because it enabled William to accomplish his carefully planned plot without bloodshed. Had Marlborough stood by James as Feversham did, the Revolution could not have succeeded, if indeed it would have been attempted, and beyond all doubt, he fully appreciated the gravity of the step which he was about to take.

In the 'Articles for the better Government of his Majesty's Land-Forces in Pay,' published by James II. in 1688, Article ix. runs thus: 'Whoever shall go about to entice or persuade either officer or soldier to join or engage in any traitorous or rebellious act, either against the royal person of the King or kingly government, shall suffer death for it; and whoever shall not reveal to his superior officer

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such a conspiracy so soon as ever it shall come to his knowledge shall be judged equally guilty with the contrivers of such a plot or conspiracy, and consequently shall suffer the same penalty.' To 'the oath of fidelity to be taken by every officer and soldier in the army' during the previous reign, James added the following sentence: 'And I do likewise swear that I believe that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; and I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person or against those that are commissioned by him.*' It would almost seem that when framing these 'Articles of War' he foresaw the treason which his own illegal acts would bring about.

Highly disciplined though our army be, its history proves that it has seldom fought well in what it believed to be an unrighteous cause. Unless the Rank and File are interested in their work, there will be no enthusiasm, and from an army without enthusiasm little can be expected. In the cause for which James now ordered them to fight, what could he hope for? He had himself set them an example in law-breaking by his appointment of Roman Catholic officers to the command of regiments in direct violation of the law of the land. The law is and must always be the foundation of military discipline; and when it is openly and defiantly broken by the King, the discipline which holds his army together withers and dies. Although the British soldier is a volunteer, he is no mercenary, no mere hireling who will fight in any cause, be it just or unjust, for the Prince or Government who pays him. He is not a mere piece of machinery to be wound up like a clock, or regulated like a steam-engine or a spinning-jenny. He has not only a body to be shot, but he is endowed with the same feelings and the same love of life as other people, and with the same respect and enthusiasm for a righteous cause as the best in the land. His heart—for he, too, has

* Taken from copy in my possession of the 'Rules and Articles for the better Government of his Majesty's Land-Forces in Pay,' 1688.

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a heart—must be in the contest, and if it be not, there is little to be got from him. The Government or the General who counts upon the British soldier to fight well in an unrighteous and unjust cause, relies for support upon a reed that will pierce the hand which leans upon it.

It has been urged by a host of writers that it was Churchill's clear duty as an officer and a gentleman to at least resign his commission before entering into a treasonable conspiracy against his master. In ordinary circumstances that would unquestionably have been the proper course. But the circumstances were not ordinary; they were most peculiar; for his master and benefactor had become a despot, who could only be disposed of either by assassination or by a revolution; and had Churchill suddenly quitted James's service, the existence of a plot would have been instantly guessed, and those suspected of conspiracy would have been sent to the Tower. Any open attempt to drive James from the Throne would have failed as signally as in Monmouth's case. French troops were constantly at hand to crush any attempt at rebellion, and unless James could be lulled into a false sense of security, or otherwise kept from calling in those troops, no Revolution would have a chance of success. This task of deceiving the King was cleverly and cunningly effected by Sunderland, a man above all others skilled in the crooked ways of treasonable conspiracy. From the first it was evident that, if James's army remained loyal, William could never reach London, and he knew this better than most men. Several military and naval officers joined William in Holland before he set out for England, including Colonel Tollemache, Admiral Herbert, and Lord Churchill's brother-in-law, Colonel Godfrey; and had Churchill followed their example, none could with any justice point a finger at him. It was the course which a gentleman of the present day would instinctively follow, but in the extremely difficult and trying position in which Churchill found himself few of his contemporaries would have done so. The

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universal determination was to get rid of James at any price and to replace him by William of Orange, and they deliberately threw to the winds all scruples as to the means by which that deed should be accomplished. No deception was deemed too base, no treachery too ignoble, provided the desired end was achieved.

When William landed in Torbay, he came with an army prepared for war, but he came also with the knowledge that the great bulk of the people were on his side. James's only chance, therefore, was a successful battle, and this chance was shipwrecked when Churchill joined his enemies. Marshal Ney was shot for acts less reprehensible. But the cause for which Ney deserted his lawful King was lost at Waterloo, whilst that for which Churchill left his master was everywhere triumphant. In what a different light does success often cause so-called crime to be viewed! It changes rebellion, for which we hang men, into revolution, for which we crown them with honour! Churchill was guilty of high treason against James, but he was not guilty of the greater crime of treason against his country. A close study of Marlborough's proceedings in 1688 leads to the conviction that he had no misgivings of conscience about them. He intrigued and conspired against James and planned his overthrow, but he did so in company with the best men in public life. In these days of cold scepticism it is not easy to convince men that Marlborough left James on a point of religious principle; but beyond all doubt he firmly believed that in seeking to create William King he was serving God by furthering the interests of Protestantism. His conduct at the Revolution, and his later treasonable correspondence with James, are hard to reconcile with common honesty; but the deceitfulness into which he was led through his determination to rid the country of James II. did not strike him as sinful or dishonourable, for in following the course which he deliberately chose he acted as he believed was best for England.

Many of the blessings which we enjoy were brought about

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by questionable means, and the record of the methods by which some of them were secured is disagreeable reading. In some instances the authors of these blessings were guilty of a baseness, a moral turpitude, and a perfidy which, if practised in private life, would have stamped them as shameless criminals. The Revolution is a case in point. We all owe it much, and our forefathers owed it still more. May we not fairly forget the deceit and treachery of those who plotted against James in our remembrance of what they accomplished for England? The disease from which England suffered in 1688 was deep-seated, and called for drastic remedies, but thanks to the Revolution we have enjoyed two centuries of freedom in thought and action unknown elsewhere.

There is no proof, beyond James's own assertions, that Churchill ever planned to seize the King and hand him over to William. The terms of Churchill's letter to James when he left him — it was a carefully-prepared document — are entirely opposed to any such supposition, and his subsequent conduct gives it an evident denial. He meant, he said, to protect James's 'royal person and lawful rights with all tender concerns.*' We have also Churchill's positive denial of this accusation, made to Lord Clarendon at Berwick, near Hindon, where William took up his quarters the day before he entered Salisbury. We are told that he repudiated the accusation 'with many protestations, saying he would never be ungrateful to the King; that he would venture his life in defence of his person; and that he had never left him, but that he saw our religion and country were in danger of being destroyed.†' Churchill even went so far as to abstain from voting in Parliament against James, and he studiously avoided taking any active part in the military operations against him in 1688, and again in 1690, until in each instance James had fled into France. The

* See Churchill's letter to James at p. 41, vol. ii.; and see p. 35.

† Clarendon's Diary, by Singer, vol. ii., p. 214.

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story of Sir G. Hewit's death-bed confession, that Churchill had arranged to assassinate James at Warminster, is arrant nonsense.*

The Revolution was the first occasion upon which Churchill took part in political life. He had always declined a seat in the House of Commons; and since he had become an English peer he had taken no prominent part in Parliamentary discussions. His rôle was to keep aloof from the intrigues which then, as now, beset party politics, and, as a soldier and a diplomatist, to occupy, if possible, a foremost place in the direction of public affairs without identifying himself with any particular faction.

* Hewit alleged that the Bishop of London was privy to this intended murder!



Portrait of the Duke of Marlborough

Quarrel
1711
1712

most of the 17th century, that Churchill
had a great deal of business, and of the business, is not
known.

The following account is given of him which Churchill
has put in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, dated in
the year 1711, and which he had before in English
and in French, and in which he has put in Parliamentary
business. He is the only one of the English
who has been in the army, and as a soldier
and a statesman, he has taken a foremost place in
the history of the war, without identifying himself
with any party.

He was born in the year 1692, and was the only son of
the Duke of Marlborough.

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*From a Miniature in the possession of
His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh.*

London: Richard Bentley and Son 1794.

Countess
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 142

Story of the Rev. Samuel Johnson's visit to the Church of St. Andrew's, 1791, 1792, 1793.

The Rev. Samuel Johnson, who was born in 1709, and died in 1794, was a distinguished scholar and writer. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and was known for his piety and his love of learning. He was also a member of the Church of St. Andrew's, and was buried there in 1794.

A full-length portrait of Samuel Johnson, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1766.

GOUPIGRAVURE. PRINTED IN PARIS.

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From a Miniature in the possession of
 His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh.

London Richard Bentley and Son 1804

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CHAPTER LIII.

THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM AND MARY—JAMES LANDS
IN IRELAND.

William finds the English are not cordial to him—Divine Right and Loyalty—Why William prizes the position of King—He declares war with France—James lands in Ireland—William resolves to send Schomberg there.

THE coronation of William and Mary took place in April, the soldier Bishop of London performing the rite, at which Marlborough was present. William had now secured one great object of his ambition, and he meant to use it as a stepping-stone to the fulfilment of a still dearer purpose, namely, the abasement of Lewis XIV. When that imperious King destroyed the walls of Orange, the offended Stadtholder said in anger, that 'he would one day make him feel what it was to have injured a Prince of his House.' He frequently repeated this, with an earnestness which proved how deeply he resented the insult.* The longing to humble France was never absent from his thoughts, and every year of his life it grew stronger. Indeed, it may be said that this dominating idea survived him, and came to be shared by so many Kings and Princes that the very foundations of Europe were shaken by the forces it set in motion.

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†† 4, 1689.

It was whilst William, Mary, and the Princess Anne were engaged in dressing for the coronation, that they received

* Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 9, of Book V.

the intelligence that King James, with his illegitimate sons, the Duke of Berwick and Henry—the Grand Prior—had landed at Kinsale some weeks before.

William's vigorous brain was allied to a frail and feeble body. He had never known robust health, and the sword was fast wearing out the scabbard. A man with less character, less determination, would have lain down and died in peace, but for him there could be no peace. Ireland was in arms for his father-in-law and for the Roman Catholic faith. He must be up and doing; and though weary and broken in body, his undaunted spirit urged him on. His immediate objects might be partly personal, and more Dutch than English; but their accomplishment meant freedom and Protestantism to England, and to Europe security from French aggression. To achieve these objects he ardently desired to live, even though life should be but a long-drawn-out period of suffering. He was prepared to brave everything if he could but accomplish what he conceived to be his special mission. He says touchingly in reference to that mission: 'I never feared death; there have been times when I should have wished for it, but now that this great new prospect opens before me I do wish to stay here a little longer.'

He found that his new subjects looked on him with suspicion as a foreigner. They had suffered so much from the Stewarts that they were determined to place effectual restrictions upon the initiative of their newly-elected King. In fact, they sought to deny him the exercise of sovereign authority without the consent of Parliament. The Convention, which at first acted as a Parliament, passed resolutions to make it clear to him that he had no power to dispense with any law, or to suspend its execution; that Commissions such as that which James had appointed to try ecclesiastical cases were contrary to the Constitution; that the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament, was opposed to the ancient rights of the people; and that taxes

could be imposed by Parliament alone. But although William reigned only by virtue of an Act of Parliament, he was quite as tenacious of the royal prerogative as any of the Stewarts. He had secured to the English people the free exercise of their religion, but he had no intention of parting with any political power which he could retain in his own hands.

Although the principle of hereditary right received its death-blow at the Revolution, it did not actually expire until, on the death of Queen Anne, a simple Act of Parliament made the Elector of Hanover King of England. As long as any Stewart sat upon the throne, the notion of 'Divine Right' survived. It was a romantic sentiment, associated in men's minds with much that was great and glorious in our history. It served to fire the dull minds of the uneducated with gleams of hero-worship, and the loyalty which it engendered brightened the most commonplace existence. William soon discovered the difficulty of sustaining the sentiment of loyalty when the hereditary principle had been destroyed, or its continuity broken. Not all the renown with which the great Napoleon glorified his family could make the French nation feel for the Bonapartes what the Jacobites felt for the descendants of James II. Napoleon's soldiers were devoted to him personally as to the leader who had surfeited them with glory, but there was no 'Divine Right' to foster in their children a sentiment of allegiance to the next generation of his family. King James's right to the throne was admitted by all, and it was only a conviction of the impossibility of maintaining law, liberty, or the Protestant faith under his rule which caused men like Churchill to transfer their fealty to William. Their loyalty to him was a loyalty of expediency, and his hold upon their allegiance was but weak.

Highly as William prized the Crown of England as a dignity, it had a yet greater value for him in view of his policy of determined hostility to Lewis XIV. With his

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clearness of vision in all matters relating to the affairs of Europe, he saw how much the Revolution must alter the general situation. It was a death-blow to the supremacy of Lewis, and a new barrier against the universal domination to which he aspired. As Stadtholder William had been able to combine some of the most powerful States of Europe in the League of Augsburg against France, and now, as King of England, he could not only deal on terms of equality with the Great Powers, but he could compel England to take a leading part in that imposing alliance. Hitherto England had been practically neutral, but now the assistance which Lewis was rendering to James in Ireland afforded ample grounds for an open rupture, and Parliament, by requesting that war should be declared against France, relieved William from all difficulty on that score.

^a 5, 1689.

The declaration of war which followed was made in May with all due formalities, and is worth reading as an able specimen of its kind.* The King declared that, having been called upon by God to rescue England from imminent peril, he felt bound henceforward to promote her welfare. This could only be done by preventing the dangers which threatened her from abroad. The encroachments of French fishermen on our coast of Newfoundland were dwelt upon as forcibly as they might be to-day, were we anxious to pick a quarrel with France. The attacks made by Lewis upon our possessions in Hudson's Bay and on the coast of New England, even whilst he was engaged in negotiations for peace, were bitterly complained of. Then came the old sentimental grievance of 'the right of the flag,' and the 'violation of our sovereignty of the narrow seas which, in all ages, has been asserted by our predecessors.' But, as the proclamation went on to say, what should most closely touch Englishmen was the French

* This declaration of war, which exposed at length William's reasons for the step, was said to have been drawn up by Somers, afterwards Lord Chancellor.

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King's barbarous treatment of Protestants, and the unusual cruelties inflicted upon them. It referred to the endeavours of Lewis to overturn the English Government, and to the troops he had recently sent to Ireland; and concluded by stating that William took up arms in this great undertaking relying on the help of God, and that he 'thought fit to declare, and did hereby declare, war against the French King.'

With William the love of war was a passion, and he longed, with all his heart, to take the field himself. His thoughts were with the Allied army assembled near Maestricht. He talked to Halifax about delegating his authority to Mary, adding that she would govern the nation better than he did. The objections to his leaving the kingdom at so critical a time were discussed, and Halifax 'asked him if it was not because he had a mind to command the army against France' that he thought of doing so. 'He said nothing, but did not deny it.' 'The world is a beast,' said he, 'that must be confined before it be tamed. Princes have more excuse for using art, since it is everybody's business to deceive them.*' But with the Highlands in open rebellion, and James in possession of Ireland, he soon realized the impossibility of going abroad then. He consequently chose the Prince of Waldeck—a General who had seen much active service—to lead the Allied army in the Netherlands, and he appointed his old friend, Duke Schomberg, vigorous in spite of his eighty years, to command against James in Ireland, with Count Solmes as his second in command. William's prospects in the sister island looked black, and James's presence there constituted a challenge which could not be refused. There the great question must be decided, 'Who was to be King of England?' To Ireland, therefore, he ought to have sent every available soldier, and it was the extreme of unwisdom, and a direct violation of the first principles of military science, that he should, with a small army, em-

* Spencer House Papers.

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bark in another war elsewhere. His true policy would have been to strike hard before James had time to consolidate his power in Ireland, and before all the loyal men had been driven from the country by Tyrconnel's oppressive measures. But the welfare of Holland was still foremost in William's thoughts. In the interests of that country he had, as King of England, made a treaty with Holland and her allies for a combined war against France, and he had, unhappily, engaged to send an English contingent into the field. But since that agreement had been entered into, the landing of James in Ireland had altered the whole situation, and he should at once have abandoned all idea of sending English troops to the Low Countries. Had the 8,000 good English soldiers who went there under Marlborough, together with the reinforcements despatched in the course of the winter and following spring to Ireland, been originally added to Schomberg's army, the question decided at the Boyne and Aughrim would have been settled in 1689.

Before entering upon the narrative of Marlborough's campaign under Waldeck in the Netherlands, a short outline of the events in Ireland in the year 1689 is necessary.

CHAPTER LIV.

SCHOMBERG'S DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND.

A French Army lands at Cork—James's brass money—Tyrconnel's Army, and his hatred of England—William raises many new regiments—Hamilton's mission to Tyrconnel.

Two days after his arrival at Kinsale, James went to Cork, where he held a Court, and walked in state between two monks to hear Mass in the Red Abbey, for in Ireland he felt that he might openly display his devotion to the Catholic faith.* He brought with him from Brest a fleet of thirty French men-of-war, seven frigates, and some fire-ships. A second trip made by this fleet brought over Count Lauzun and about 5,000 seasoned French troops, who fought throughout the ensuing campaigns with the greatest courage.† According to agreement with Lewis XIV., 5,000 Irish soldiers, under General MacCarthy, were sent in exchange to France, and these men formed the original nucleus of the famous Irish brigade in the French service. The landing of James and a French army in Ireland was effected without any molestation from the English fleet, which then, as now, was supposed to guard the Channel and protect these islands from invasion. Yet in 1689 our

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* Caulfeild's 'Council Book of Kinsale'; Gibson's 'Cork.' Mr. Robert Day, of Cork, says in a letter: 'I remember being told by the late John Humphreys, librarian to the Royal Cork Institution, that his grandfather remembered seeing James II. walk between two monks to the Red Abbey.' See also Smith's 'Cork,' vol. ii., p. 197.

† Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii.

fleet was much stronger than usual, for the whole Dutch navy was acting in concert with that of England.

Lewis had not been over-liberal in money, so from the first James was much hampered by want of means. There was but little gold or silver remaining in the country, for when property became insecure under Tyrconnel's purely Irish government, 'the English, who had all the wealth of the kingdom in their hands,' had sent their money and portable goods and valuables to England for safe keeping. In order to obtain the sinews of war, James had recourse to the old and unwise expedient of debasing the coinage. He had shillings and half-crowns struck in bronze, obtained mostly by melting down old cannon. Hence the name 'gun money,' by which it is still remembered. Many English settlers were defrauded by having considerable debts, long due them, repaid in this debased coinage, and Lady Tyrconnel is said to have thus paid off a mortgage on the property of a son-in-law.*

James's policy had always been to govern Ireland through a devoted Roman Catholic Lord Deputy, like Tyrconnel, at the head of a Roman Catholic army, whose religion would be a guarantee for its loyalty. This would also ensure his having an army, upon whose fidelity he could count, always ready for use in England. At the time of his accession the army in Ireland was only between six and seven thousand strong, all being Protestants, but by a clever adaptation of what is now known as the Reserve or Short Service System, Tyrconnel had increased the number to 40,000 fighting men available for service at short notice. All were Roman Catholics, and mostly descended from the attainted rebels of 1641.† When raised by James to be Lord Deputy, Tyrconnel dismissed all Protestants from the army on the plea that they were 'Oliverians,' or the issue of such. He took the military clothing from about 4,000 of these men, and sent them

* Camden Society Papers of 1841; 'Macariæ Excidium,' pp. 68, 69.

† Kane's 'Wars in Ireland,' p. 10.

away almost naked, to perish from cold and starvation as a warning to their co-religionists throughout the country. The disbanded Protestant officers, to the number of about 300, mostly went to Holland to swell the ranks of the army with which William invaded England and subsequently dispersed Tyrconnel's armies at the Boyne and at Aughrim. Tyrconnel proceeded to disarm the Protestant inhabitants as a punishment for their alleged sympathy with Monmouth's rebellion, and strove to drive out the English landlords by annulling the Act of Settlement. By this means he hoped to restore their lands to the Irish, whose property had been previously confiscated, and to become a large landed proprietor himself. From hatred of England he sought to make the Administration in Ireland purely Roman Catholic, and to secure this great end he was prepared to see Ireland placed under the protectorate of France.*

His hatred of England was equalled by his craze for personal aggrandizement, and from being a landless adventurer he soon contrived to become the possessor of vast estates. His rule is still remembered as cruelly oppressive to all classes of Protestants. He dismissed all officials of that faith until there was but one Protestant Sheriff in all Ireland, and he had been appointed in mistake for a Roman Catholic of the same name. He expelled the Fellows from Trinity College, Dublin, closed the Protestant churches, and passed an Act of Attainder especially aimed at all who did not go to Mass.† At one time no more than five Protestants were allowed to meet together in Dublin under pain of death, and at last, all who were not permanent residents were ordered to quit the city within twenty-four hours.‡ Protestants were compelled to surrender

* He seized the plate of Trinity College, put in his own Provost, and turned the buildings into barracks for his soldiers. He induced his Parliament to attain over 40 peers and over 2,200 esquires and gentlemen, and to adjudge all of them guilty of high treason without being heard. 'The State of the Protestants in Ireland,' etc., etc., by King, the Archbishop of Dublin.

† Welwood's Memoirs, p. 399.

‡ Mackintosh, p. 400.

their arms, and none were allowed to walk the streets between the hours of ten p.m. and five a.m., nor to show themselves anywhere in the event of an alarm. Those who transgressed these arbitrary laws were to be dealt with by court-martial, and punished with death or imprisonment. For all the chief posts in the Administration, Tyrconnel was careful to select men of known hostility to England whose policy he could direct. He cared nothing for their moral character. Sir A. Fitton, whom he made Lord Chancellor, was taken from prison to assume the ermine of office. A priest named Stafford, and a man named O'Neal, the son of a notorious murderer, were made Masters in Chancery, and the bigoted Rice, a profligate and a gambler, was created Lord Chief Baron. With such men in office, neither the Protestant Irish nor the British settlers had much chance of justice or fair-play. They certainly met with none. When James landed, all Ireland, with the exception of a small portion of the northern counties, was in possession of Tyrconnel's troops. Londonderry and Enniskillen were the only fortified cities that held out for William. The Roman Catholic garrisons from both these places had been withdrawn by Tyrconnel in the preceding year when he sent 3,000 troops to help James against William; and when, subsequently, he endeavoured to replace them, the inhabitants shut their gates and refused them admission.

Upon William's arrival in England, the peers assembled in London, when requesting him to assume the reins of government pending the meeting of Parliament, had specially begged him to take measures for the protection of the Protestants in Ireland. At that time he had few soldiers whom he could send there, but he promised arms and ammunition. He does not seem to have realized how serious was the danger of allowing affairs in Ireland to drift, for his thoughts were centred more upon European combinations against France than upon Irish troubles. But the landing of James at Kinsale made the position so

grave that he was compelled to raise additional troops, and eighteen regiments of Foot and some four of Horse, many of which still exist, were added to the regular army. A large proportion of the men, amongst whom were many weavers, shoemakers and butchers, were raised in and near London.* Three of the regiments were composed of French Huguenots. All were raised and clothed in about six weeks, but there was a great dearth of arms, for when Feversham disbanded the army few of the muskets, etc., were collected, and the supply in the Tower soon ran short.† For these new regiments matchlocks, pikes, etc., had to be obtained, at considerable expense, from Holland.

Before James landed, many thought, and not without reason, that Tyrconnel would, if properly approached, quietly surrender the government of Ireland to the *de facto* King of England. William resolved therefore to send General Richard Hamilton to Ireland, with that object in view. He was a Roman Catholic and was said to possess much influence with his friend Tyrconnel.‡ He had come to England as Colonel of one of those Irish regiments which had been sent by the Lord Deputy to help James in 1688, and he was looked upon as a man of honour. He gladly undertook to secure the peaceable surrender of Ireland, and promised that if he failed he would forthwith return to William. Upon reaching Dublin he found Tyrconnel much depressed at the general aspect of affairs. His Sovereign was an exile in France, and William, to the satisfaction of the English people, was in occupation of the Throne. The game, he thought, was up, and he contemplated making the best terms he could for the peaceable resignation of his office, as the course most

* Luttrell, 25, 3, 1688.

† Story's 'Wars in Ireland,' Part I., p. 6. Dalrymple, Part II., Book IV., p. 130.

‡ He was brother to the Anthony Hamilton who wrote the De Grammont Memoirs, and his brother had been Lady Tyrconnel's first husband. He belonged to the Abercorn family.

likely to conduce to his own advantage. Instead of encouraging him to do this, Hamilton, with a curious excess of bad faith, assured him falsely that affairs in England were steadily turning against William, and pressed him strongly to adopt an opposite course. Tyrconnel consented, and Hamilton, staying on in Dublin, accepted a high command in the Irish army.* There can be little doubt that it was this mission of Hamilton to Ireland which led to all the subsequent difficulties and fighting there. Had he not talked Tyrconnel over, that gentleman would have made terms with William, and have handed over the government of Ireland to him quietly. We should have had no Battle of the Boyne or 'broken Treaty of Limerick.' When Hamilton was brought a prisoner before William at the Boyne, and asked if the Irish would fight any more, he replied, 'Yes, sir, upon my honour, I believe they will.' William, turning away from him, repeated once or twice in a scornful tone, 'Your honour!' William felt his treacherous conduct deeply; for, relying upon his good faith as a gentleman, and upon his assurances of success, he had unfortunately postponed sending either reinforcements or arms to the Irish Protestants, with the result that his supporters were left helpless at Tyrconnel's mercy. When talking to Halifax of this matter before he went to Ireland, William said that Hamilton had broken his word to him. The wily Minister, in his record of this conversation, adds: 'A rule to judge such men by. The taking another man's word for a security showeth the man that *taketh it so is not given to break it.*'

† 4, 1689.

Though the Protestant settlers in Ireland were in dire need of help, William had not thought it wise to send them troops whilst the condition of things in Scotland seemed so critical. The chivalrous Claverhouse had raised the Jacobite standard, and it was not until the news of his death reached London that orders were issued for the embarkation of the regiments encamped at Chester for

* Harris's 'Life of William III,' p. 210, vol. ii.

service in Ireland.* They were mainly composed of newly-raised troops, entirely unsuited for the hardships of a campaign in such a wet, marshy country; for in former times English soldiers, upon first arrival in Ireland, suffered much from the climate, and upon this occasion their sufferings were more than usually severe.

Marshal Schomberg was selected to command this army. †† 1689. He had come to England with William, and was regarded as the most experienced captain in Europe. He certainly was one of the ablest of those military adventurers of the seventeenth century who hired their services to any State in want of officers. Having entered the Dutch service as a soldier of fortune, he afterwards served with distinction in the Prussian, French and Portuguese armies, and when in command of Lewis XIV.'s troops in Flanders he fought against William, and compelled him to raise the siege of Maestricht. Born of an English mother, he had always clung to the Reformed faith, although he frequently served Roman Catholic princes. † He was a man of sound judgment, calm in battle and wise, though inclined to be domineering in council; but being accustomed to command only well-trained regulars, he was too much of a haughty pedant to lead successfully the mixed and raw troops which now composed his army. Like many an officer of our present army, he did not understand the feelings of troops constituted as the Militia and Volunteers of England and America have always been. His manner towards them was the reverse of conciliatory. He looked down upon them as irregulars, and took no trouble to establish between himself and them that cordial sympathy—known in all armies as comradeship—which must bind together the

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* The regiments sent to Enniskillen and Londonderry were the Queen Dowager's (now the Queen's), Stewart's (now the Norfolk), and Hammer's (now the Devon). They were under the command of Major-General Kirke.

† His mother was a daughter of Lord Dudley. He was an excellent and graceful horseman.

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leader and his soldiers before campaigns can be successful. His opinions carried great weight with William in all army affairs. His newly-raised army was badly found in everything, and, barely numbering 10,000 men, was wholly inadequate for its task. It landed in August at Bangor, in Belfast Lough, and marched south as far as Dundalk, beyond which it could not force a passage. It was decimated by disease, and neglected by its officers, who were, as a body, inefficient and ignorant of their business. Early in November Schomberg broke up his wretched camp at Dundalk, and retreated north to take up winter quarters in the towns and villages of Ulster, where large numbers died from the effects of recent hardships, general misery and want of food. The history of this disastrous campaign is most instructive, and should be carefully studied by English officers.

CHAPTER LV.

THE BATTLE OF WALCOURT.

The Prince of Waldeck as a Commander—Marlborough embarks for Flanders—Marshal d'Humières—Marlborough's fighting round Walcourt—Rejoicings at the British victory.

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It is pleasant to turn from Schomberg's ill-starred campaign to the successful operations in which Marlborough took a distinguished part in the Netherlands this year. The Prince of Waldeck was then sixty-nine years of age, and as a statesman he was wise and of sound judgment. But though well skilled in the science and art of war, he was, like William, almost always unsuccessful in battle, and his ill-luck was so notorious that he did not command the confidence which soldiers should always feel in their leader.

William selected Marlborough to command the English contingent under Waldeck, and the appointment was popular, for the people were already beginning to murmur at their new King's partiality for Dutchmen. Marlborough ordered his troops to embark at Deptford, Harwich and other convenient places,* 'By virtue of his Majesty's orders to me

* This English contingent consisted of the following regiments: 2nd Troop of Guards, now the 2nd Life Guards—these 'troops' were in numbers and importance very much like the present Household Cavalry regiments; the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards ('Blues'); one battalion of the 2nd Foot Guards, now Coldstream; the Lord Admiral's Regiment—'The Yellow-coated Maritime Regiment,' with which our Marine Force originated—which, upon arrival in Holland,

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directed, relating to the forces going for Holland.' A little later on the Secretary for War informed him 'that the frigate he wished to have for his own convoy was required for the Guards, so that his Majesty said he could either wait for their departure or venture without convoy.' 'The Articles of War, signed by the King' were to be sent him before he sailed from Harwich. He landed at Rotterdam about the end of May, found the English troops already disembarked, and, having made arrangements for their advance to Maestricht, went there himself to join the Prince of Waldeck. After discussing future plans together, they visited the Allied camp, and before leaving it Marlborough sent home the following report:

'For Mr. Blaythwait, Secretary at War, att his house neer the Horse Guard, London.—Maestrich, May 25th.—Sir,—I have not heard from (you) since I left England, which I hope is occasioned by your not knowing how to direct your's to me. If you will call at my lodgings, my wife will lett you have the same direction she has for writing. I desier you will constantly lett me have what passes in Ireland. I must desier you will give the enclosed to my Lord Portland, there being own in it for the King. I desier you would send me over a copie of the oath that Monsieur Schomberg gave to the officers about ther never taking nor giving money for ther employment, because I am resolved to give the same oath here. I goe to-moroe for Boldnecke, and from thence to some other guarisons, to draw out six regiments, the other four not yett being ready to march.—I am, sir, your frend and servant, MARLBOROUGH.*

was incorporated in the 2nd Foot Guards; one battalion of the Scots Foot, now the Scots Guard; one battalion of the Royal Regiment, now the Royal Scots; Prince George of Denmark's Regiment, now the 'Buffs' or East Kent; the Royal Fusiliers, Hodges' Regiment, now the Bedfordshire; O'Farrel's Regiment, now the Scottish Fusiliers; and of the three following regiments, afterwards disbanded, Hale's, Collier's and Fitzpatrick's.

* This letter, in the British Museum (21,506, f. 96), is clearly written.

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Accused as he has been of inordinate greed for money, and of indifference as to the means he employed to obtain riches, this letter, together with other papers, proves his earnestness in wishing to suppress the traffic in army commissions and civil appointments. A few days later we find him enquiring the King's pleasure whether he will 'have the Regiments of Foot larn the Dutch Exercise, or else to continue the English.'

According to the plan of campaign arranged amongst the States allied against France, the Prussian and Northern Powers, under the Elector of Brandenburg, were to attack Bonn; the Duke of Lorraine, with the Imperialists, was to manœuvre on the Upper Rhine; and the Spaniards, acting independently, were to advance upon Courtrai, level the French lines there, and raise contributions. In May Brandenburg besieged Kaiserwerth, which surrendered, the garrison being rendered helpless by internal feuds.

The Allied army, augmented by Marlborough's division to nearly 35,000 men, remained between Judoigne and Tirlemont for nearly three months. It was too weak to assume the offensive, and its movements were consequently slow and cautious. Towards the end of June it marched for Fleurus, crossed the Sambre in August, and encamped 18 8, 1689. about a mile in rear of the little enclosed town of Walcourt, into which a regiment of Lunenburgers was thrown as a temporary garrison.* The following morning several strong 17 8, 1689. parties were sent forward to forage in the fields and villages, protected by some 600 English and 200 foreign troops under Colonel Hodges.† He occupied the village of Forgé with his Foot, whilst he sent forward his Dutch and Danish Horse to cover the front.

* Walcourt was then in the bishopric of Liège, and was the chief town of the country between the Sambre and the Meuse. It is nine miles south of Charleroi.

† Colonel Hodges commanded what is now the Bedfordshire Regiment. He was killed in 1692 at the battle of Steenkirk, whilst at the head of that regiment. In 1680 he had distinguished himself at Tangier when captain of the grenadier company of his regiment.

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Marshal d'Humières, high in favour at Versailles, commanded the French army opposed to the Prince of Waldeck.* According to the orders which had reached him early in the year, the Marshal was to act on the defensive; but a recent reinforcement of some 6,000 men now emboldened him to force the Allies to battle, and supported by orders just received from Court, he moved towards them. On the morning in question, his advanced guard of three cavalry regiments, having reached Bossy, where it was intended to encamp the army for the day, discovered on the plain near that village the foraging parties of Waldeck's army, guarded by the Allied horse, whom Hodges had sent to the front. This covering party was quickly driven in with loss, so the preconcerted signal of three guns was fired to warn the dispersed foragers to get back with all speed to the Allies' camp—a signal which soon brought Marlborough to the threatened point. Hodges, skilfully posting his musketeers behind the hedges and enclosures of the village of Forgé, hoped to hold the enemy in check until the main body had time to turn out and take up a fighting formation. He maintained a gallant but unequal fight in and around Forgé for about two hours, though several serious attacks of cavalry and dismounted Dragoons were made upon him. His stout defence of the position enabled the foraging parties to make good their retreat to camp.† He then fell back to a mill, from behind the walls and outbuildings of which his marksmen did great execution. The main body of the enemy coming now into action, no further defence of the mill could be of any use, though Hodges' regiment still fought with splendid determination. Marlborough, seeing the hopelessness of

* D'Humières owed his favour to Louvois, who admired his wife. He was no general, and is one of the three punctilious French marshals referred to in Chapter XIII.

† 'Histoire Militaire du Regne de Louis le Grand,' Paris, 1726, vol. ii., p. 160. A party of the 'Bufs' took part in this fighting round the village. See Cannon's history of that regiment.

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any further attempt to defend this advanced position, ordered the defenders to fall back and occupy some high ground near Walcourt. The retreat of troops already engaged in the face of superior forces, always a difficult and trying operation, was upon this occasion effected in good order. It was helped by some Horse whom Waldeck had sent forward to support Marlborough. The little town of Walcourt, surrounded by a strong wall flanked with old-fashioned towers, and strengthened by a ditch, was safe against a *coup de main*. The French field-guns could make no impression upon its masonry, and to attempt its capture by open assault was an operation which could only have commended itself to a General ignorant of his profession; yet this is what D'Humières did attempt. He was emboldened by the success with which he had hitherto overcome all resistance, and by the conviction that he could not attack the Allied army until he should have obtained possession of the town. The French and Swiss Guards and the German regiment of Greder were accordingly sent forward under the Count de Soissons, with orders to carry the place by storm. Four guns were put in position to play at close range upon the walls where it was intended to make the assault. At the head of the attacking column were the grenadiers of the celebrated regiments of Soissons and of Guiche, with the French Guard and the regiments of Champagne and of Greder in support. To the east of the town was the raised plateau to which Marlborough had retreated; and here, between two roads, Waldeck brought into action ten or twelve guns, which made great havoc in the French advancing columns. The enemy's splendid infantry, however, pushed gallantly forward notwithstanding the heavy fire which it encountered, and the many streams, some of them waist-deep, that had to be crossed. A party of about 200 French Guardsmen, undismayed by the stout resistance and the numerous obstacles they encountered, found their way as far as the gate, and endeavoured to set fire to it, but most of them were killed by

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musketry from the walls. Column after column was launched against the place, only to be beaten back with heavy loss. Although protected by their walls, the defenders at last began to show signs of nervousness and to clamour for reinforcements. Owing, however, to the curious formation of the ground, it was no easy matter to get reinforcements into the place from the north; but about two p.m. Brigadier-General Tollemache at the head of the Coldstream Guards, together with a German battalion, reached the town after a severe struggle.*

Realizing at last that he could make no impression upon the place itself, D'Humières sent his troops to attack the hill to the west of it. The position occupied by the Allies was by no means a good one for an outnumbered force, and affairs began to assume a critical aspect for Waldeck's little army. It soon became evident that nothing but a counter-attack, well delivered on the French flanks, could save the Allies, and this was accordingly determined upon. General Slagenberg was ordered to advance from one side of the town, whilst Marlborough led forward his English troops from the other, to attack the French simultaneously. Marlborough, placing himself at the head of the Life Guards and Horse Guards, struck the enemy in flank, and, after a contest which raged furiously until past six in the evening, drove him back with great loss. The French army retired in confusion, leaving behind guns, ammunition, many prisoners, and about 2,000 killed and wounded. The next morning between 500 and 600 dead Frenchmen were counted around the walls of the town. The Allied loss was inconsiderable.† The country did not

* Tollemache had already seen a good deal of active service, and was now under Marlborough as second in command of the English contingent. He had commanded one of the British regiments in the Dutch service, and was killed in 1694 when taking part in the unfortunate attack on Brest. William had rewarded his fidelity to his cause by making him Colonel of the Coldstream Guards and Governor of Portsmouth, vice Berwick, who had flown with his father.

† In the *London Gazette* from 2^d 8, to 1st 9, 1689, the French loss

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favour a rapid pursuit, but Waldeck pushed the beaten enemy as well as he could. In his despatch to the States-General, written on the evening of the engagement, he says: 'All our troops showed a great courage and desire to come to a battle, and the English who were engaged in this action particularly behaved themselves very well.'*

The French infantry owed their safety to the firmness and courage of their cavalry and to its skilful handling by Villars, who was promoted to be Maréchal-de-camp for his services upon the occasion.† The French Foot displayed a disciplined courage that stamped them as excellent soldiers, though the plan of attack showed want of generalship on the part of their commander. To send men as he did in broad daylight over the open, to knock their heads against the stone walls which surrounded Walcourt, was the action of a madman. Notwithstanding his wife's charms and his own interest at Court, he was deprived of his command, and no General was ever more justly punished for failure.‡

The honour and glory of the day was Marlborough's—a fact recognised by French writers in their account of the battle.§ The Prince of Waldeck, in his letter to William, said that Marlborough, in spite of his youth, had displayed in this one battle greater military capacity than do most

is estimated at over 2,000, and that of the Allies as only two officers and forty men killed. In the official account published in Paris, 2^d 8, 1689, there are given the names of twenty French officers killed and forty wounded.

* *London Gazette*, No. 2,482 of 1689.

† 'Vie du Maréchal duc de Villars, écrite par lui même.' Published 1785, vol. i., p. 4.

‡ De Feuquières, writing of this action, says he can only repeat 'Que ce combat ne doit jamais être cité, que pour en défendre l'imitation.'—'Mémoires du Marquis de Feuquières,' p. 311.

§ One French author refers specially to the Life Guards and to two English battalions under the command of 'Lieutenant-General Malbrock.'

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Generals after a long series of wars. William, in a letter to Marlborough, writes: 'I am very happy that my troops behaved so well in the affair of Walcourt. It is to you that this advantage is principally owing. You will please accordingly accept my thanks, and rest assured that your conduct will induce me to confer on you still further marks of my esteem and friendship, on which you may always rely.' In recognition of his services the King made him Colonel of the 'Royal Fusiliers.'* When the campaign closed, the troops went into winter quarters, and Marlborough returned home. William received him not only with honour, but with a cordiality the more marked because of his naturally cold and reserved manners.

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Meanwhile, there was much disappointment that Schomberg's army had accomplished nothing in Ireland, and the complaints of his mismanagement were loud and outspoken. There was already much jealousy and heartburning in the army because of the favour shown to foreigners by William in his selection of commanders. The contrast between the failure of the Dutchman in Ireland and the brilliant success of the Englishman in Flanders was thus the more marked, caused the victory of Walcourt to be more highly appreciated at home, and tended greatly to increase Marlborough's reputation amongst his countrymen. The battle of Walcourt was the only creditable event in William's campaigns of this year. In the following year, when Marlborough was no longer at the Prince of Waldeck's side, he was hopelessly defeated at Fleurus. But Walcourt

* This regiment was raised 10, 6, 1685, by James II. as a guard for the artillery in the field. It did not carry any pikes, but was entirely armed with a light musket called a fusil. Hence the title 'Fusiliers.' It was directly under the Master-General of the Ordnance. Marlborough fostered the individuality of the artillery as a special corps all through his wars, and strove to have it recognised as an acknowledged arm of the service, and made into a regiment by itself. When Master-General in 1716 he formed the two first companies of R.A. ever raised, and stationed them at Woolwich.

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brought William no substantial advantage. There had been a considerable expenditure both of life and money, and the result was, disaster in Ireland and no effective result abroad. This was doubtless owing to the faultiness of William's original plan of campaign, which embraced the cardinal error of engaging with his small army in simultaneous operations at home and abroad.

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WILLIAM'S AND MARY'S DISLIKE TO MARLBOROUGH.

Contrast between the characters of the King and Queen and of Marlborough and his wife—Mary's civil letters to Sarah before the Revolution—William's treatment of the Marlboroughs was unwise—William hated the meddling of women in affairs of State—Marlborough very free in conversation—William's feelings about his own treachery to James—The relations existing between the sisters, Mary and Anne—The dispute about Anne's annuity—Prince George wishes to serve on board ship—Charge of bribery against Sarah—The Princess settles £1,000 per annum upon Sarah—The affectionate terms upon which Anne and Sarah live.

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THERE is much to find fault with in Marlborough's conduct during the reign of William and Mary, for he not only erred in judgment, but sinned against the common code of public morality. A close study of the Court life of the time makes it clear, however, that most of his faults had their origin in the slights and ungenerous treatment which both he and his wife received at the hands of the King and Queen. This period of his career well deserves a close study, for it embraces all the occurrences connected with what his detractors have stigmatized as 'his second treason.'

The Churchills had played an important part in the proceedings which made the Revolution a success. The husband had managed the army, while the wife had managed the Princess of Denmark, and they had worked so effectually in William's interests that both King and Queen owed them a debt of gratitude deeper than has been generally recognised. But, notwithstanding this fact, they

were never subsequently admitted to terms of close intimacy at Court.

It would be difficult to find two contemporaries of note more dissimilar in appearance, disposition, and character than William and Marlborough. No real cordiality or community of sentiment could well exist between two such men; no bond of union indeed, other than that of self-interest, ever did, as a matter of fact, unite them. Their wives, too, were no less different in their sentiments, tastes, and religious beliefs. An absorbing love for her husband and a deep reverence for God were the Queen's guiding principles of life. Her instinct was to obey, and so strong was her sense of the obedience which she owed her lord and master, that she forgot her duty to her father, for with him her correspondence is marked by an absence of truth and upright dealing. What affinity or community of thought and feeling could there be between such a firm believer in virtue and in the efficacy of prayer, and the brilliant, passionate, self-seeking, and free-thinking Lady Marlborough? All this, however, does not account for the fact that the Marlboroughs, who in the first instance had done much to help William and Mary to the Throne, should almost immediately afterwards be heartily disliked by them. The following letters to Sarah from the Princess Mary in 1688 prove that she and her scheming husband thoroughly understood how necessary the Churchills' co-operation had been to the success of the Revolution conspiracy: 'Loo, September 30.—Dr. Stanley's going to England is too good an opportunity for me to lose of assuring Lady Churchill she cannot give me greater satisfaction than letting me know the firm resolution both Lord Churchill and you have taken, never to be wanting in what you owe your religion. Such a generous resolution I am sure must make you deserve the esteem of all good people, and my sister's in particular. I need say nothing of mine; you have it upon a double account, as my sister's friends, besides what I have said already; and you may be

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assured that I shall always be glad of an occasion to show it both to your Lord and you. I have nothing more to add: for your friendship makes my sister as dear to you as to me, and I am persuaded we shall ever agree in our care for her; as, I believe, she and I should in our kindness for you, were we near enough to renew our acquaintance.—MARIE.

Another letter of the same period runs thus:

'If it were as easy for me to write to my Lady Churchill as it is hard to find a safe hand, she might justly wonder at my long silence; but I hope she does me more justice than to think it my fault. I have little to say at present. To answer the melancholy reflections in your last is now too late; *but I hope my sister and you will never part.* I send *you* here one for her, and have not any time now than only to assure you that I shall never forget the kindness that you showed to her who is so dear to me. That, and all the good I have heard of you, will make me ever your affectionate friend, which I shall be ready to show otherwise than by words whenever I have an opportunity.'

These letters bear out Sarah's assertion that when Mary first reached Whitehall she was all kindness to her. Lady Marlborough insists that had she then been willing to transfer her allegiance from Anne to the Princess Mary, she could have made a great position for herself. Her fidelity to Anne at this time, she says, lost her the Queen's favour, and strengthened the prejudice already conceived against her by both William and Mary.* Even as it was, had she been an ordinarily clever and self-controlled woman, she could easily have become an important person in the new Court; but with her imperious temper and pugnacious disposition she could never have obtained any real influence over Mary, dominated as the Queen was in all things by her masterful husband.

Upon William's accession to the Throne it cannot have escaped his astute mind—first, that it was necessary to

* 'The Conduct.'

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have the Princess Anne on his side against her father; and, secondly, that Anne could only be managed, if at all, through the agency of the Churchills. It is passing strange, therefore, that so shrewd a diplomatist should have failed to adopt this course in all negotiations with his sister-in-law. William's manners, it is true, were boorish, but he could be polite and conciliatory when he chose. Why did he not, therefore, treat the Marlboroughs with that ordinary civility which is so cheap and so easy for Princes to display? Why did he not reward this clever and intriguing couple on the same liberal scale as that on which he rewarded his needy and grasping Bentincks, Keppels, and other Dutch favourites who could be of no use to him in the management of English affairs? Had this wise course been adopted, Lord and Lady Marlborough would doubtless have been as loyal to the new King and Queen as were any of their fellow-courtiers upon whom high and lucrative employments were conferred. All the scandals occasioned by Mary's silly quarrels with her sister would have been avoided, and William would have secured the valuable counsels and the faithful services of the ablest man in England.

To accomplish his design upon the Throne of England, William had been glad to avail himself of the Churchills' assistance; but he seems never to have liked Marlborough personally, although he recognised with jealous reluctance his military genius and general ability. Sarah he particularly disliked, because he resented the fact that she had more weight with the Princess of Denmark than either he or his wife. The Churchill influence was always a subject of great bitterness to both William and Mary.

William would not tolerate the meddling of women in public affairs, and did not even allow his wife—although legally his equal—any share in the Government, excepting when he was abroad. The interference of Lady Marlborough in matters which closely affected his interests, such as the dispute respecting Anne's allowance, was to

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him simply unbearable, and he took care that she and her husband should clearly understand this. Little by little there grew up in the minds of the King and Queen an increasing dislike to both the Churchills, which they showed in their manner, whilst no disposition was evinced to make their position at Court more easy or pleasant. The result was that Marlborough soon became dissatisfied with his position, and his wife still more so with hers. Both had expected great rewards for the important assistance they had rendered to William, but nothing whatever had been done for Sarah; and when her husband compared his reward with the honours and emoluments showered so lavishly upon Schomberg, Portland, and the Dutch generals, it is little to be wondered at that he felt himself hardly treated. It was not to the foreigners whom he enriched that William owed his Crown; and yet upon the unportioned Marlborough, without whose help he could not certainly have been King in 1688, he conferred only an empty title. Every new gift or favour bestowed on William's favourites rankled in Sarah's jealous heart, and stirred her to bitter sarcasm. Marlborough, too, allowed himself great freedom of speech upon this point. He never ceased to murmur at the favouritism shown by William to his foreign officers, in order that his complaints should be repeated at Court, for he wished it to be known that he was discontented. Besides, he was by nature given to an open and apparently unrestrained expression of his opinions. A man of inferior ability, apprehensive of committing himself, often takes refuge in reticence, for he knows that silence is commonly regarded as the sign of inward power. Many a dull man has been shrewd enough to conceal his want of wits by an assumed look of wisdom and by a solemn silence broken only by rare monosyllables. 'Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise: and he that shutteth his lips is esteemed a man of understanding.*

* Proverbs xvii. 28.

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The inexperienced are thus often taken in, but the wise know that it is not the quantity, but the quality, of a man's utterances that enables you to gauge his capacity. The man of few words is often the most self-revealing. The greatest of living men, Prince Bismarck, is a free, open talker, whilst some of the feeblest men in public life are markedly reticent, and seem as reluctant to express an opinion as they are to ask for information from those who could impart it. To the wise and able man, like Marlborough, the art of volubility is of priceless value, since it enables him to conceal his real opinions and intentions in a way that no reticence can accomplish. To the skilful talker volubility is golden, while silence is too often the resource of the timid and the stupid. Marlborough was a 'Past-Master' in fluency of speech. He said a great deal, but, except when he wished to be repeated, told nothing; and his countenance never betrayed his thoughts, though at times he could assume a cold and reserved manner.

The question of religion, as it was affected by the Revolution, did not influence Sarah as it did her husband. She regarded the change of sovereigns more from a personal than from a public point of view. She was not therefore likely to undervalue the services which Marlborough and she had rendered to William. She contrasted Mary's cordiality before her accession with her subsequent cold and ungenerous behaviour. Parliament had wished to settle the Crown on Anne should Mary die first, and Sarah remembered that she it was who had induced the Princess to accept the settlement devised by William in his own special interest. Sarah says that she only advised Anne to give way on this point when she found that all further opposition was hopeless. She felt herself and her husband to be in a position of exceptional importance, and she consequently expected great things in the way of distinction and wealth as their reward. She was, however, doomed to disappointment, and, according to her wont, she made no secret

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of her feelings. Her anger soon degenerated into a revengeful spirit, and she accordingly set to work to persuade Anne that she, too, had been neglected and ill-treated. She left no means untried to embitter the already strained relations between the sisters, and to poison Anne's mind against the Queen. In Anne's drawing-room William was habitually denounced by the nicknames of 'the Dutch Monster,' 'Caliban,' etc., all of which was daily reported to him and to Mary.* The Princess Anne was well known to be weak, and easily led, and it was evident to the Court that she was acting under the dictation of Sarah. It was therefore natural enough that the King and Queen should do all they could to rid the palace of one who caused Anne to thwart their wishes in so many ways.

Born to a position in life which gave her none of the power she so ardently craved, Sarah thought to find her opportunity in the influence she had obtained over the pliant Princess of Denmark. Through Anne she accordingly determined to impose her own will and pleasure on others; for she was not one to submit quietly to the neglect with which she and her husband were treated. She brooded over the chances that her husband relinquished when he threw in his lot with the Revolution. She thought of what might have been their wealth and position had he cared less for Protestantism and more for his own interests, and she was furious when she contrasted their possible position under James II. with that which they actually occupied under William III. It was alleged at Court by her numerous enemies that Sarah kept up a close correspondence with her sister, Lady Tyrconnel, whose husband, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, was then in open rebellion against William's authority. This naturally tended to augment the suspicion with

* These expressions were also used at this time in letters between Anne and her favourite, but they were afterwards rubbed out of the letters kept by Sarah, and were omitted from those she published in her 'Conduct.'

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which the Queen regarded the Marlboroughs, and made her less generous and lenient in her judgment of their conduct.*

William had little confidence in the loyalty of those who had proved faithless to James, their King *de jure*, for he felt that they might, with still less scruple, turn round upon him who was their King only by Act of Parliament. James had lost his Crown because the army failed him, and William believed that his own safety required that he should have an army upon whose fidelity he could implicitly rely. Hence his anxiety to retain the Dutch guards in England, and his determination to keep the high military commands in the hands of foreigners, who could have no interest in the political aspirations of the English people. Marlborough, already a Lieutenant-General under James, had distinguished himself as a soldier in the field, and his capacity for command had been well tested during Monmouth's rebellion, and again in Flanders at Walcourt. All things considered, it was but natural that he should aspire to the highest military position under William, and should resent the fact of Schomberg and other foreign Generals being preferred before him. Upon first coming to England William had consulted him freely upon military matters. His sound judgment and conspicuous ability could not fail to impress a man of William's business-like habits, and it was not until the King's mind had been deeply prejudiced by Mary against him and Sarah that he began to find himself treated with studied coldness. The Dutchman Bentinck, made Earl of Portland and loaded with English riches—for which he had never done England a day's service—was jealous of Marlborough's military reputation. He knew that as the foremost English soldier, Marlborough was a favourite with the people, who did not then, any more than they do

* 'The Conduct,' p. 16. Sarah states that Lord Tyrconnel had endeavoured to persuade her to induce the Princess Anne to become a Roman Catholic, as his own wife had already done.

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now, like to see foreigners holding high positions in the army or navy. It must be added that Bentinck's dislike was reciprocated with all the bitterness with which a would-be royal favourite usually regards his successful rival. Moreover, the Dutch officers whom William imported considered themselves entitled to all the high military commands, and, regarding Marlborough as a serious rival, detested him accordingly. Without doubt they poisoned William's mind against him as each evening they drank schnapps with their master in the Royal parlour at Kensington. The King's mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, hated Sarah, who had slighted her, and she too stimulated the King's dislike and distrust of the Marlboroughs.*

The Englishmen, Marlborough included, who now surrounded the King had doubtless placed the Crown upon his head; but his thoughts dwelt rather upon their infidelity to James than upon their services to himself. According to his published declaration, he had come to redress grievances and to abolish the abuses for which James was responsible. But we know that his real object was to drive out his father-in-law and to usurp his Throne. In this he succeeded; but he never seems to have had any liking for the measures used to secure him the Crown, nor any affection for those who adopted them. In his natural hatred of their treason he forgot both his own heartless duplicity and also the deception practised by Mary upon her father, for which he was himself wholly responsible. But although he had not hesitated to rob his father-in-law of the Throne, he certainly never regarded himself in the light of an ordinary usurper; he easily convinced himself that the Crown belonged rather to the Stewart family than to any particular member of it. His mother was a Stewart, and so was his wife. We easily persuade ourselves of the justice of a course which suits our tastes or interests, and possibly he may have believed that, because of his Parliamentary title to the throne, he and Queen Mary really

* William created her husband Earl of Orkney.

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did govern 'by the grace of God.' He entertained high notions concerning the Royal prerogative, and the right of Kings to the implicit obedience of their subjects. He knew how corrupt were most of those about him, and it is but natural that he should have believed Marlborough to be as open to bribes as Sunderland and others. Marlborough had used his influence with the army to forward William's personal aims at the Revolution, and the King seems always to have dreaded any increase of that influence lest it should some day be directed against himself.

The prejudice entertained by William and Mary against Marlborough drove him into that secret correspondence with James which has deeply stained his reputation. It is, however, worthy of note that William's dislike of Marlborough and his keen desire to have Sarah removed from the Princess Anne's household, not only existed before Marlborough was suspected of corresponding with St. Germans, but actually before he had even begun that correspondence.

Mary was not quite two years older than Anne, and there had always been the greatest intimacy and affection between the sisters prior to the Revolution. Anne had spent some happy months at the Hague for the benefit of her health two years after Mary's marriage. They had much in common, though Mary, who was a great reader and talker, was much superior to Anne in ability. Both had been educated by earnest Protestants, both detested Popery, both had married Dissenters, and in Mary's case the strong will and character of her Calvinist husband had given her mind a decidedly liberal bent on all matters concerning the Church. Anne, who was not influenced in any degree by her dull and heavy Prince, had narrow views upon religious matters. To her the Church was an essential part of the Christian faith, and she had little sympathy with the great body of Nonconformists, whose views were reflected by the Revolution and by the principles which it represented.

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But as soon as Mary became Queen there sprang up between these proud sisters a certain amount of irritation. Mary subordinated her views to what she felt to be her husband's interests, and those interests were opposed to Anne's. Under the conditions upon which William would alone consent to rule England, there could not fail to be some feeling of jealousy on Anne's part. Between two women situated as were Mary and Anne, there was bound to be friction, no matter how close their mutual affection. Little points of etiquette were magnified into serious questions. The elder felt that she was not always treated with the deference due to the Queen, even from a sister; the younger thought that as heir to the Crown she was not shown the consideration she had a right to expect from a loving sister, even though she were Queen; and with these elements of discord at work, it was no difficult matter for a clever and unscrupulous woman like Sarah to bring about an actual rupture.

The first misunderstanding between the sisters arose out of an application made by Anne for some apartments in Whitehall, which she wished to obtain in exchange for the Cockpit, assigned to her by King Charles when she married. The refusal of this request led to an angry altercation and to strained relations; while Anne's pertinacity was put down to Sarah's evil influence. A more serious cause of quarrel was about money, that fruitful source of family discord. Shortly after the Duke of Gloucester's birth it had been proposed in the House of Commons to increase Anne's allowance from the £30,000 settled upon her by her father to £70,000 per annum. This motion was at first discountenanced by those who wished to curry favour with William, as he was known to be strongly opposed to any such arrangement. It was his interest to keep the Princess entirely dependent upon the Crown for an income—a position, however, which Anne would not accept, and in her determination to refuse it she was encouraged by her self-seeking Lady-in-waiting.

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William was close in money matters, except where his Dutch favourites were concerned. He had not evinced any conciliatory spirit towards Anne, and it was therefore natural that she should press for a Parliamentary settlement. This was an unusual proceeding, as it had hitherto been customary for the King to provide for the members of the Royal Family by such grants from the privy purse as he thought suitable. To ask Parliament, therefore, to fix the amount of her annuity showed that Anne felt little confidence in William's justice, and still less in his liberality. This he naturally resented as an insult, and looked upon Lady Marlborough as the author of it. The question came before the House of Commons in July, when, after a heated debate, the King adjourned Parliament in order to stop further discussion. As far as Parliament was concerned, the matter remained in abeyance until December, when it was again brought before the House of Commons. Many of those who pressed for the increased annuity did so, not so much from affection for Anne, as from a desire to embarrass William and further the Jacobite cause. The King sent mutual friends to the Princess to beg her to desist from further action in the matter, and to rely entirely upon his generosity. Throughout these negotiations Sarah warmly espoused the cause of her mistress, although every endeavour was made by threats and blandishments to induce her to side with the King, and it must be admitted that herein she acted as a true friend to Anne, no matter how objectionable her action may have been to William and Mary.*

As long as Marlborough was at home he was able in some measure to control the fiery temper of his wife; but as soon as he went to Holland, and she was no longer

* Lady Fitzharding, *née* Villiers, was the intermediary employed by William and Mary to try and win over Lady Marlborough. She was one of Sarah's greatest friends, and was remembered in the will which she made in the following year.

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subject to his wise influence, she threw herself heart and soul into her mistress's quarrel with the King. It was in the midst of these disputes that Marlborough returned from his successful campaign under Waldeck. He found the Court divided into two camps, one in favour of the settlement, the other siding with the King against it, and, urged thereto by his wife, he warmly espoused Anne's cause. After lengthened negotiations a compromise was at last arrived at, and the Princess agreed to accept an annuity of £50,000, provided that it was settled upon her by Parliament.

Later on another circumstance contributed to accentuate the angry feeling between the sisters: Prince George, who had accompanied William to Ireland, returned much dissatisfied with the treatment he had received. William had been barely civil to him, and would not allow him to travel in the royal coach—a privilege never before denied to a Prince. Shortly afterwards Prince George, wishing to fight for his adopted country in some capacity, selected that of a volunteer on board ship, an employment more suited to his obesity than active military occupation, which would have necessitated riding. William had gone to Flanders, leaving the Prince under the impression that he had no objection to this arrangement, but he had privately told the Queen that it was not to be permitted. After William's departure Mary sent 'a great Lord' to Lady Churchill, with a request that she would use her influence to prevent the Prince from carrying out his intention, without letting the Princess Anne know that the Queen had expressed any wish in the matter.* Sarah sent a guarded answer, but practically declined to have anything to do with the affair unless she might tell the Princess that it was the Queen's wish that Prince George should not embark. Anne's uncle, Lord Rochester, accounted 'the smoothest man in the Court,' was then sent to Lady Marlborough on a similar mission, put with no better

* 'The Conduct,' pp. 39, 40.

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success. In the end Mary had to send the Secretary of State to the Prince himself, with instructions to forbid the project. Both the Prince and Anne felt deeply hurt by this refusal, for, in the confident anticipation that his wish would be acceded to, Prince George had made every preparation for service afloat in the coming summer.

It is to minor causes such as these that we must look for an explanation of the antipathy to the Marlboroughs which was so strongly felt by both William and Mary, but more especially by the latter. This at first led to their neglect, and later on to their ill-treatment, at Court; and it is to that ungenerous and unwise ill-treatment that we must ascribe the line of conduct pursued by Marlborough until the time when he was restored to favour, after Queen Mary's death. Amongst the leading conspirators who had brought about the Revolution the Marlboroughs alone were treated with ingratitude and harshness.

Upon William's first arrival in London he had used the Churchills to persuade Anne to forego her claim to the Throne, should he survive Queen Mary. It has been charged against Lord and Lady Marlborough by more than one enemy that they were bribed by William to extract this consent from the Princess Anne. It is further alleged that they were again bribed to persuade her to accept the annuity of £50,000, and not to press for the larger amount which the Tories, with a view to embarrass William, were anxious to settle upon her. This accusation, based on no evidence whatsoever and repeated parrot-like by successive writers, sounds ridiculous to those who know the inner history of this reign. There can be no doubt that Anne was completely under the influence of Lady Marlborough, and that if she were able to persuade her mistress to accept a settlement of £50,000, she could equally have induced her to accept a much smaller sum. Could William have bribed Sarah to do the one, he would certainly have induced her to do the other, so as still further to reduce Anne's claims upon him. If by properly-administered bribes to Lady Marl-

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borough William and Mary could have managed Anne as they wished, what more could they desire? And why should they have moved heaven and earth to accomplish her removal from Anne's service? It is certain that as long as the Marlboroughs were indispensable to William and Mary they were treated with the utmost consideration, and that the King and Queen only changed their demeanour when they realized that the Marlboroughs were not to be bribed, or to be induced to moderate the earnestness with which they espoused Anne's cause in all her disagreements and quarrels with her sister.

Unfortunately for Marlborough, the condemnation in this year of his brother George, for malpractice at sea, further weighed against him in William's estimation. Complaints had long been made by the principal English merchants of the extortion of naval officers employed on convoy duty. It was alleged that considerable sums of money were exacted from the masters of trading vessels by these officers, who persistently refused to protect them unless paid for their services. The shipowners urged also that when the captain of a man-of-war was unable to extort the amount he demanded, he revenged himself by pressing into the King's service all the best sailors from the ship of the recalcitrant master. During the winter of this year a discussion in the House of Commons upon our foreign trade led to a condemnation of these practices. The London merchants presented a petition to Parliament on the subject, and Captain George Churchill was mentioned amongst those whose conduct was considered the most reprehensible. He was then member for the borough of St. Albans, and had, when captain of the *Pendennis*, commanded a squadron on the Irish coast. In reply to this charge, he said that he had never 'refused to convoy,' and that he only took such men from the merchant-ships as he had extreme necessity for. He was sorry he had 'given offence,' and added: 'I will never do anything to displease this House. Convoy-money has been anciently

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practised; I was forced from them by weather, and when I came to the Downs the builders of the ship wondered she could swim.' He confessed, however, that he had 'received 150 guineas as a voluntary gift.' His friend Admiral Russell pleaded for him, and asked the House to award him 'as moderate a punishment as you can.'* Clear evidence was given to prove the case against him, and the House, to mark its displeasure at his conduct, sent him to the Tower, but released him in three days, owing, it was said, to his brother's influence, and to the fact that he was a member of Parliament.†

In the following year the Princess of Denmark settled an annuity of £1,000 upon her dear 'Mrs. Freeman,' to mark her gratitude for the support which the Marlboroughs had given her in the matter of her Parliamentary grant. Sarah tells us that she refused this liberal gift at first, but, remembering how poor she still was, she thought it advisable to consult her life-long friend, Lord Godolphin, and he advised her to accept the offer. The offer was made by the Princess to Sarah in the following letter: 'I have had something to say to you a great while, and I did not know how to go about it. I have designed ever since my revenue was settled to desire you would accept of a thousand pounds a year. I beg you will only look upon it as an earnest of my goodwill, but never mention anything of it to me; for I shall be ashamed to have any notice taken of such a thing from one that deserves more than I shall be ever able to return.'‡ And in a subsequent letter she writes: 'Can you think either of us' (the Prince and Anne) 'so wretched that for the sake of £20,000, and to be from morning to night with flattering knaves and fools, we should forsake those we have such obligations to,

* Debate in the House of Commons. Russell had a fellow-feeling for his friend Captain Churchill, for he made a large fortune eventually by the victualling of his fleet and in other very doubtful ways.

† Historical Tracts, Gower's Collection, x. 355.

‡ 'The Conduct,' pp. 36, 37.

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and that we are so certain we are the occasion of all their misfortunes?"*

Sarah's influence over Anne was now complete. She commonly addressed her as 'My dear, adored Mrs. Morley,' and Anne, referring to these expressions, writes: 'So very kind that, if it were possible, you are dearer to me than ever you were.' And again, 'I am so entirely yours, that if I might have all the world given me, I could not be happy but in your love.' The letters from the Princess quoted in the 'Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough' are indeed unpleasant reading. They are filled with expressions of devoted affection which, bearing in mind Anne's subsequent hatred of the object she then idolized, fully illustrate the commonplace nature of her character.

* 'The Conduct,' p. 84.

CHAPTER LVII.

WILLIAM GOES TO IRELAND.—MARLBOROUGH A MEMBER OF MARY'S COUNCIL.

The French Fleet superior to that of England, and commands the Channel—Marlborough appointed to command the troops left in England when William went to Ireland—William's unpopularity—A 'Council of Nine' created to help Mary in the Government during her husband's absence—Mary's difficulties—Her love for William.

At this time the affairs of the navy were disgracefully managed, and, owing to the bad quality of the provisions supplied, there was much sickness and mortality in the fleet. Herbert, the naval Commander-in-Chief, recently created Earl of Torrington, was lazy and incompetent, thinking and caring for little beyond his pleasures and his own immediate convenience. The English Fleet had not yet recovered from the hopeless condition into which it had fallen during the reign of Charles II., but that of France, under the fostering care of Colbert, had largely increased in size and still more in efficiency. Throughout the years 1689 and 1690 the French fleet was practically in command of the English Channel, and of the southern and western coasts of Ireland, for the English and Dutch navies combined were inferior to it in strength. The transports upon which the troops in Ireland mainly depended for supplies were consequently at its mercy, and the dread of their being captured had seriously hampered the plans and movements of both William and Schomberg during their campaigns in Ireland. Indeed, had the French fleet been

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properly made use of in the St. George's Channel, it might easily have prevented William's huge flotilla of transports from crossing between the Dee and Belfast Lough.

Schomberg's operations in 1689 had been disastrous, although he lost no battle. But in the spring and early summer of 1690 the large reinforcements which reached Belfast reconstituted the field army for a fresh effort. The time had now come for William himself to take the field and submit to the ordeal of battle the question whether he or his father-in-law should wear the Crown. He was never loath to take a personal part in war, for its very perils and excitements were to him a grim, terrible pleasure, and he delighted in its science, of which he had been a student since his boyhood.*

Before setting out for Ireland, William appointed Marlborough to be Lieutenant-General and Commander of all the Forces remaining in England during his absence, and Lord Torrington to be Admiral of the Fleet protecting the Channel.† Marlborough's appointment at such a critical time to this important post proves that William had then no undue prejudice against him. It also strengthens the presumption that the main obstacle to his serving in Ireland was not any suspicion of his loyalty to the Revolution settlement, but his own natural repugnance to take the field against an army commanded in person by his old master.‡ In a conversation on this subject with Lord Halifax, William said that 'many were dissatisfied with

* The whole military force of Great Britain this year was only about 71,000 men. It was distributed as follows when William started for Ireland; Troops in Ireland, 48,000 men; in England, 12,000; in Scotland, 6,000; in Flanders, 4,500; in West Indies, 1,000; total, 71,500 men. Included in these numbers were the following foreign troops which William had been lent and had taken into pay for service in Ireland: Three regiments of Danish Horse, six battalions of Danish Foot, one battalion of Jutland, one of Flemish, and one of Oldenburg Foot.—Hamilton's 'History of the Grenadier Guards,' vol. i., p. 340.

† Marlborough's commission is dated Kensington Palace, 13 6, 1690. Rolls Office.

‡ 'Lives of Two Illustrious Generals,' p. 28.

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the arrangement,' doubtless meaning his own Dutch officers, who, conceiving that all military commands should be given to them, resented the employment of even one English General.* It was, moreover, necessary that a soldier of experience should be at hand to advise the Queen on military matters during William's absence, and it was of consequence that he should be an Englishman.

We are apt to think that 'red-tape' is an article of strictly modern manufacture; but an examination of the military documents of this period shows that orders on matters of such trifling importance as the march of small detachments from one town to another were signed by Marlborough, and often by other members of the Council as well. At its deliberations, the most insignificant points of military detail were often solemnly discussed.

Left to carry on the Government alone during her husband's absence in Ireland, Mary found her task both difficult and trying. The country was in extreme danger; the outlook was gloomy; except in the Protestant north, all Ireland recognized her father as King, and the signs of the time seemed to forbode disaster. William's unpopularity had increased. His foreign accent was much against him, and his freezing manners had lost him the goodwill of many who eighteen months before had helped to make him King. Some began to wish James back again, and others had already gone the length of opening a correspondence with him in his exile. Shrewsbury, William's valued Secretary of State, who quitted office on the eve of the King's departure for Ireland, was the first to take this step.† Plots were already on foot for the restoration of James, and it was now that the term 'Jacobite' first came into common use. William had been made King by the Whigs, who consequently considered themselves entitled to all the

* Spencer House Papers.

† He had resigned when William withdrew the Abjuration Bill, a proceeding that incensed the Whigs, and tended to throw the King more and more into the arms of the Tories.

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offices of trust in the public service. But he soon began to resent and resist their arrogant pretensions, and when in revenge they opposed his wishes, he retaliated by bringing some of the Tories into his Government. The Whigs were furious, but, as he said, he was forced to employ the Tories if he was to hold the Crown which the Whigs had placed on his head.

To help and advise Mary in her difficult duties, William appointed a Council of nine members, of whom Marlborough—who was still reckoned a Tory—was one, and, to the disgust of the Whigs, five in all of the nine were selected from their opponents' ranks.* 'The Whigs love me best,' William said, 'but the Tories are the best friends to the monarchy.' 'Aye,' replied Sunderland, 'the Tories are better friends to the monarchy than the Whigs, but your Majesty must remember that you are not *their* monarch.'

There was no love lost among these nine Councillors, but eight of them agreed on one point, namely, in a profound distrust of their remaining colleague, Lord Mordaunt, afterwards known as the eccentric Peterborough. They suspected him of corresponding with William's Jacobite enemies, and he in his turn hated them, especially Halifax, whom he suspected of having procured the restoration of two Tories, Nottingham and Godolphin, to royal favour. Mary, who regarded him as a traitor, refers to him in one of her letters as 'mad, and his wife, who is madder, governs him.' But her own disloyalty to her father, forced upon her though it was by William, rendered her sceptical of the loyalty of others, even of those who had made her Queen. Revolution wounds if it does not kill the ennobling sentiment of loyalty to an hereditary King, and party spirit is a poor substitute for it. At this time party feeling was already strong amongst the leading men who surrounded Mary. The jobbing Carmarthen hated his Whig colleagues, and their hatred of him in return was intensified by the

* They were commonly called 'the nine kings.'

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jealousy with which they, the authors of the Revolution, saw a Tory placed at the head of affairs.

When for the first time Mary had to take a leading part in public affairs, she found the Treasury empty, and all trade at a standstill. She distrusted her advisers, and, being entirely inexperienced in the business of the State, she felt no confidence in her own powers. Her husband had previously allowed her no voice in the Government, and she had meekly acquiesced in his decision that public business did not lie within a woman's province. She had none of her husband's ambition, and had been quite contented with her life in Holland, where she had 'enjoyed the esteem of the inhabitants, and had led a life both suitable to her humour and, as she thought, not unacceptable to her God.*' It was no wish to be Queen that had brought her to England, but a sense of the obedience she owed her husband. Her mind was torn by conflicting wishes and interests. She felt to the fullest extent the duty she owed to James, both as her father and as lawful King of England, but her study of the Bible made her feel that her husband had a paramount claim to her obedience. She only ceased to deplore her father's misfortunes when she believed that he had countenanced the plot against her husband's life.†

Mary, as already pointed out, disliked the Churchills, but in all military matters she leant upon Marlborough, and his advice seems to have been as uniformly honest and straightforward as it was sound. She frequently mentions him in her letters to William without any apparently strong antipathy, though in one she says, 'I can never either trust or esteem him.†' Her heart, however, softened somewhat towards Sarah when Marlborough was starting for Cork, for, in a letter written at that time, she says to her husband: 'As little reason as I have to care for his wife, yet I

* These are her own words. *Memoirs of Mary II.*, by herself, edited by Doebuer.

† See Burnet, Book V., p. 55, for an account of this plot.

‡ *Memoirs* written by herself, edited by Doebuer.

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must pity her condition, having lain in but eight days; and I have great compassion for wives when their husbands go to fight.* Marlborough advised Mary to attend the Council often, to prevent, as far as possible, any one clique in it from acquiring a dangerous ascendancy. Her letters to William are most interesting. In one she says she had not even 'time to cry, which would a little ease my heart.' Her courage in all her difficulties was remarkable. When the French fleet was on the coast, she writes: 'I am so little afraid that I begin to fear I have not sense enough to apprehend the danger.' Indeed, her only fears were for his safety.

During William's absence in Ireland, Marlborough corresponded with him frequently. Sometimes he wrote to the King direct, at others he sent him messages in letters addressed to his own friends at army headquarters in the field. 'I pray God send him good success,' 'I hope God will bless his Majesty with a victory,' was the pervading note of all his letters, and without doubt his wishes were sincere.†

It is certain that there was at this time a serious Jacobite conspiracy on foot among the army officers in and near London. Letters were sent to Marlborough by Colonel Tollemache and others from the Low Countries, warning him not to trust those about him.‡ The air was full of disquieting rumours, some true, others false, and the City was thronged with conspirators.

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Book V., p. 128.

† Marlborough to Mr. George Clarke, Secretary for War in Ireland. Clarke MS. Correspondence, Trinity College, Dublin.

‡ F. O. State Papers, Flanders, No. 127, 1689-93.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

William lands in Belfast Lough—Defeats James near Drogheda—The pursuit feeble—James leaves for France—The Irish fight badly, except the Inniskilleners—Prince of Waldeck defeated at Fleurus.

WILLIAM, with a fleet of 280 transports and six ships of war, reached Carrickfergus on June 14, and forthwith began his march southwards to meet James, who was waiting for him at the head of his Irish and French forces. William's men were confident of success, and his heart was in the work before him. He set all ranks a good example by sharing their hardships, and when asked what wine he would have at his table during the approaching operations, his answer was, 'I intend to drink water with my men.' His army was about 36,000 strong, but it was largely composed of recently-raised levies.* During the advance southwards from Belfast, his great fleet of transports, escorted by only a very small fighting squadron, sailed in the same direction, keeping abreast of the army during his march. By this plan he avoided the great difficulty of land transport, for the troops were supplied from the ships. But although William's mind was thus relieved on the subject of supply, the danger to which his transports were exposed troubled him much. The French fleet was then superior to that of England, and might at any moment appear

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* Burnet.

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in St. George's Channel, as it should have done, to destroy the transports which were his only means of feeding this army.

He found James covering Dublin in a strong position behind the river Boyne, 'the ould Rubicon of the pale, and frontiere of the corn country.' James's army only numbered about 26,000 men, of which the 20,000 Irish were both badly disciplined and badly equipped. Lauzun, in writing of these Irish soldiers a couple of months after the battle, describes them as the finest men to be seen anywhere.* The backbone of James's army was, however, the French contingent of about 5,000 excellent soldiers, already mentioned as having landed at Cork with James the year before.

Fresh dangers by sea and land seemed to spring up daily around William, and he wisely felt that his best policy was to force James without delay to a pitched battle. A brilliant victory in Ireland might dishearten Lewis, and save England at least temporarily from the projected French invasion. His army was superior to that of his father-in-law in point of numbers, and also in fighting qualities. Schomberg, his most trusted General, looked grave when apprised of William's decision. He dwelt upon the strength of the enemy's position, reminded his master that a battle lost on the Boyne meant destruction to his cause in Ireland, and would probably be followed by a Jacobite rising in England under French auspices. But William's mind was made up, and nothing could move him from his determination. Habitually cautious, he paid no heed upon this occasion to the warning of his most trusted military adviser, believing that God would fight for his cause that day.

The memorable, and historically most important battle of the Boyne was the last occasion upon which two competitors for the Crown commanded in person. It was fought on Tuesday, July 1, in a lovely, smiling valley, the picturesque scenery of which adds greatly to the romantic

* Lauzun's letter of 3, 9, 1690, to Louvois; Ranke, vol. vi., p. 143.

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interest of the spot. The day was hot and clear; the serious fighting began at 10.45 a.m., and lasted only for about an hour and a half, though the battle dragged on for some hours longer. The Irish, outnumbered, fought badly, and, failing to profit by their strong position, soon broke, turned, and fled. The English pursuit stopped at nightfall near the defile of Naul, some ten miles from Oldbridge. Its slowness and want of vigour can only be accounted for by William's state of physical exhaustion, the result not only of his wound upon the previous day, but of his great exertions throughout every phase of the battle, which had told severely upon his usual activity. Had Schomberg not been killed, the pursuit would no doubt have been as keen as the battle had been vigorous and daring.* Seeing his Irish troops break and fly, James followed their example, and, escorted by some 200 disorderly Horse, made at full speed for Dublin, which he reached between nine and ten p.m., and passed the night in the Castle. Next morning he started again with a dozen companions for Kinsale, and there took ship for France.

In that country he spent the remainder of his ignoble life, despised by those who sheltered him, and execrated by the great bulk of the English people, whose liberties he had striven to crush, and whose religion he had sought to destroy.†

The battle of the Boyne is well known to Irishmen by the old song which contains these lines:

'From all who dare to tyrannize,
May heaven still defend us;
And should another James arise,
Another William send us!'

Voltaire remarks that, notwithstanding the valour displayed by the native Irish soldier in every age and in every

* Those immediately about William urged him to pursue vigorously; Story, p. 86, and 'History of the Blues,' p. 57.

† See the correspondence of the Duchess of Orleans, and also of Mme. de Sévigné for a French view of his conduct and character.

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quarter of Europe, he has never fought well at home. The events of 1689 and 1690 tend to corroborate that statement, but they do not justify the ungenerous words in which King James throws all the blame of his defeat upon the want of courage shown by his Irish troops.

In that very battle, and throughout all the actions and skirmishes of the Jacobite wars in Ireland, no troops fought more bravely or with better success for King William than did the uncouth, ill-clad 'Inniskilleners,' under their able English leader Colonel Wolseley. His roving, reckless, pillaging horsemen were everywhere, and the complete victory won by his Inniskillen troops the previous year at Newtown-Butler was the brilliant prelude to William's reconquest of Ireland.* But these descendants of British settlers were well officered and led by gentlemen, whilst the poor impulsive Celtic peasants who—as foot-soldiers—fought for James, though fully as brave, were badly disciplined and lacked efficient officers. The Irish Cavalry was officered by gentlemen and consequently fought much better than the Foot. The captains of the Irish Foot were but the butchers, tailors, and 'corner-boys' of their own towns and villages, who, ignorant of arms, neglected the welfare of their men, and sought only to make money out of them. Subsequently these very foot-soldiers, when led by Irish gentlemen in the French army, made their enemies—including the English—dread their fierce onslaught, and their reckless daring made the Irish Brigade famous throughout Europe.

It may be said that the battle of the Boyne, in firmly placing the Crown on William's head, decided the great question of the day, namely, whether Protestant democracy or Roman Catholic despotism was to dominate England, and through her the rest of Europe. James's life since the Restoration had been one long-continued effort to put the

* 'The Actions of the Inniskillen Men,' Story's 'Wars in Ireland,' Harris's 'Life of William III.,' Macaulay's 'History,' vol. iii., Address of the Inniskillen people to William and Mary.

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world's clock back, but he might as well have striven to stop the rising tide on the seashore as to arrest the spread of liberal opinions. William fought in the cause of progress, not because he greatly cared for it, but because the advancement of all that he did care for was involved in the success of Protestantism and of liberty.

The news of the naval defeat at Beachy Head and of Waldeck's overthrow at Fleurus reached Queen Mary at the time when she knew her husband was about to give battle to her father in Ireland. 'My heart is ready to burst. I can say nothing, but pray to God for you,' she wrote to William in her grief and anxiety. He had gone to Ireland against the advice of his Ministers. They dreaded his absence at a time when both England and Scotland urgently required the strong hand of a skilled and determined ruler. They implored him to return, for they distrusted one another and lived in continual fear of a French invasion.

During this time Caermarthen, Nottingham, and Marlborough worked together, forming a sort of inner council within the 'nine' appointed to advise the Queen. She consulted them more than she did the others, and told them what the King wrote to her on public affairs. Marlborough thought the army in England was much too weak at this crisis, and, in an interview with Mary, proposed that Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and some others might each be allowed to raise 1,200 men at their own charge, on the understanding that they were eventually to be repaid the money they expended. This offer, however, was not accepted.

In all that he did, Marlborough was warmly seconded by his stanch friend Admiral E. Russell, who, when a difference of opinion arose in council as to what captains should be promoted to flag rank, urged that George Churchill should be one of those selected. Marlborough pressed his brother's claims on Mary, whilst Caermarthen told her that, if she consented, the new Admiral would be called 'the flag by favour, as his brother is called the

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General of favour.' Other captains were recommended on the ground of seniority, and considering that only the year before George Churchill had been imprisoned by the House of Commons for malpractices with regard to convoy-money, it is not surprising that Mary postponed the selection until William's return.

In Flanders the Prince of Waldeck's antagonist was no longer the incompetent D'Humières, but the able Duke of Luxembourg. As usual, the French were first in the field, and outnumbered the Allied army. All the stores and money available in London had been applied to the use of the army in Ireland, where William was to command in person. The result was, that the English troops were late in joining Waldeck, owing to want of transport. Money, which was scarce in England, could only be had at a high rate of interest, and with Scotland in rebellion, Ireland in possession of James, an invasion of England threatened from the coast of Normandy, and the Jacobites almost defiant in their demeanour, William's government experienced great difficulty in obtaining the funds required for the war. Ten days previous to the victory at the Boyne, Waldeck was signally defeated at Fleurus before the English contingent had joined him. Waldeck had few of the qualities of a General. He was ignorant even of the strength of the army opposed to him. Had William not been so imbued with the idea that Princes alone should direct armies, he might have sent Marlborough to command in Flanders, instead of leaving him idle in London.

† 2. 1690.

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OUR NAVAL DEFEAT AT BEACHY HEAD.

England drained of troops for the Army in Ireland and for the contingent under Waldeck — Panic about invasion — Torrington ordered to fight, does so, and is beaten — James begs Lewis for troops to land in England with — Precautions taken against the threatened invasion — The French land and destroy Teignmouth.

IN order to furnish the stipulated contingent for the Allied army under the Prince of Waldeck, and to find the army required for service against James in Ireland, William had drained England of all his best troops, so that not more than about 7,000 indifferent soldiers remained at home to meet a possible French invasion.* The French navy was now so strong that even the combined fleets of England and Holland hesitated to engage in offensive operations. Invasion was in everybody's mouth, and the result was complete stagnation of business in London, where all but the Jacobites went nightly to bed in dread of finding French soldiers at their doors on the following morning. The nation's only hope was Torrington's Channel fleet, and it was not prepared for action. It alone, they thought, stood between them and invasion. The story of these events deserves to be well considered, since it is a common article of belief, and one that is held by some able men, that England can have nothing to dread so long as she has a strong fleet between her and France.†

* Dalrymple, Book V., 1690, p. 7 of Part II.

† See previous remarks upon this subject, vol. i., p. 273 and ii., p. 22.

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Some even go so far as to denounce all expenditure upon a home army as a wicked waste of public money. It is well to remind such that sea, wind, and weather are uncertain elements, upon which wise men may well hesitate to base calculations involving the safety of an empire. The accidents to which in the nature of things a fleet must always be exposed are so many and so appalling, and they are now greater than ever, that no master of the great theory of war—which is common to all fighting combinations, whether by sea or by land—would dream of committing the safety of a great European State solely to its navy. This is more than ever the case now that war-ships have grown to such immense proportions, have become so enormously costly, and require such a long time to build. Naval supremacy is undoubtedly now far more than ever the most precarious form of national strength.

Lord Torrington's fleet proved a broken reed. He was a strong Whig, but was extremely discontented because Russell had been preferred as the naval member of Mary's Council, and was disposed to object to all orders received from it. The French fleet, greatly superior in numbers to the combined fleets of England and Holland, appeared upon the English coast on June 20, before Torrington was ready for battle. He retired to Portsmouth for reinforcements, and by so doing redoubled the popular alarm, and raised the spirits of the Jacobites. Torrington did not want to risk his reputation by the ordeal of battle, and adduced numerous reasons why he should not fight. The Council met, and recognised the imminence of the national danger, both from within and from without. Believing in the traditional superiority of English ships and English sailors over those of France, no matter what might be the disparity in number of men and ships, the Council decided that Torrington must fight at all hazards, and positive orders to that effect were accordingly sent to him. Marlborough, in a letter of June 28, writes: 'Noe nuse of the fleets being yett ingaiged;' but two days later they met off

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Beachy Head, and the battle ended in a French victory, 'the most conspicuous single success the French have ever gained at sea over the English.* The Dutch Admiral behaved with a courage which put the English commander to shame. He engaged the enemy's ships at close quarters, whilst Torrington rendered him no help, alleging that the wind prevented him from doing so.† Two English and three Dutch ships of the line were sunk, and three—the French assert eleven—others, Dutch and English, had to be set on fire to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Mary wrote as follows to William about this defeat: 'I am more concerned for the honour of the nation than anything else; but I think it has pleased God to punish them justly, for they really talkt as if it were impossible they should be beaten, which looks too much like trusting in the arm of flesh. I pray God we may no more deserve the punishment.' Then, as now, the English trusted almost entirely to their first line, the fleet, for protection from invasion, and this defeat placed England, as any naval disaster in the Channel always will place her, at the mercy of the invader when she has no army capable of defending her shores.

It was well said of this battle in the news-letter of the day that 'The Dutch gott the honour, the French the advantage and the English the shame.' It destroyed for the time being our reputation as a great naval Power, and no man, it would seem, was ever sent to the Tower more deservedly than the vain, indolent and scheming Torrington. The French fleet rode triumphant in the Channel, but made nothing of a victory which seems to have taken Lewis XIV. and his Ministers so much by surprise that they

* 'The influence of sea-power upon history,' Captain Mahan, p. 187.

† Torrington was tried by court-martial on board the *Kent*, at Sheerness, $\frac{1}{2}$ 12, 1690. He was 'honourably acquitted,' but William thought his case so bad that he dismissed him from the navy and from all his public employments. He had been created Earl of Torrington for his services to William at the Revolution, and died an old man, $\frac{1}{2}$ 4, 1716.

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† 7, 1690.

were unprepared for the next natural move in the game—the invasion of England.

In a letter to the Secretary at War in Ireland, Marlborough thus describes the position of affairs upon receipt of the news of this defeat: July 6, 1690.—‘I thank you for yours of 28th of y^e last month with the order of Battails. Our unfortunate fleet is, we think, this night at the Gunfleet, and to-moroe, we believe, they will be att the buoy of the North, where Caer is taking for the fitting them out again. You will easily believe that we have a great number of pepell here that are very much alarmed, the French being now absolutely masters of the cost. We are afraid that they will attempt the burning of Deal and Dover, soe that the counsell has ordered Barkley’s Dragoons to march thether and with the Militia of that Countie to opoze any attempt. I hope the King is well again of his wound, for we must have no ill nuse from Ireland. Pray remember me to the Duke of Ormond and Kerke, and let them know that when I can send them good nuse they shall hear from me.’*

‡ 7, 1690.

Writing again on July 15, Marlborough refers to a letter received by Lord Nottingham from Colonel Tollemache reporting that Marshal d’Humières was collecting a large force, nominally with the intention of reinforcing the Duke of Luxembourg, but really destined for the invasion of England. Marlborough adds that a landing upon the south coast by D’Humières at the head of 18,000 Foot and 2,000 Horse was then a common topic of conversation amongst the disaffected party in London.

James, on his return to the French Court after his defeat at the Boyne, urged Lewis XIV. to avail himself of the advantages afforded by this French naval victory at Beachy Head. He pointed out that a French fleet in St. George’s Channel might prevent the return to England of William and his army, whilst another in the English

* Clarke MSS., Correspondence, T. C. D. This letter is endorsed as received July 12.

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Channel would similarly prevent the return home of the British contingent from Flanders. This would, James said, greatly facilitate the long-projected French invasion of these shores. The small army, under Marshal d’Humières, already referred to as being encamped near St. Omer, might now, he argued, be easily landed on the southern coast of England without fear of naval interruption, and with a certainty of easy work after landing, since the bulk of the British army was absent in Ireland, Scotland and Flanders. The invasion would, he said, be an easy operation, for no English ships dare show themselves in the Channel, and there were not more than about 10,000 soldiers available for the defence of London;* indeed, such a combination of chances in his favour might never occur again. So argued the poor exile in his interviews with the French King, and being an experienced Admiral, he thoroughly understood the naval position at the moment. There was without doubt at this time a large and influential party in England who longed to have their old King back again, and if 20,000 French troops under an able General had landed in either Kent or Sussex, as James recommended, they could certainly have marched to London and occupied it without serious opposition. He clearly saw that if De Tourville’s victorious fleet with an invading army would but anchor off Newhaven or Pevensey, London might in a week be in possession of the French, and he might be on the Throne again; and knowing the state of English public opinion, he felt that once again established at Whitehall he would be able to hold his own and drive out William. James begged the French King to lend him 10,000 troops, for if this chance were allowed to pass, the future, he said, held out no hope for him.†

* As a matter of fact there were not more than about 7,000 soldiers available.

† Letter from James of 19 8, 1690, in Mr. A. Morrison’s collection of autographs.

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London, with its throbbing life, was in abject terror. The dread of invasion—almost the worst calamity next to invasion itself—became general. Panic filled the land, the inhabitants of every hamlet between London and the coast of Sussex trembled as if the French horsemen were already at their doors, and even rival politicians became silent in the face of the appalling danger.

‡ 7, 1690. The Queen in Council sent orders to the Lieutenants of Counties bordering on the east and south coast to make every preparation. They were directed to call out the Militia Horse for one month, and to take care that they were duly paid. A small body of French troops landed on the south-western coast and burned Teignmouth with the ships anchored there. The alarm became general, abject despair and confusion reigned supreme in the capital, business came to a standstill, and the stocks fell. A camp for the Militia was formed at Torbay. All suspected persons in London were at once imprisoned, Lord Clarendon, the Queen's uncle, being amongst the number. In all quarters the warlike spirit of the English people showed itself, indeed, as grandly as it had ever done at any previous period of our history. But the educated gentry, who knew from personal experience or from books what war really was, had little hope that the ill-trained Militia and hastily enrolled yeomen could successfully contend with the regular troops of France. In times of peace the British citizen is apt to rail at the regular army, to draw invidious comparisons between its cost and the cost of the Militia and Volunteer forces, to extol the military excellence and value of the citizen soldiers, and to maintain that in them we possess an army sufficient in every respect for defensive purposes. But when war is at our doors, as it was after the battle of Beachy Head, those who are loudest in denouncing an expensive standing army are often the first to clamour for the regular troops whose maintenance they oppose in time of peace. As the great barrack-room ballad-maker has sung:

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'For it's Tommy this an' Tommy that, an'
"Chuck him out, the brute!"
But it's "saviour of his country" when the
Guns begin to shoot.*

At this juncture the danger was felt to be so imminent that, much as William required every soldier in Ireland, he deemed it necessary to send back three regiments of Horse and Dragoons and two of Foot.† The French fleet, however, displayed such lamentable want of enterprise that, having destroyed Teignmouth and ridden as triumphant masters of the Channel for some six weeks, it returned to Brest about the middle of August, to the intense relief of the nation, and especially of commercial London.

Most fortunately for England, no sufficiently large French army was at the moment available for the purpose of invasion, for the troops that had been collected near St. Omer under the ill-starred D'Humières were required to reinforce the army in Flanders. England was saved by the mistaken war policy of Lewis XIV. Instead of keeping an army of some twenty or thirty thousand men in readiness for the invasion of England in the event of a naval victory, he had allotted all his available troops to the Low Countries, where for the time being the operations were, and could only be, of secondary importance. Thus England, which for the time was the key to the general military position in Europe, could not be made to feel the full results of her defeat at sea. Lewis is not the only ruler or commander who has failed to accomplish the great aim of a war, through a mistaken estimate of the relative value of objects within his grasp. How often do we find that point neglected, the possession of which would secure all the rest, whilst others of secondary importance are attacked in due form, their capture leading to nothing decisive, even though the victory

* R. Kipling.

† These regiments were: First troop of Life Guards, Schomberg's Horse (now 7th Dragoon Guards), the Royal Dragoons, Trelawney's regiment of Foot (now the King's Own Lancaster), and Hastings' regiment (now the Somerset Light Infantry).

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may have been as complete as that gained by the French at Fleurus!

To James's intense mortification and sorrow, Lewis would not listen to his arguments in favour of an immediate descent upon the coast of England. James was right, Lewis was wrong. France has never since had such a favourable opportunity for the invasion of England, and may Heaven never grant her such another!

CHAPTER LX.

MARLBOROUGH PROPOSES TO TAKE CORK AND KINSALE.

News of the Battle of the Boyne a great relief to all England—William besieges Limerick—Marlbrough collects information about the Defences of Cork and Kinsale—Mary's Council reject his proposals, but Mary refers them to William, who approves of them.

THE Constitution under which we now live—the political outcome of the Revolution—was sealed by the victory of the Boyne. The news of the battle brought joy and comfort to the afflicted Queen Mary, and was hailed with transports of delight by all lovers of freedom. It was a real relief to the great mass of waverers and trimmers who, if James had won, would doubtless have sought to gain his favour by denouncing William's usurpation. It removed a load of care from Marlborough's mind, racked as it was daily with conflicting rumours from the seat of war. Compelled by his scruples to lead a tedious and inactive life in London, he knew that on the result of the coming battle depended his whole career, the safety of his property, and the future of his children.

William's original base of operations in Ireland had been Belfast Lough, for when he landed there, the only fortified places which he possessed in Ireland were Londonderry, Enniskillen and Carrickfergus. But one of the first consequences of the battle of the Boyne was to give him possession of Dublin, and a few days afterwards of Waterford also. To capture the ports of Cork, Kinsale, Limerick

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and Galway then became a matter of the first necessity. As long as they remained in Jacobite hands, they secured to Lewis XIV. a foothold in Ireland, and provided him with good harbours for his fleet, and a base from which his troops might operate in conjunction with Tyrconnel's army; whereas, if they fell into English hands, the French fleet would be practically cut off from all communication with the French and Irish forces in Munster and Connaught. Besides, as regarded the two last-named cities, they contained the remnant of that little French army which, having escaped from the Boyne, was still the core of James's military strength in Ireland.

William's army now advanced against Limerick, a city strong by its position, well fortified, and furnished with a large garrison. Marlborough took no direct part in the siege; I shall not, therefore, describe its stirring events.

Next in importance to Limerick were Cork and Kinsale, because their admirable harbours—easy of access—were at this time virtually French ports.

Marlborough, with his quick soldier's insight, at once perceived their military value, and proposed to attack them, for as James had left the kingdom, he no longer scrupled to take the field in William's cause. He had from the first attached special value to Cork, because of its splendid and capacious harbour, and had consequently taken every pains to inform himself of its natural position, the state of its defences, its garrison, military stores, provisions, etc. He had satisfied himself that in none of these respects was it in a condition to offer effectual resistance to a strong and resolute attack. He had ascertained that although the works lately erected under French direction had added much to the strength of the place, there were neighbouring positions from which all the works could be seen into. He knew that the garrison consisted of 5,000 troops, exclusively Irish, and that whilst amply supplied with food, the store of powder was quite inadequate for a prolonged defence. The French fleet

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was already being dismantled preparatory to lying-up for the winter, and as England had consequently nothing to dread from invasion for the remainder of the year, the troops which, during the summer, had been kept in readiness for that contingency were now available for service in Ireland. The English fleet was being rapidly refitted after its defeat at Beachy Head, and would soon be able to show itself once more in the Channel. Enough ships of war were already at sea to convoy a fleet of transports to Cork, and there would be no difficulty in hiring a sufficient number of merchantmen to carry some five or six thousand troops. A strong squadron was also ready to cruise on the Irish coast, and prevent the landing of reinforcements or supplies from France.

The quick perception of every opportunity afforded by an enemy was an instinct with Marlborough, and his study of the general position convinced him that Cork offered a golden opportunity for a telling blow upon the allied French and Irish cause in Ireland. To assert, as some of Marlborough's enemies have done, that he planned the whole scheme of operations solely with a view to his own advantage, is the wildest of absurd libels. With as much accuracy might the same be said of Wellington's campaign of 1815, and, indeed, of every military operation carried out by the man who planned it.* With all public men, the Minister as well as the Commander, few can or ever try, in their scheme or plan for any undertaking, to distinguish between the benefits its successful issue will confer upon the State, and the advantage or renown it will secure to them personally.

Early in August he laid his scheme before the Council ⁷ 8. 1690. of Nine, pointing out how necessary it was to obtain possession of Cork and Kinsale harbours. Lewis, he urged, if

* Ralph makes this ridiculous assertion. He says that Marlborough saw in this campaign a chance of acting on his own judgment without having over him any of those Dutch Generals to whom William usually gave every independent command.

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left in undisturbed possession of those places for the winter, would make them strong and difficult to retake. He pressed the fact upon his colleagues, that the French King was making great preparations to open the next campaign in Ireland with unusual force. The proposal was discussed by the Council, but with the exceptions of Lord Nottingham and Marlborough's close friend, Admiral Russell, all were opposed to it. Upon subjects of this nature the Council was usually divided into two opposing factions, one led by Caermarthen, the Tory Lord President, the other by Marlborough and Russell. Though the majority had no great liking for Marlborough, they hated William's Dutch officers, and were not, therefore, indisposed to raise up a military rival to these foreigners; but William had desired his wife to rely for advice chiefly upon Caermarthen, who detested Marlborough. The plan was explained to the Queen by Nottingham and Marlborough, and the latter dwelt upon the fact that it would only require 5,000 Foot from England, who could now be safely spared. The five battalions brought back from Holland, and the two that had come from Ireland when invasion seemed imminent, together with a battalion of Marines, would, he said, furnish the numbers required. Marlborough told the Queen that, as the fleet was about to reappear in the Channel, he would stake his reputation as a soldier upon the success of the undertaking. But all that he could say was to little purpose. Upon great military and naval questions, councils composed wholly or mainly of civilians, are generally either rash or over-cautious. It is their habit to be especially prejudiced against an enterprise advocated by the man whose duty it will be to carry it out. They are apt to suspect him of personal aims, and of being more influenced by the desire for opportunities of distinction, than by purely public-spirited and patriotic motives. It is only when a master spirit like that of Pitt rules the Cabinet, that great naval and military success may be expected; for in the absence of the con-

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trolling hand to direct the policy and to counteract the inherent weakness and indecision of a council, its naval and military projects too often end in failure. In this instance, notwithstanding Marlborough's great persuasive powers, the Council could not be brought to recognize the soundness of his views, and much less to acquiesce in his proposals. Caermarthen strove to frighten the Queen by appealing to her dread of a French invasion, and by dwelling upon the dangers of withdrawing troops at such a moment from England. Mary, though she had no great regard for Marlborough, felt that upon such a point the advice of the foremost soldier in England, backed up as he was by her most distinguished Admiral, should at least be referred to the King.* An express was accordingly sent to William, and the messenger also carried a letter from Marlborough in which he gave full details of his plans.

The King's Dutch officers, ever anxious to foster the prejudice he had already conceived against the employment of English Generals in independent commands, urged him to withhold his consent, and assured him that the reduction of Cork alone would entail a siege of at least six weeks' duration. He knew himself, they said, how English soldiers suffered from the wet and cold of Irish weather, and that such a siege must extend into the inclement season, which had already told severely upon them in the trenches before Limerick. But William, being a soldier, was thoroughly able to comprehend the advantages which the proposed scheme promised. Situated as he then was, he knew that the possession of Cork and Kinsale would be an inestimable advantage to him both morally and materially; in fact, he fully approved of the undertaking, and thereupon all further opposition to it ended. But the feeling in Mary's Council against the project was

* 'As I had finished this, Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. comes to tell me of a project they have which I think Lord Marl. is to write to you, for which reason an express is sent.'—Queen Mary to William, the 7th 8, 1690. See Dalrymple, Appendix to Book V.

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still strong, and bad indeed would it have been for its advocates had any untoward accident made it a failure.*

William in his heart might have wished to give the command to one of his own countrymen, but he was already aware that his partiality for foreign officers had much increased his unpopularity. He thought it best, therefore, to entrust it to the English General who had not only planned and proposed the enterprise, but had guaranteed its success.†

* Mary writes to William, 2^d 8, 1690: 'If the wind continues fair, I hope this business will succeed; though I find, if it do not, those who have advised it will have an ill time, all except Lord Nott. being very much against it, Lord President only complying because it is your order, but not liking it, and wondering England should be so exposed, thinking it too great a hazard.'—Dalrymple, Appendix to Book V.

† Ralph, vol. ii., p. 242.

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MARLBOROUGH'S EXPEDITIONARY FORCE EMBARKS AT
PORTSMOUTH.

Preparations for the siege of Cork and Kinsale — Great secrecy maintained as to the destination of the Fleet and transports— Lady Marlborough delivered of her last child — Marlborough embarks at Portsmouth.

THE news that William had selected Marlborough for an independent command gave general satisfaction in England. Under his direction preparations for the equipment and victualling of the expeditionary force were now pushed on apace. The Tower and the ordnance stores at Portsmouth and Plymouth were ransacked for guns, ammunition, tents, and military material of all sorts. The five battalions from Holland, still encamped on Blackheath, were ordered to Portsmouth for embarkation.* Ireland was at that time looked upon as a foreign country, with a climate that was believed to be trying and injurious to the health of English soldiers. The utmost precautions were taken to keep the destination of the troops a profound secret; for, as Caermarthen justly said, Marlborough's best chance lay in secrecy. False information as to the destination of the intended expedition was designedly spread abroad. In a letter from Mr. Blaithwayt, the Secretary for War, to Sir George Clarke, the Secretary at War for Ireland, he says: 3^d 8, 1690. 'I have nothing to entertain you with except the two

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* Ralph, vol. ii., p. 242.

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2^d 8, 1690.2^d 8, 1690.2^d 8, 1690.

enclosed papers. The one shows you the movement of eight regiments of Foot, which are designed to be embarked on the fleet at Portsmouth for some revenge upon the French for our late disgrace.* Two days later he writes that Marlborough is to command these troops, to which 'ye two marine regiments' have been added, but still does not tell the Irish Secretary their real destination, possibly not having been yet admitted into the secret himself. Two days later Marlborough writes from London to 'Mr. Cleark, Secritarie att Warre,' saying: 'I goe to-moroe for Portehmouth to Embarque my selfe on board the Ffleet, soe that you need not writt to me till the end of the next month. Pray give the enclosed to Mr. Connisby.† By that date the secret had evidently been communicated to Clarke, then with Ginkel's headquarters in Tipperary, where he received a list of the stores despatched with the big mortars sent from Plymouth to Waterford. It is interesting to note, as giving an idea of the extent to which 'hand granados' were then used, that 12,931 were amongst the stores sent upon that occasion. A few sets of back and breast pieces, with pot helmets, were also sent for 'harquebussers,' some being certified as 'musket' and others as 'carbin proof.‡'

Even the Under Secretaries in the Government were not told the real destination of the expedition. As late as August 26 it was debated in Council whether the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty should be admitted into the secret, and it was then decided that they should not. In a letter of the same date the Paymaster-General tells Sir G. Clarke that the destination of the expedition is unknown, 'but we all hope we will sufficiently revenge the burning of Tigmouth' (*sic*). All that was known was, that

* Clarke Correspondence, Trin. Coll., Dublin.

† *Ibid.* The letter is endorsed 'Rect. at Tipperary, Sept. 7.' The seal is still on this letter unbroken. It is the Churchill arms, unquartered, but surmounted by an earl's coronet.

‡ Clarke Correspondence, Trin. Coll., Dublin.

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orders had been sent to victual the fleet for forty days, and that the Queen had received a letter from the King ordering the embarkation of eight battalions of Foot and two of Marines, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough.*

Luttrell says: 'No one knows the design; neither 17 8, 1690. Admiral nor General are to open their orders till they are several leagues at sea. They are paid off their arrears till end of September.' The public had not yet been let into the secret, for on September 4, Clarke is told by an intimate friend as a piece of news: 'I doubt not but you have been 18 9, 1690. told of Lord Marlborough's being shifted with several regiments upon some extraordinary enterprise; but what it is we are all left to guess, for nobody does pretend to know. Those who fancy themselves wisest believe it is to expedite your work in Ireland.† Although the secret was kept in 18 9, 1690. England, it was known in Ireland early in September. On

* These regiments were: Churchill's, now the Buffs; Trelawney's, now the King's Own Lancaster Regiment; the Earl of Marlborough's, now the Royal Fusiliers; the Princess Anne's, or Beaumont's, now the Liverpool Regiment; Colonel Hastings', now the Somerset Light Infantry; Colonel Hales', converted into Marines in 1694, and afterwards disbanded; Sir David Collier's, placed on Scotch establishment 11, 3, 1694, and afterwards disbanded; Colonel Fitzpatrick's, afterwards disbanded in the West Indies about 1700; Earl of Torrington's Marines, and six companies of Earl of Pembroke's Marines, both afterwards disbanded in August, 1698. There were also, under the command of Major Johnston, 100 men of the Marquis of Winchester's regiment, and 200 of the Earl of Monmouth's regiment. Both of these regiments were disbanded in 1698. The whole force embarked made up a total of between 5,000 and 6,000 men. In our days of monster guns it is curious to note the small size of the following pieces which constituted the siege train sent from the Tower: Ten deniculverins, twelve drakes, two three-pounders, and some mortars. Marlborough, however, depended upon having the use of some of the big guns on board the fleet which convoyed him to Cork. A large quantity of siege materials was also ordered. Captain Brown as engineer, Captain English as firemaster, and Captain Martyr as master gunner, together with several bombardiers and other gunners, were embarked with the siege train.

† This letter from Sir Walter Clarges, Bart., was received at Cashel September 24.

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the 9th of that month orders were sent from Dublin to the ports between it and Youghal desiring their Governours to give General Ginkel the earliest possible news of the fleet's arrival on the coast.* They were also to let Marlborough know what plans had been arranged for the despatch of troops to help him in his difficult enterprise, 'which certainly would be the luckiest thing in the world could it be accomplished.'†

The following secret orders were sent to Marlborough: 'MARIE R.—We do hereby require you to repair on board of our fleete and to endeavour wth the forces under your command to reduce the townes of Corke and Kinsale in Our Kingdom of Ireland to Our obedience by attacking those places in such manner as you think fitt or by granting such termes and conditions to them as you shall judge proper and expedient for our Service in case of their Surrender. And you are to leave such Garrisons in those Places respectively as shall be requisite and to returne wth the rest of Our Forces into England; giving Us an account from time to time of Your Proceedings.—Given at Our Court at Whitehall this 25th of August, in the second year of our Reign 1690.—By her Maties command, NOTTINGHAM.'

Whilst in the midst of his preparation for this expedition, 48 8, 1690. his wife was safely delivered of her last child—a son—who lived only two years. Her great friend, Lady Fitzharding, together with Lord Dorset and Admiral Russell, were the child's godparents, but the christening did not take place till nearly a year later, when the Queen gave a present of a silver-gilt salver, cup, and cover.‡ In Sarah's will, made the day before this son Charles was born, she refers to him as 'the child I now goe with.'

26-8, 1690. Marlborough set out for Portsmouth a week after his

* Harris's 'Life of William III.,' p. 291.

† Clarke Correspondence, letter from Sir Thomas, afterwards Earl Coningsby, who was Paymaster-General of the Forces in Ireland under William III.

‡ The present altogether weighed 125 ounces.—Lord Chamberlain's plate-books.

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wife's lying-in. He was accompanied by gentlemen volunteers in search of honour, amongst whom were Lord Colchester, Colonel Mathews, and the Duke of Grafton. The latter, having fallen into disfavour with William, was anxious to prove his loyalty to the King and to the principles of the Revolution. Dispossessed by James at Salisbury of his command of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, he had been reinstated by William. He subsequently committed what William regarded as a high crime in voting for a regency when the settlement of the Crown was discussed in Parliament. He was further suspected of intriguing with the exiled James and his party, and when his regiment—which was suspected of Jacobite sympathies—was ordered to Ireland, William took the command from him. As an illegitimate son of Charles II., any line which he might take antagonistic to William's interests was a matter of some consequence—a fact which Monmouth's rebellion had demonstrated clearly enough. Latterly, however, he had exhibited so strong a taste for debauchery that William felt that he had nothing to dread from him.* Hence his appointment to command a ship of seventy guns, which was named after him, and in which he had taken part at the battle of Beachy Head two months before.†

The embarkation of the expeditionary force was long delayed, owing to the difficulty of hiring an adequate number of transports. This delay was extremely irritating to Marlborough, for every day at that season of the year was a matter of consequence. Only a short time remained before the winter would render siege operations impracticable, and to see the precious weeks frittered away in half-hearted attempts to supply ships for his little army was trying even to Marlborough's equable temper. It would seem that the Admiralty were somewhat nettled at being kept in ignorance of the destination of the fleet and the real objects of the expedition.

* Spencer House Papers.

† Her crew was 440 men.

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Marlborough wrote the following letter to his wife on the day after his arrival at Portsmouth:

'The regiments are all here, but as yet no more of the fleet; but I believe to-morrow morning we shall have them, and then I shall lose no time in shipping off the men, so that I may be the sooner back again to you whom I love above my own life; and if you are just to me you will then believe that I have no pleasure in this world equal to that of my thinking that you love me. As ambitious as you sometimes think me, I do assure you I would not live in this place to be emperor of it. I shall have no true satisfaction till I see you again; therefore if you have kindness for me you will have care of your dear self. I have desired my Lord Nottingham to write to me before this place, so that I beg you will take that opportunity of giving me the pleasure of hearing from you, which at this distance is the greatest blessing I am capable of having. Farewell; I am, that I ever shall be, entirely yours, MARLBOROUGH.—Portsmouth, August 27, 1690.*

²⁵/₂₆ 8, 1690. At length the transports and men-of-war were ready, and on August 30 the troops embarked, Marlborough going on board the Duke of Grafton's ship.†

Writing that same day from London, Mr. Blaithwayt informs Clarke of this embarkation; he mentions that during the march to Portsmouth a considerable number of Beaumont's regiment had deserted. Strong westerly winds and thick rainy weather detained the fleet at Spithead, and it was not until September 17 that all at last got to sea.

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

† The warrants to the Earl of 'Marlboro to embark and take command of eight regiments on board the fleet at Spithead,' and 'to the Admiralty for disembarking such men as my Lord Marlborough shall appoint,' are dated Whitehall, 25, 8, 1690. See 'Military Entry Books,' vol. i., p. 149, Rolls House.

CHAPTER LXII.

MARLBOROUGH SAILS FOR CORK.

Lauzun and his Army quit Ireland—Marlborough's correspondence with Ginkel—The transports anchor in Cork Harbour—Dean Davies sent to Marlborough to help him by his local information.

THE siege of Limerick had been pressed forward with all possible speed by William, for bad weather had already set in, and the health of his troops had begun to suffer. The assault, successful at first, having in the end been repulsed, he wisely deemed it best to raise the siege, and to fall back upon Tipperary. The taking of Limerick was thus necessarily postponed to the following year, a result which cast a gloom over his prospects in Ireland. Meantime, his presence was urgently required in London, so, quitting his camp at Tipperary early on the morning of Friday, September 5, he reached Kensington Palace on the following Wednesday, an unusually quick journey at that period.

William's policy throughout was to deal leniently with the defeated Irish, and his treatment of them after the battle of the Boyne was in marked contrast to that of Cromwell on like occasions. William had no religious bigotry in his disposition, and the unjust enactments passed in his reign against the Irish Roman Catholics were not in accordance with his views or wishes, but were forced upon him by the Protestant intolerance of the Whig faction. His departure for England immediately after the repulse at Limerick raised the drooping hopes of James's adherents in Ireland; but ere many days had passed, rumours were

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abroad of an intended expedition from England against Cork and Kinsale. It was known in Ireland that Marlborough, with a considerable military and naval force, was waiting at Portsmouth for a fair wind to sail under secret orders, and it was generally believed by the French in Galway that Cork was his destination. The garrison of Galway became much excited at this prospect, and Tyrconnel, now crippled with gout and broken both in mind and body, started at once for France, thinking it high time to join his master at St. Germaines.* Count Lauzun, who commanded the French army in Ireland, became anxious about his communications with Brest, which the arrival of Marlborough's fleet off the Irish coast would seriously threaten. He soon came to the conclusion that it would be best to avoid this danger by a prompt retreat, and accordingly he and his army, to the delight of every man in it, embarked for France early in September. Montesquieu says the French officers sent to Ireland had but three things in their heads: to arrive there, to fight, and to get home again as quickly as possible. Lauzun took with him the field train which he had brought from France, but in the hurry of his departure he left behind many of his sick in a condition of extreme misery.†

This was the first-fruit of Marlborough's projected expedition. The only formidable troops on James's side in Ireland were got rid of, proving how wise and far-seeing the English General was when he urged his plans upon Mary and the Council. The mere rumour that Cork was about to be attacked by an army coming from Portsmouth sufficed to clear Ireland of the French contingent. The whole war had been marked by a bitter animosity between the French and Irish soldiers, but when the former quitted

* A letter of 27.7, 1690, in the Clarke Correspondence, says that a man lately from Limerick reports, *inter alia*, that 'Madme. Tyrconnel et plusieurs autres Dames sont passées en France.'

† Smith's 'Cork,' vol. ii., p. 201; 'An Impartial Account,' etc., p. 136.

Ireland all hope for the success of the Jacobite cause in that country departed with them.

Judging by the letters of several officers, much discontent appears to have existed at this time in the English camps, for though the troops were constantly harassed, the foreign commanders accomplished nothing. The Governour of Waterford, writing to Sir George Clarke, says: 12 9, 1690. 'If my Lord Marlborough was come, there might be hopes of luck which would end the campayne very well.* Four days afterwards he reports to Ginkel's headquarters that three storeships had just arrived from Plymouth, two of them 'with a great quantity of powder, three mortars, and everything proper for the war; the other ship is laden with wine and all sorts of provisions for sale.'

As soon as William's intended return became known in London, orders were sent to Marlborough desiring him to postpone his departure pending the King's arrival. But although the fleet did not weigh anchor till a week after the King's return to Kensington, he did not see Marlborough before the departure of the expeditionary force for Cork.

There would seem to have been some little friction between the naval and military commanders with regard to the delay in starting. We find Marlborough writing 'from on board the *Grafton*' to 'the Admiralls of their 12 9, 1690. Majeste's fleet' to inquire whether they meant to sail that evening or the next day. In the hope of hurrying them, he said that the King had ordered him to send him an express 'when we sail from St. Ellins. I must alsoe putt you in mind of a store shipe that is att Plimouth, soe that if you will order a man of warre thether, I will send in her Capt. Brown' (his engineer officer), 'soe that he may see that all the stores that we expect are on board.'†

The wind being at last fair, the English and Dutch fleet, with the hired transports, in all eighty ships, great and

* Clarke Correspondence: Colonel Brewer to Clarke.

† Mr. Alfred Morrison's collection of autograph letters.

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small, sailed from Portsmouth on September 17. By five p.m. it was clear of St. Helen's, standing to the westward with a north-east breeze. Its destination was still unknown, but although it was said to be the coast of Normandy, London had already begun to suspect its real object.* Until, however, it was actually proclaimed in London that Marlborough had landed near Cork, there was no certainty as to what his orders really were. The notion that he was to attack some point on the coast of Normandy in retaliation for the burning of Teignmouth had been sedulously fostered by the Queen in Council, and the rumour caused so much uneasiness in Paris that when Lewis first heard that a powerful English fleet, with a considerable body of troops, had sailed westward, he became seriously alarmed for the safety of Brest, Rochelle, and other ports in the Channel. In fact, he seems to have fallen readily into the trap set for him.†

‡ 9, 1690. As soon as the fleet had passed the Isle of Wight, Marlborough sent 'a fly-boat' in advance to Waterford to inform the authorities in Ireland that he hoped to be off Cork in a few days. He says: 'We are'—at 3 p.m., September 17—'now clear of the Isle of Wight, with a fair wind, which, if it continues, I hope in a few days will carry us to Cork.' By order of the King, he did the same when he cleared the Land's End. He also wrote to Count Solmes, who he believed was still the Commander of the Forces in Ireland, but, as a matter of fact, the Count had already started for England, leaving General Ginkel in supreme command.‡ Ginkel was a commander of no military attainments, but his pleasing manners made him a general favourite.

§ 9, 1690. Marlborough's letter to Count Solmes is dated, 'From

* Luttrell's Diary, 19, 9, 1690.

† *Ibid.*, 21, 9, 1690.

‡ When Ginkel replaced Solmes, the next senior officer was the Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the Foot; the next to him was De Schravemor, who commanded the Horse. The Major-Generals, according to order of seniority, were Mackay, the Marquis de Rouvigny (a French Protestant refugee), Tollemache, and Tettau, the Dane.

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on board their Majesties' Fleet.' He says the King had ordered him to inform the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland as soon as he passed Land's End, so that troops might be sent to join him and assist 'to attack Cork and Kinsale.' He mentions the fact that his soldiers were sickly, from their three weeks' detention on board ship previous to sailing. It was his intention, he continued, to land on the Kinsale side of Cork Harbour, at a place called Cross Haven, or else at West Passage, both places being 'within the harbour.' He adds: 'The King desires you would send Colonel Villiers to me, that I might know what progress he has made in his correspondence in Kingsale.' From this it is evident that he had already taken measures to obtain secret information of the enemy's doings—a matter to which, in common with every other good General, he invariably attended with the utmost care. He also asks that Sir John Lanier and Major-General Kirke should be sent with the reinforcements coming to join him. 'You will pardon the liberty I take in begging this favour, since there is nobody more desirous of receiving your commands, nor shall with more punctuality observe them than your, etc., etc., MARLBOROUGH.' He was always a bad sailor, and upon this occasion suffered much. He adds in a postscript to the above letter: 'The sea is so rough and I am so sick that I am affrayed you can hardly read what I have writt, so that I beg leave to refer to the bearer.* By the same messenger he sent a letter 'to the Principall officers of their Majesties' Ordnance at Waterford,' conveying the King's orders that he was to have whatever military stores he might require. He requested that all available pick-axes, shovels, three-inch planks, wool-sacks and sand-bags should be sent to him at Cork, and that an officer might be sent in charge of them. A letter from Waterford reports that eight big guns had just been shipped there for despatch to Cork, and in another it is stated that, 'We have horse shoose here to supply Mons. Schravemor with as many as

* Clarke MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin.

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he wants.' In the operations near Mallow, that officer's horses had lost many shoes in the deep muddy roads of the neighbourhood, and in acknowledging their receipt he says, 'I think you have a great deal of care of the cavalry, as to send us horse-shoes without nails.*'

21-22, 1690. On Monday, 'about one o'clock, a messenger' is sent from Waterford to tell the Irish 'Secretary at War' that a large fleet is working for Cork, and that he (the Governour) is about to start for it with a letter to Marlborough from Count Solmes. It may be assumed that this letter was merely an intimation of his departure for England, and of his having handed over the command in Ireland to General Ginkel.

22-23, 1690. Ginkel, on receipt of Marlborough's letter to Count Solmes, at once wrote to say that he had opened it, as he had succeeded to the chief command, and that he had been for some time anxiously expecting Marlborough's arrival. He hoped that General Schravemor had already joined him before Cork with 900 Horse and 300 Dragoons;† and added that he had also ordered between three and four thousand Foot to meet him there. If Sir J. Lanier and General Kirke 'were in these parts, your Lordship might be sure of a very willing' consent on his part, but they were both together, with all the English troops, 'about the Shannon, observing the motions of the enemy, who still remain in a body,' and 'intend an incursion into our quarters, so that it is impossible for them to wayte upon your Lordship. But the Duke of Wirtemberg having expressed a great desire to be engaged in this affair, I could not refuse his Grace my consent, which I the more easily agreed to, because I am sure he will make no difficulty in the point of command. With this I send your Lordship an account of the Ammunition and Stores which will come to you by sea from Waterford.' He informs him also that 'Villiers is already with Count Schravemor,' that the army contractor has been ordered to

* Clarke Correspondence.

† Two hundred Dragoons only were sent with Schravemor.

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supply his troops with bread, and that he wished he could be a spectator of the success which he had no doubt would attend him. 'But the Irish threatening every hour to break in upon us and attempt Dublin and the more northern Quarters, obliges me to continue hereabouts, with that very small number of men I have left myself that I may in some measure do something and be able further to help your Lordship.' (Signed) BAR. DE GHINKEL.*

This was a strictly truthful statement as far as it went, but he did not tell Marlborough that he had deliberately sent away Lanier, Kirke, and the English troops to take up winter quarters in the King's and Queen's Counties on the 13th 9, 1690. very day on which he had despatched Schravemor and Tettau with a number of foreign troops to join Marlborough.† He knew that, in order to make the capture of Cork and Kinsale a certainty, the King had ordered Solmes to send Marlborough all the troops he could spare, yet he had deliberately selected these foreign mercenaries for this service in preference to the equally available British regiments. He was evidently determined that Marlborough should not be exclusively surrounded by English officers and English troops, and that the foreign Generals and their soldiers should share in the success which he clearly foresaw that Marlborough was about to obtain. Were Marlborough to achieve any fresh military reputation without the assistance and co-operation of the foreign officers, it would, he feared, give the successful English General a position and an influence in the army that might gravely imperil their personal interests at Court. A victory won by him at the head of British troops alone would jeopardize their possession of the high military posts which they regarded as their exclusive right. Notwithstanding his disclaimer on the part of the Duke of Wirtemberg of any pretensions to the

* Clarke MS. Correspondence.

† See a very interesting diary of these events in 'Villare Hibernicum, being an Exact Account,' etc., by W. Griffiths, Esq.; London, 1690.

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chief command, it is tolerably certain that Ginkel was aware of his intention to claim that position in virtue of his royal descent. It was a point upon which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, it is absurd to suppose that the Commander-in-Chief had not informed himself, unless, indeed, from having some indirect means of knowing the Duke's intentions, he had purposely avoided asking him.

²¹⁻²⁶, 1690. The fleet carrying Marlborough's little army made the land near the strikingly beautiful entrance to Cork harbour on the evening of Saturday, September 20, and lay-to for the night. At daybreak on the following morning it stood-in for the mouth of the harbour, which was protected by a battery of eight guns at Prince Rupert's Tower, which, remodelled and enlarged, is now known as Fort Carlisle. From these guns the enemy opened a brisk fire on the ships as they came within range, but two frigates soon silenced them with their broadsides, and a volunteer party of sturdy soldiers sent ashore, quickly put their garrisons to flight. About noon the fleet anchored within the harbour, for the pilots would not take it further up on an ebb tide with scarcely any wind to help them.* It anchored for the night in waters where many a hostile flotilla had in former times found shelter from a stormy ocean without; and not far off, on the western shore of the harbour, was the estuary, up whose winding course Drake successfully hid his squadron from the pursuing Spaniards.

Marlborough forthwith despatched messengers to Schravemor and Tettau, desiring them to join him at Cork without delay. He knew that they were at Mallow, having left Ginkel's camp at Tipperary a week before with 900 Horse, 200 Dragoons, and two battalions of Danes.† Sarsfield

* 'A full and true Relation of the taking of Corke,' etc., in the British Museum. Also the 'Villare Hibernicum,' and Mr. Crofton Croker's account of the siege.

† Luttrell says in his last entry for March, 1690, that the native Irish had a superstitious horror of the Danes, by whom, an old

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was at Banahar Bridge with a force of three field-pieces and some 5,000 Irish of all arms.* His reason for being there is not very clear, but as there was a great scarcity of forage in Connaught, it was generally thought that he had merely taken up this new position for the sake of his horses.

Upon receipt of these orders, Schravemor and Tettau set ²³⁻²⁶, 1690. out for Cork, and the day after the Duke of Wirtemberg, with detachments from the Huguenot and Dutch regiments, marched from Cashel. In all, the Foot who joined Marlborough at Cork numbered about 4,000. There was not an Englishman amongst them, so determined was Ginkel to surround Marlborough with foreigners.

Marlborough had ordered the ships with his siege-guns, stores, ammunition, etc., to make for Waterford, and upon his arrival at Cork they were to join him there. He had sent Lieutenant Turner with these ships, desiring him upon reaching Waterford to proceed to army headquarters at Cashel, and explain the position to the Commander of the ²³ ²⁶, 1690. Forces. When Turner had executed these orders, Ginkel sent him on with a small escort of Horse to meet Marlborough at Cork. He also sent with him Dr. R. Davies, Dean of Ross, who, knowing the country round Cork thoroughly well, would, he thought, be of great use to Marlborough during the campaign.†

prophecy asserted, the Irish would eventually be destroyed. So strong was this dread of the Danes that James II. made it penal to assert they had landed with William in Ireland that year.

* *London Gazette*, No. 2,596 of 1690.

† His diary of the siege, which is very interesting, is given in vol. lxviii. of Camden Papers. Driven from Cork by the cruel oppression to which the Protestants had there been subjected, he had returned to Ireland as chaplain to Schomberg's regiment of Horse, now the 7th Dragoon Guards. He was known as an astrologer, as well as the author of several controversial works which made him unpopular amongst the Roman Catholics, one of whom libelled him thus:

'Now the question I crave is,
What mean those three letters beside Dr. Dean Davies?
I'll answer you twice, Dark Divinity Dabbler,
May the Devil Damn Doubly this Blockhead and Babbler.'

CHAPTER LXIII.

CORK AND ITS DEFENCES.

'The spreading Lee, that like an island fair,
Encloseth Cork with his divided flood.'

'Faerie Queen,' Cant. ii., Book iv.

Description of the City of Cork.

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THE ancient city of Cork had been a thriving commercial centre until Tyrconnel stationed an Irish garrison there. The trade of the place was entirely in the hands of the Protestant settlers, of whom some had amassed considerable fortunes, which, in common with many of their co-religionists throughout the country, they had sent to England for safe keeping at the beginning of the troubled times which Tyrconnel's anti-English rule had brought upon them. Much wealth must still have remained, however, in the city, for we read that Mr. Boileau, the French Governour appointed by James II., sent home money and goods to the supposed value of £30,000, which he had robbed from the rich Protestant traders during his short period of office.* In 1689, as soon as it became known in Cork that James had sailed for Ireland, some 140 of these settlers—Irish in all but race—fled to Bristol, and soon afterwards whole colonies of pillaged Protestants from all parts of Ireland were to be seen in English cities, notably

* Dean Davies's Journal, vol. lxxviii. of Camden Society; MacCarthy's 'History of Cork,' p. 53.



ROCHE'S CASTLE AND TOLL BAR AND THE SHIP GATE CORK. 1690.

FROM A SKETCH BY J. H. P. & CO. 1834.

LONDON, RICHARD BENTLEY & SON, 1834.

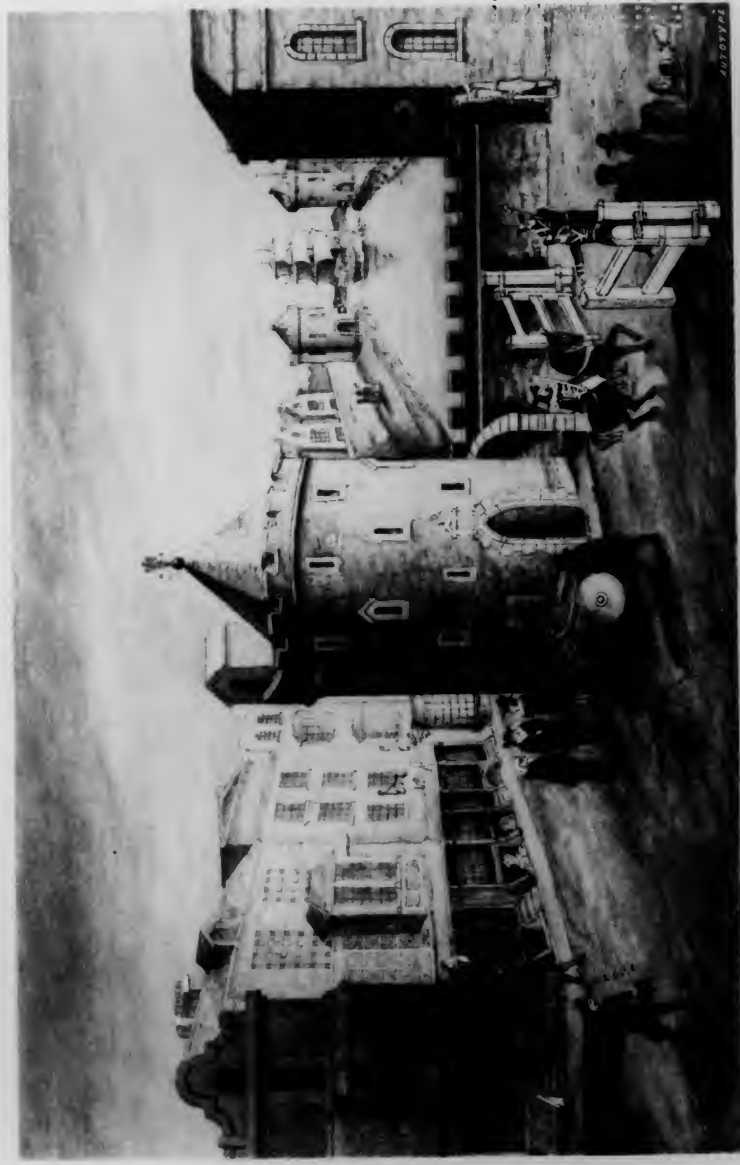
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ROCHE'S CASTLE AND TOLL BAR, AND THE SHIP GATE. CORK, 1690.

FROM A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE.

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ROCHE'S CASTLE AND TOLL BAR, AND THE SHIP GATE, CORK, 1890.

FROM A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE.

LONDON: PUBLISHED BY BEN LEE & SON, 1894.

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in London. There was, in fact, a general exodus of the well-to-do Protestant families, who dreaded a repetition of the massacres of 1641, or the risk of being handed over to be governed by the priest-ridden criminals who had planned, or at least acquiesced in, those atrocities.

With them all that was best in Ireland departed, for they represented whatever civilization, learning, capital, and industry was to be found in the island. Many of these penniless refugees suffered great privations in England until William's reconquest of Ireland enabled them to return to their ruined homes. Throughout the previous year (1689) the Protestants in the South of Ireland had been ruthlessly pillaged, their places of worship shut up, and those in the city of Cork imprisoned in the churches, Court-house, and other public buildings, many being sent as prisoners to Blarney and Macroom Castles.*

The word 'Cork' is an English corruption of the Irish 'coreagh,' a marsh. The city, enclosed with walls before the first English conquest of Ireland, had been built upon the highest part of a marshy island in the estuary of the river Lee, about ten miles above the point where that river flows into the harbour. The site was so low that the streets were subject to floods during high tides. The walls extended about 700 yards north and south entirely across the island, their wet ditches cutting off its eastern and western extremities, which were marshy, and usually covered at spring tides. The extreme width of the city east and west between the walls was about 250 yards. The river Lee, which surrounds the island, flows through a deep valley, on the high banks of which stood the north and south suburbs, the latter being the better built and the more important of the two. The walls, of rough limestone set in strong mortar, were high, that on the west being for the most part six feet thick at base; whilst the eastern wall was from eight to twelve feet thick at bottom and

* Gibson's 'History of Cork,' vol. ii.; 'The Cork Remembrancer,' by F. H. Tuckie.

eight at top.* Although the walls were not constructed to resist even the guns then in use, yet the river formed so effective an obstacle that the place was very difficult of access. The only flanking defence was afforded by some twelve insignificant towers, of which the four at the corners of the city, which were bastion-shaped, were the most important, that at the south-east corner being the largest and strongest. Midway in the eastern wall stood the water-gate, through which, up to the date of the siege, ships entered at high-tide to lie alongside the Custom-house quay. This waterway extended half across the city to the main street, at which point Droup's mill-stream joined it, passing under Middle Bridge, where stood the old Guildhall. The water-gate was defended by two towers, originally round, and known as the King's and Queen's Castles, from which the arms of the city—two fortified towers with a ship sailing between them—are taken. The King's Castle was the more important of the two, and was sometimes called *the 'Castle of Cork.'*† Between the water-gate and the Queen's Castle was a sally port, communicating with the eastern marsh by means of a drawbridge.

Running north and south through the city was the Main Street of the present day, at that time dividing it into fairly equal halves. From this street ran right and left to the eastern and western walls the squalid alleys in which lived the bulk of the Celtic population. At the northern and southern extremities of Main Street were wooden bridges extending to the suburbs, each provided with a drawbridge and defended by a castle. The French engineers whom James had ordered to strengthen the defences of the city had cleared away the houses round the southern bridge-head and had constructed some new out-

* Large portions of these walls were still standing down to 1750, when they were almost entirely removed. A few bits here and there are still to be found.

† The King's Castle was demolished in 1718, and the Queen's at a somewhat earlier date. The drawing I give of Cork shows these castles, etc.

works.* In the northern and less important suburb stood Shandon Castle, for centuries the official residence of the Governour.† It stood about seventy feet above what is locally called the 'flat of the city,' and was 225 yards distant from the north-eastern bastion of the enceinte. Although it added but little to the strength of the place, it would, in the hands of an enemy, afford an admirable position for batteries directed against the city. Round its northern side were some weak entrenchments connecting it on the east with the Shandon or Kiln River, which joins the Lee close by, on the west with the 'Guth an Noe,' or the fortified 'New Gate,' which stood on the 'Height of Mallow Lane,' and also with two unfinished and detached works to the west and north-west. In the southern or more important suburb were two forts, called respectively 'The Cat' and 'Elizabeth.' The 'Cat' was a detached and still unfinished work, which added little to the strength of the place, but, being situated on a hill with a command of about ninety feet above the city, its possession, as with Shandon Castle, would enable the besieger to carry havoc into the ranks of the garrison. In fact, it was the key of the position which Marlborough had been told of before he proposed the attack upon Cork to Queen Mary's Council. Fort Elizabeth was a strong, square, well-built modern work, with four bastions and a sort of ravelin in the middle of its northern face.‡ The rock on which this fort stands was scarp'd towards the city, but its south face was weak, and it was looked into from the Cat. It had been built in Elizabeth's reign 'to curb the insolence of the citizens.'

* The ground now covered by Barrack and Cove Streets was then known as 'Crooke's Acre,' and on this the new outworks were erected.

† The following year the Governour lived in lodgings in the city, for we find from an entry in the Council book that the Corporation, 'in lieu of finding him quarters agreeable to his quality,' etc., allowed him £20 sterling per annum to find his own lodgings.

‡ These two forts are now occupied by the headquarters of the Cork Artillery Militia. The north-west bastion, still standing, was, according to local tradition, the felons' graveyard.

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The defences of the city had been lately strengthened; but unless the suburbs and the high ground beyond were also secured, the city could not hold out long after the besieger had erected batteries there. The effective defence of Cork required a larger and better garrison than the 5,000 Irish troops which were all that the Governour had at his disposal.* So little defensive importance was attached to the city walls after the siege, that the Mayor and Corporation soon petitioned to have them removed. The Governour, Colonel Macgillicuddy,† placed his hope in being relieved by Berwick, and when that hope was dashed he trusted that bad weather, with its inevitable result of sickness, would compel Marlborough to retire, as William had so lately been obliged to do from before Limerick.

* The garrison consisted of the following seven regiments of Foot: Macgillicuddy, Cloncarty, Tyrone, MacCarthy, Barret, and another whose name is not recorded.

† He is described by Pike the Quaker in his account of the siege as 'the rude and boisterous Macgillicuddy,' but Lauzun, in a letter to Louvois, alludes to him as 'one of the best men that we have in Ireland.'

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THE INVESTMENT OF CORK.

General Schravemor joins the English Forces before Cork—Marlborough reconnoitres the place—Occupies Cat Fort—The Duke of Wirtemberg arrives and claims the Chief Command—Serious dispute between Marlborough and him—A compromise effected.

MONDAY was a lovely autumn morning at Cork, and there was not a ripple on the broad-bosomed expanse of landlocked water as the fleet got under way at daybreak. The wind had died away during the night, and the sails flapped idly against the masts as the still flowing tide carried this motley fleet of eighty vessels slowly towards the anchorage at West Passage. Every available sailor was in a boat ^{2²-1⁵}, 1690. rowing hard to tow his ship clear of others and to keep her in the right direction. Every sort and size of craft was there, from the humble little ketch, pink and bomber to the stately man-of-war with high poop and elaborately carved stern. It was, perhaps, as picturesque a sight as was ever seen in the beautiful and historic harbour of Cork; a brave show of fighting sea life that might well have inspired Van der Velde, had he been there, to paint it. During the day a battery of eight guns opened on the fleet from the western shore. The frigates replied, and, sending three armed boats ashore, a landing party took the battery, dismounted the guns and threw their carriages into the sea,* enabling the men-of-war and transports to enter the narrow

* Burchett's 'Memoirs of Transactions at Sea'; London, 1703.

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waters without further molestation. The fort on the island of Haulbowline was found to be unoccupied, and was at once taken possession of. It was important as a point from which the enemy might have seriously annoyed and damaged the fleet. Before sundown the fleet anchored at West Passage, as near the shore as possible. A detachment of troops landed at once to cover the disembarkation ordered to begin at daybreak.

²³₁₀, 1690. Between two and three a.m. on the following morning the bulk of the army was transhipped into boats and small vessels and disembarked before five a.m. at West Passage, then an insignificant village, nearly seven miles eastward of the city, and half-way between it and Cove. In the afternoon the field artillery and the rest of the troops were landed, and the whole army encamped before nightfall.* Two troops of Irish Dragoons, supported by some Foot, had made a show of opposition, but were easily beaten off. Marlborough now summoned the Governour, who indignantly refused to surrender, 'and hung out a bloody flag, firing several guns.'

²⁵₁₀, 1690. After a march of over twenty miles from Mallow, Schravemor encamped that same evening on the high ground above Water's Mills, about half a mile north of the city. He was joined on the morning of the following day (Wednesday) by Dean Davies, who had come from Cashel, and who found him anxious about the movements of the Duke of Berwick, then believed to be advancing from Banahar Bridge with all the troops he could collect to prevent the siege. It was feared that he might interpose between Marlborough and the Duke of Wirtemberg and so be in a position to deal with them separately; the Dean was accordingly sent back to Fermoy to beg the Duke to push forward with all possible speed.

²⁴₁₀, 1690. Wednesday was a busy day with both army and navy.

* 'Villare Hibernicum,' and MS. No. 29,878, British Museum, in which is given the diary of Ensign W. Cramond, an officer in Collier's regiment.

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The Admiral landed some 600 sailors and marines and all the available gunners and carpenters from the fleet, to assist in the disembarkation of the guns, ammunition, provisions and other military stores. In this heavy work the Duke of Grafton took a leading part, and set a brilliant example to his subordinates. Before leaving Portsmouth a considerable quantity of powder and shot was transferred from the men-of-war remaining there to the ships of the expeditionary fleet, and this was now landed for the use of the batteries, which it was intended to erect at once. The store and provision ships arrived in the evening from Waterford. Marlborough, covering his advance by two detachments of about 800 men under Colonel Hales, pushed forward in the afternoon about five and a half miles, and took up a position close to the suburbs, not more than a mile from the city itself. The enemy lined the hedges on the outskirts of the place, and skirmishing took place during the afternoon, but the loss was inconsiderable on both sides. Some sixty or seventy Irish Dragoons 'drew out' as the English army was pitching camp and took up a threatening position close by, but were soon driven off by Marlborough's field-guns. Later on, he sent forward a couple of thousand men to take up a commanding position within musket-shot of the southern suburb, and the enemy, seeing the English advance, fired one volley and retreated, setting fire to the houses as they went.* This was a direct violation of an agreement entered into the day before by the Protestant merchants and traders with the Governour, who promised, in consideration of £500, to spare the suburbs. Hundreds of well-to-do Protestant families were thus reduced to beggary,† and amongst those who lost their property were many wealthy Quakers. Some, however, like the shrewd Joseph Pike, had removed their goods beforehand, knowing

* *London Gazette*, No. 2,598 of 1690; 'Villare Hibernicum.'

† Sir David Coxe's narrative of the siege. Diary of Dean Davies in vol. lxviii. of Camden Society Papers.

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from experience how little fair treatment they could expect from the Irish. Deserters from the enemy reported that on Saturday the garrison had been augmented by the arrival of two regiments from Kinsale. About midnight the enemy again attacked the English outposts, but disappeared after a little firing, leaving some twenty dead behind them.

During the afternoon General Tettau had advanced with 1,000 men towards the northern suburb, and had placed some guns in a position from which an effective fire could be opened on Shandon Castle and the works newly constructed around it.* The intention was to storm the northern suburb under the fire of these guns; but when everything was ready for the assault, the enemy, setting fire to the suburb, withdrew from the castle and the adjoining works and retreated hastily into the city. In this conflagration the old Church of Our Lady, or St. Mary's, Shandon, was burned.†

Schravemor, on reaching the northern suburb, despatched his Adjutant, Keks, to report to headquarters. He returned in the afternoon with orders from Marlborough for the march of a detachment of Horse to the south side of the river, where it was required to cover the English Foot in the southern suburb. Two hundred Horse and some few Dragoons were accordingly sent in the evening to the Lough of Cork‡ and Carrigrohane Castle, whence they scoured the surrounding country. This detachment was conducted by Dean Davies across the Lee by a ford near the church of Carry Kippane, some three miles above Cork.§ Whilst passing the ford they were seen by some Irish soldiers, and being taken for Berwick's army—then hourly expected—the garrison of the city beat their

* Rapin.

† Its site was where St. Anne's, Shandon, now stands.

‡ A large sheet of about seventeen acres of water near the city, and close to the Kinsale and Bandon roads. Its level is about sixty feet above the city.

§ The ruins of this church are still to be seen.

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drums and cheered lustily. It was not long, however, before they discovered their mistake, and meanwhile the cavalry took possession of the lanes and scattered houses to the south-west of the city. Their headquarters were at Gill Abbey House, the private residence of the Dean, and thanks to his local knowledge, a good line of communication was soon opened out between the troops on both banks of the river.*

Before daybreak on Thursday the Admiral sent up the $\frac{2}{3}$ - $\frac{1}{10}$, 1690. river ten armed pinnaces, the crews of which were to assist in arming the batteries and afterwards with hand-grenades when the assault should take place.† Marlborough assured the Admiral that the place would be in his possession in three or four days, and his calculation proved to be literally correct. Early on the morning of the 25th, Marlborough, accompanied by his staff, made a close reconnaissance of the city walls and of the forts and other works beyond. He found that the regular entrances by the bridges at the north and south gates were both comparatively strong, especially the south gate, which had been recently strengthened, and he saw that in order to force that gate it would be necessary first to capture Fort Elizabeth, an operation which would certainly entail heavy loss and would still leave the English south of the river. But in front of the eastern wall there were no outworks, and no flanking fire of any importance could be brought to bear upon a column attacking in that direction. The approach was, however, difficult, leading as it did, first across the south channel of the river and then over the southern marshes. The Lee at that point was only fordable at low tide, and even then with difficulty, and the marshes were always soft and difficult to cross, being sometimes entirely covered

* Gill Abbey, formerly the Abbey of St. Fin Barre, was the oldest ecclesiastical establishment in Cork. It stood near the site of the existing Queen's College, but no portion of it now remains. Gibbon's 'Cork.'

† Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals.'

at high-water. Nevertheless, he determined to make his attack there, for although it would not be so easy to breach the eastern as the southern wall, a successful assault delivered on that side would bring about the immediate fall of the city, which would ensure the surrender of Elizabeth Fort and of all other outworks. The point which he selected to breach in the eastern wall was about sixty yards north of the southern channel of the river, and between the south-eastern bastion of the city and Hopewell Tower, which stood at the eastern end of Christchurch Lane.* The spot where the breach was made can still be identified between where the two alleys, Old Post-office Lane and Kiff's Lane, ended at the eastern ramparts of the city. A small portion of the old wall is still to be seen near this spot.

Finding that the enemy had evacuated Cat Fort, he ordered it to be immediately occupied by Colonel Hale's detachment, which had furnished the line of outposts during the night.† But these orders were forestalled by two seamen, who, prowling about in the neighbourhood of their quarters, as is the wont of the British sailor ashore, found the fort empty, and at once climbed into it with that intelligent initiative which has always characterized the men of our navy. The fort was a work of no strength in itself, but its possession was most important to the besiegers. A couple of hours after its occupation some big guns arrived, from which fire was opened on the south-eastern bastion of the city at a range of 370 yards, and on Fort Elizabeth at 300 yards; the enemy fired little in return, having but a very limited amount of ammunition. Marlborough ordered a battery to be at once constructed at the Cat for two 24 and three 18 pounder guns. From it he was able to enfilade the eastern walls of the city, and to

* The city club-house now stands on the site of this south-east bastion. Christchurch, after which the lane was named, suffered severely from its proximity to the breach.

† *London Gazette*, No. 2,598 of 1690; 'Villare Hibernicum.'

see somewhat into the adjoining streets. The surrounding hedges afforded admirable cover for Colonel Hale's men, who soon opened a lively musketry fire upon the enemy's posts. Marlborough now moved his camp into the suburbs, ²⁵⁻¹⁰ 1690. and established his advanced posts as close as possible to Elizabeth Fort and the city walls. According to local tradition he himself took up his quarters in the Red Abbey, a fine early-fifteenth-century building, which had been chiefly used since the Reformation as a private residence.* From the top of its high church tower, now the only part of the abbey standing, he was able to observe the enemy's movements and watch his own daily progress. The traveller who is enterprising enough to penetrate the filthy slum which now surrounds it and mount the dirty, broken ladders by which the remains of the 'Irish stepped parapet' may be reached, can judge for himself of what service the tower must have been to the English General as a point of observation.† The closely-packed graveyard below, where lie the remains of many a British soldier, is near, if it is not the actual site of another battery, armed with three 18 and two 24 pounders, which Marlborough erected to play upon the south-eastern bastion of the city at a range of 300 yards. These guns also bore upon Fort ²⁵⁻¹⁰ Elizabeth, which was 420 yards distant.‡ He threw up another battery near the Mitre Inn, about 200 yards due south of that fort, and yet another at the Friar's Garden, near Gallows Green, full 600 yards from Fort Elizabeth. The ditches and sheltered lanes near the fort rendered parallels and approaches unnecessary.§ The Danish

* It was built in 1420 by Patrick, eleventh Earl of Kinsale. Lady Fanshawe, in her memoirs, says she lived in the Red Abbey during her stay in Cork in 1650.

† This form of decoration for the towers of churches was formerly universal in Ireland. Indeed, the tower of almost every church built there before the disestablishment of the Irish Church was so ornamented.

‡ The terre plein of the bastion of Fort Elizabeth is about sixty-five feet higher than the city at the north and south gates.

§ MS., Brit. Museum, No. 29,878.

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battalions on the north side of the city pressed the investment from that side. They occupied Shandon Castle, and constructed a battery there.* In the construction and arming of all these batteries the gunners and carpenters of the fleet rendered most valuable service.

In the meantime, Dean Davies, who had been sent back to the Duke of Wirtemberg, met His Serene Highness at Fermoy, just as his guns had crossed the Blackwater, and started back forthwith to assure Marlborough that the Duke would join him on the following night.†

As the Duke had no cavalry, Marlborough despatched some Horse to protect him on the march. But this precaution was scarcely necessary; for when Berwick, upon reaching Kilmallock‡ with about 8,000 men, found that there was no longer any possibility of striking in between the troops which Wirtemberg and Schravemor were bringing to Marlborough's assistance, he relinquished his project and determined to retreat. Thinking, however, that the garrison of Cork might still effect its escape, he ordered the Governour to march out at once and push rapidly for Kerry before he was hopelessly shut in by the English. It is to be recorded with regret that he added to this order the barbarous injunction to burn the place before he quitted it. The Governour was, perhaps, justly blamed for disobeying the former part of this order, as the garrison was thereby lost to the Jacobite cause in Ireland. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that, had not Marlborough been in command of the English, so much time might have been wasted over the siege by some slow-moving, formal Dutch General that the capture of Cork would have been doubtful, and that of Kinsale would have been out of the

* No vestige of Shandon Castle now remains, but its site was the present Crane House, close to the butter market. There are two Shandon Churches, but neither was ever celebrated for its peal of bells, so rhythmically referred to in Father Prou's delightful lines on Cork.

† It is twenty-four miles from Fermoy to Cork.

‡ Forty-six miles from Cork.

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question for that year. As it was, even Marlborough, with all his energy, was only just able to effect it, and that not without serious loss from bad weather and exposure. Macgillicuddy's mistake was, in fact, due to his ignorance of the character of his opponent.

The following letter is Marlborough's official report of 2^d-1^o, 1690. his proceedings up to Thursday:

'From before Corke, Sept. 25th, '90.—MY LORD,—We came into Corke harbor on munday the 22nd. The next morning I landed all the men, and wensday, being the 24th, I came to this place, notwithstanding that I heard nothing of the horse, being resolved not to lose this good weather. Att our arrivall here they lined the hedges, but wear very easily beaten from them, we only lost 3 men, and this day we are masters of a place called the Catte, which commands the Castell, and the town. I hope in god in few days his majiste will be master of the town, this day I believe we have lost aboute 10 men, to-moroe I hope to make a breach in the Castell which if I doe, I shall storm itt the next day, they flater themselves, that they shall have a relife to-moroe. I have as yett but 200 horse and 25 dragoons, but shall have 300 horse more to-moroe, I am your most faithfull servant, MARLBOROUGH.*

The weather had been fine so far, and everything connected with the operations had gone well.† All through Friday Marlborough's guns played with effect upon Fort Elizabeth, and upon the point in the Eastern wall of the city which it was intended to breach; the Irish deserters, of whom there were many, reported that the garrison had already suffered severely. The parapets of the south-eastern bastion and the curtain near the gate were destroyed, and towards evening shells were thrown into the city. Marlborough now pushed forward his advanced posts into the ruined suburbs, the more closely to invest

* Rolls Office: Domestic Papers, Ireland, No. 367 (1685-1691).

† *London Gazette*, No. 2,598, of 1690. A naval officer thus describes the weather, writing from on board the *Kent*, in Cork Harbour.

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Fort Elizabeth, effecting a lodgment between the Fort and the gates of the city, and cutting off all communication between them.

Duke Ferdinand William of Wirtemberg, having reached the northern suburb of Cork on Friday evening, as he had engaged to do, at once crossed the river to Marlborough's headquarters, and without further ado claimed the command of the army in virtue of his Royal descent. He asserted that as a Prince of a sovereign house he was entitled to command all Generals of humbler parentage. Marlborough, nine years older, and his senior as a Lieutenant-General, had been appointed under Mary's sign-manual to command the troops in this expedition.* His claim was based on this commission, on his seniority in rank, and on the fact that he was in command of an army of his own countrymen, whereas Wirtemberg only commanded a contingent, and that not of his own nation. Marlborough communicated to him what Ginkel, the Commander of the Forces in Ireland, had written on this subject in his letter of the 22nd; but the Duke, adopting an overbearing and aggravating tone, would not withdraw his outrageous pretension. It was a matter of great importance to England and to William that Cork and Kinsale should be taken before the winter set in, while to Marlborough personally it was of the utmost moment that he should succeed, for he had staked his reputation upon the result when he pressed Mary and the Council to consent to the expedition. He was as yet the only English officer to whom William had confided an independent command: the appointment was most distasteful to all the King's Dutch advisers, and he was well aware that failure on his part would be hailed with delight by every foreign officer in the English service. He had at last obtained an opportunity of proving that he was indeed a leader of men, and if he failed now, it was not likely that he would ever be given another. He had had long and

* See *ante*, p. 158.

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valuable training as a diplomatist in the management of men, and he knew the ways of Princes, their prejudices, and their modes of thought, and he was an adept in the sort of flattery to which they are most susceptible. From long practice at Court he had acquired a complete mastery over himself—the first essential for one who aspires to rule others—and he possessed an intimate knowledge of human vanities. His diplomatic skill, therefore, was fully equal to the occasion. He was alive to the absurdity of Wirtemberg's pretensions, and to the arrogance with which they were pressed; but he felt that in his own interests, if from no higher motive, it was necessary to arrive at some sort of compromise. He, therefore, firmly, but with that grace of manner which was peculiarly his own, refused to recognise the Duke's preposterous demand. His Highness's notions of etiquette and of what was due to a Prince were outraged by what he regarded as this common Englishman's presumption. That a General who was simply a gentleman should presume to command a Serene Highness was monstrous, while the firmness, deference, and courtesy with which his bluster was met turned the Prince's fury into rudeness. Marlborough was sorely tried, but his imperturbable good temper proved a rock of strength to him. Whilst he endeavoured to soothe the wounded vanity of the Duke by extreme deference, he was casting about in his fertile brain for some compromise, some practical way out of this absurd but difficult position. Time pressed, for the autumn tints already warned him of the approaching sickly season and of the Irish winter, so much dreaded by English soldiers. Had there been time to refer the point in dispute to the King, Marlborough felt that William's prejudice in favour of princely birth and his distrust of English Generals would probably influence the decision against him, and to call in Ginkel, the Commander of the Forces in Ireland, to arbitrate between them, would be to place himself in the hands of a Dutch General, who would naturally side with the Prince.

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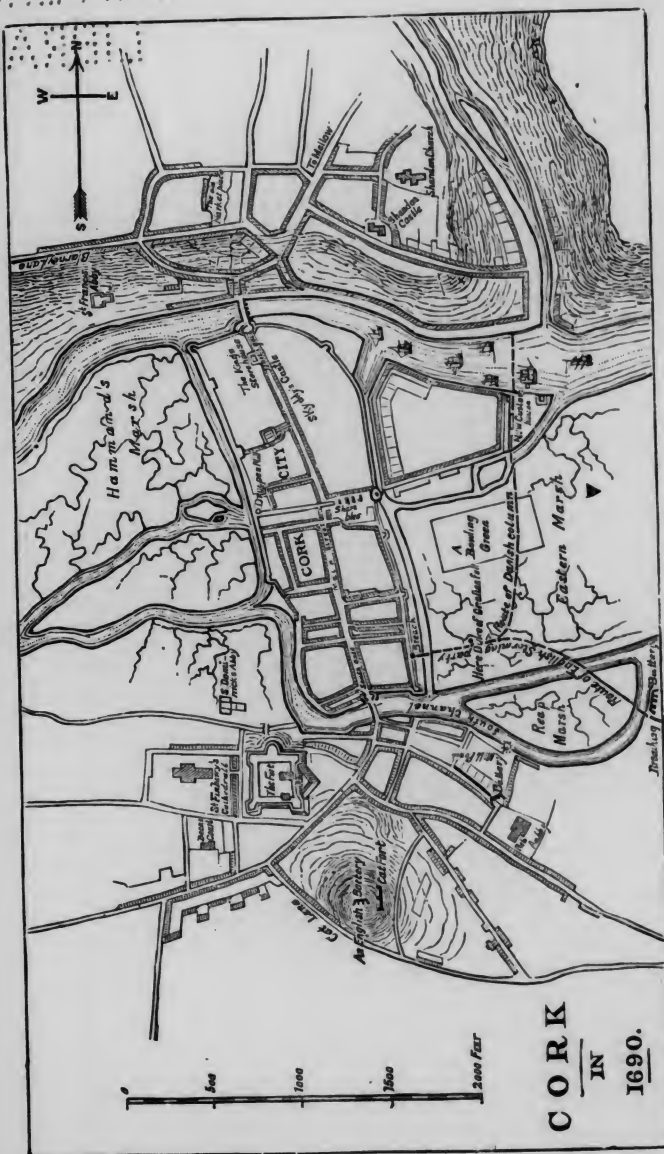
21, 5, 216 B.C.

Only one course by which he could stave off the difficulty, and possibly in the end surmount it altogether, lay open to him, namely, the old expedient of surrendering the supreme command to the Duke on every alternate day. It was, and always has been, a dangerous expedient, and, if he remembered the Roman history taught him by his father, he might have recalled the result of a similar arrangement between the Roman consuls at Cannæ. But in no other way could the Duke be appeased; so the Huguenot brigadier, La Mellionière, who had just arrived, was called in by Marlborough to arrange this compromise, which was then accepted. Those who know how many are the worries of a General in command will fully understand how vexatious and wearing this dispute must have been to Marlborough at the moment.

It will thus be seen that it was only his calm good sense which saved the campaign from total shipwreck at its very outset. By his tact, even temper, and wisdom he removed one of those vexatious difficulties which so often arise when the claims of birth are suffered to weigh in the selection of men for military commands. The day after the compromise had been agreed to, Marlborough, who was in command, chose 'Wirtemberg' for 'the word,' and this graceful compliment soothed and flattered the vanity of the Prince, who evinced his appreciation by giving 'Marlborough' for 'the word' the day following. The good fellowship so begun quickly ripened into cordiality, and the ceremonious Duke was soon wise enough to realize that if the accident of birth had made him a Prince, genius had marked out Marlborough as a leader of men, as a great General with a head to plan, a heart to attempt, and a steadfast will and strong arm to perform. He never afterwards sought to assert his precedence over the man to whom by every just right he owed obedience, and with whom it was his good fortune to have the privilege of acting in concert.*

* Dalrymple, Part II., Book V., p. 43 of vol. iii.

ARMULIOO
YTIDREVIU
VYASH



PLAN OF CORK IN 1690.

To face p. 187, Vol. II.

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THE SURRENDER OF CORK.

Breaching battery armed—Garrison beats a parley, which comes to nothing—Storming parties ford the river—Duke of Grafton killed—The Governour surrenders—Disposition of the prisoners taken.

Of the besieging troops, the English occupied the southern suburb, with both flanks resting on the river—the left above the town, near Gill Abbey, and the right below it, near the Red Cow Inn; whilst the Danes, under Wirtemberg and Tettau, held the northern suburb, and closely invested the city on that side. There was some difficulty in finding food for the army, but Count Schravemor's cavalry, by means of raids upon the surrounding country, was able to carry off enough sheep and oxen for daily consumption. On September 26, when he crossed finally to the south of the river with 500 Horse, he brought with him a 'great prey of cattle,' which was most acceptable to the beef-loving English soldier. That same day the fleet, having landed all the guns and stores for the army, sailed from Cork, leaving a squadron behind under the Duke of Grafton to help in the siege.*

Early on Saturday the heavy guns were brought up the river in boats from Passage, and landed near the Red Cow. This inn stood on what is now Union Quay, near

* When the Duke of Grafton was wounded, the command devolved on Captain M. Tennant, who perished in the *Breda*, which blew up a few days afterwards.—Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals.'

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where Copley Street abuts upon the right bank of the South Channel, and almost opposite the south-east corner of Morrison's Island, and some 50 or 60 yards lower down the river than the old building known as Buckingham House, formerly the residence of the General commanding in Munster.* For the reception of two 24-pounder and three 18-pounder guns a battery was thrown up on the river-bank a little below the spot where they were landed, and from it a tolerably direct fire, at a range of 500 yards, was opened on the part of the eastern wall which it had been determined to breach. Throughout Saturday afternoon the battery played upon this spot, and the wall, exposed to its base, soon showed signs of coming down. The other batteries fired upon the city ramparts and on Fort Elizabeth, and, at the suggestion of the Dean, picked marksmen were placed on the top of the massive square tower of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, which stood about 150 yards from the nearest bastion of the fort, and commanded the whole interior of the work.† Lieutenant Townsend was in charge of the party, and by means of planks placed over the beams of the upper storey he and his men constructed for themselves a platform, from which they opened upon the fort so galling a fire that the garrison turned two heavy guns against it. Their fire at close range so shook not only the tower,‡ but also the nerves of the sharpshooters, that they tried to escape from their exposed position; but their young commander would not listen to the proposal, and, calling to his comrades below, he ordered them to remove the ladders by which his party had mounted.

* I believe it was built by General Lord Blaney. It is now used as a charity school.

† To lessen the effect of the mortar fire on the city, the Governor had the street pavements ripped up. The Quaker Pike, in his account of the siege, says that some twelve or thirteen 'bombs' fell into the city.

‡ When this tower was taken down in 1865, upon the rebuilding of the cathedral, one of the 24-pounder shot was found embedded deep in its masonry. The shot now hangs in the south transept of the new building as a memento of the occurrence.

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Retreat being thus cut off, they were compelled to remain at their post, and did most effective service until the city surrendered. Their searching fire killed many of the garrison of Fort Elizabeth, including Colonel O'Neil, the Commandant, who was hit when in the act of directing the guns in the south-west bastion.* Tradition says that the shot which killed him was fired by Lieutenant Townsend himself.

The fighting Dean now advised the diversion of the 'Dyke Stream,' which, entering the western city-wall about midway in its length, turned Droupe's grist-mill, which stood close to the site of the present Court-house. As the inhabitants depended principally upon this mill for their daily supply of flour, its stoppage was severely felt.

By four p.m. the gun and mortar-fire had told seriously on the defences of the city and on the spirits of its garrison. Before the attacking column could assault the breach, it must first ford the river and then cross the Eastern Marsh, but the tide was still sufficiently low to admit of this movement being carried out; in fine, the Governour, thinking that the moment for surrender had arrived, released the Protestant Bishop from prison, and sent him into the English camp.† At the same time he sent an officer to General Schravemor's headquarters with the following letter, to arrange the terms of surrender:

'De Corke, Sept^{bre} 27, 1690.—Mons ,—Non obstant la resolution que j'ay de m'acquitter de mon devoir en gardant cette ville jusqu'à la dernière extremité comme je vous ay tesmoigné cy devant, et que rien na encore paru de vostre costé qui me puisse de tourner, neanmoins pour complaire au gré de quelqu'uns, et pour monstrier que je ne prens pas de telles resolutions sans avoir assez de raisons pour les soustenir. Je consentirai si vous voulez que deux de vostre

* Sir D. Cox, also Mr. R. Caulfield, a local historian of great knowledge. He was a friend of Mr. C. Woods, to whom I am much indebted for my description of this siege.

† The Bishop was Dr. E. Wetenhall. A good account of these transactions is given in the *London Gazette* of October 6, No. 2,598.

costé entrent dans la ville et autant de nostres aillent vers vostre camp pour découvrir l'affaire des deux parts, apres quois vous trouveres que je ne m'obstineray pas contre qui sera raisonnable dautant que rien de tell nest attendre.— Mons^{re}, votre tres humble Serv^t, R. McELLEGOTT.

'Cependant qu'on cesse si vous voulez tout hostilité de deux costés.—A M^{re} de Scravenmore.'

The Governour was told in reply, that he must communicate with Lord Marlborough, who was in command that day, and Marlborough sent him word that he would only accept the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war, and that only on condition that Fort Elizabeth was handed over to him in the course of an hour, and the two gates of the city by eight a.m. on the following morning. Whilst this negotiation was going forward on the south side of the city, another envoy from the Governour had reached Wirtemberg's headquarters on the north. He was indiscreet enough to send back his reply without consulting Marlborough, and said that if the Irish garrison would lay down their arms the Governour might march out with the honours of war. He sent to inform General Schravemor of the answer he had made. Marlborough meantime was making every preparation for the passage of the river to the south-east of the city. The Governour, however, by cunningly availing himself of the supposed division of command between Marlborough, Wirtemberg, and Schravemor, and by delaying the return of the two English officers sent to treat with him, succeeded in so protracting the negotiations that before an advance could be attempted, the flowing tide had rendered the river unfordable. He thereupon 'sent word that he could not accept the capitulation offered by Marlborough, and so made a jest of us.'*

* A long letter from General Schravemor to Sir George Clarke, 'from the camp before Cork, September 29, 1690,' describes the taking of Cork. The text in a great measure follows his narrative.—Clarke Correspondence, Trin. Coll., Dublin.

The Duke of Wirtemberg was solely responsible for this ridiculous result, and for the consequent delay. It was a matter of supreme importance to Marlborough that Cork should fall without loss of time. The weather already showed signs of breaking, and only two or three weeks of fine weather at most could be counted on before the rains, fogs, and notorious unhealthiness of the Irish autumn would overtake them. In that short interval Kinsale also must be taken, if he was to fulfil his promise to Mary and her Council. He knew that Fort Charles, the citadel of Kinsale, was a strong modern work, well provided with casemates, and equipped with all the stores required to withstand a siege. Every hour by which the taking of Cork was delayed was a serious loss to him, and when he refused to accept the surrender of the city upon the easy terms which the Duke of Wirtemberg was prepared to concede, he must have been sure of his ability to take it by assault at low tide on the following day. He also hoped that a night's reflection would bring the Governour better counsel, and that, seeing the impossibility of further resistance, he might decide to surrender in the morning.

The Governour has been blamed for his ruse, and for his rejection of Marlborough's terms; but the accusation is surely unjust. Granted the hopelessness of relief from without, and his inability to withstand an assault, still, he knew that every additional hour's delay would make it more difficult for Marlborough to close the campaign by the capture of Kinsale before bad weather set in.

During the night some of the garrison endeavoured to escape by the Hammand and Western Marshes. But Marlborough had foreseen the probability of such an attempt, and had posted an officer's party in a brickyard near Gill Abbey to prevent it, and by them most of the Irish who tried to get away were either killed, wounded, or driven back into the city. There is reason to believe that had the Governour marched boldly out at midnight

in that direction with all his garrison he might either have joined Berwick, or got off with little loss into the Kerry mountains.

At daybreak the next morning—it was Sunday—the besiegers' batteries resumed their fire, the breaching battery on the river bank below the city opening with redoubled energy. As the citizens listened to early Mass, the thunder of big guns and the spluttering of small arms must have grated harshly upon their ears, and they could almost hear the oaths of the English artillerymen who were working in the batteries without the walls. The heavy pieces pounded the breach, whilst the 'small ordnance' on Cat Fort swept the interior of the defences so closely that none of the garrison could show themselves near the breach. After some hours of battering the breach was reported to be fairly practicable, and every preparation was accordingly made to deliver the assault as soon as the ebbing tide should render the river fordable. It was high-water on that morning between eight and nine o'clock, and on the top of the tide T.M.S. *Salamander*, with another small sloop of war, came up the river, and, anchoring near the north-eastern angle of the city, opened a galling fire upon the walls near the breach, and shelled the town itself.

The plan of attack was as follows: About 1,000 of Wirtemberg's Danes were to ford the northern arm of the river to the marshy island where the new Custom-house had been lately built, and thence make their way across the Eastern Marshes to the breach.* At nearly the same time about 1,500 English Foot were to ford the river from the southern suburb to the island known as the Great Eastern or the Rape Marsh. The enemy held all these marshes with strong outposts protected by rough entrenchments. It was intended, if necessary, to transfer to this

* At high-water this little island was cut off from the Great Marsh by a tideway into which Droupe's mill-race emptied itself, but it was nearly dry at low tide. It has now been converted into St. Patrick Street.

Eastern Marsh some of the heavy guns brought up from the fleet, and with them to bring a close and direct fire upon the breach. It was dead low-water between two and three o'clock p.m.,* but shortly after one p.m. the tide had fallen sufficiently to allow the English assaulting column to ford the river. The Danes passed easily at noon over the northern branch of the river by a good ford, and drove in the Irish detached posts near the Custom-house, killing a captain and some of his men. Where the English crossed nearly an hour later under the command of Brigadier Charles Churchill, the water was still deep and up to the men's armpits. Their guide was Captain Greene, a respectable merchant of the city, who knew the locality well.† This column consisted of Churchill's 33. 10. 1690. (the Buffs), the grenadiers of Trelawney's (the Royal Lancaster), the Royal Fusiliers, Hastings' (the Somersetshire Light Infantry), and two other English battalions since disbanded. Their crossing-place was about 400 yards below the south-eastern bastion of the city. Somewhat higher up the river was another ford, but troops passing by it would have been too much exposed to musketry from the walls. After passing the main river there was yet another branch to be crossed, and although it was nearly dry at low water, it converted the southern portion of the Rape Marsh into a separate island when the tide was full.‡

The hostile feelings which animated both sides were neither of recent date nor of an ordinary nature; their mutual hatred, of centuries' standing, was bitter and intense. The Irish garrison was about to fight in defence of a celebrated Irish city, attacked by the swaggering

* The Astronomer Royal has most kindly furnished this information.

† At present the depth of the river here at low-water is four feet. Mr. Greene was pardoned for a technical offence in 1701, chiefly in consideration of the services he rendered as a guide upon this occasion.

—See Harris's MSS., vol. x., p. 309, in Royal Dublin Society.

‡ This tideway was afterwards filled up, and is now the South Mall.

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Saxon soldiery who had been for ages their masters and oppressors; and to the old bitter hatred of race was added the rancour which springs from difference of creed, for the angry passions of the Celt had been long intensified by persistent efforts on the part of the English to destroy his religion. The Irish, though still smarting under the recollection of their disgraceful rout at Newtown-Butler and again at the Boyne, were at the same time elated by their more recent success in the defence of Limerick. Why should they not be successful in this instance also? Why should they be unable to resist the much smaller army now led against Cork? The garrison of Limerick had not indeed dared to pursue William's army during its retreat, and every thinking soldier knew that had it not been so late in the year, the siege would have been continued until the place fell. But whilst there was nothing in the raising of the siege or in the repulse of the assault that could be regarded as discreditable to the English, the failure filled them with a determination to wipe out its remembrance by a brilliant victory. The English soldier's hatred of the Irish was not the outcome of past reverses, though there were old scores to pay off for the massacres of 1641 and for the recent pillage and murder of many an English settler. It lay deeper than that. He looked upon the Irishman as a barbarian little better than a savage, and he despised him as a fighting man. Thus, there was no love lost between the two opposing forces, and as the English column swayed to and fro in passing the deep and muddy river, no man in its ranks for a moment doubted the result. The assault might cost many lives, but there was a rich town to be plundered, a hated garrison to be slain; and this was enough for the soldier of that period.

²⁸/₈-1690. As Marlborough watched his grenadier companies, who headed the assaulting column, plunge into the barely fordable river, under the gallant Lord Colchester, his blood must have tingled with suppressed excitement. With his fighting instincts, he naturally longed to draw sword also,

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and lead his soldiers up the breach. None but those who in battle have been obliged, as responsible commanders, to stay behind, can realize the fulness of that misery. How dreadful are the words 'Go on!' to the man who longs to mingle in the fray, and shout 'Come on!' instead! He who has never known the ecstasy of reckless daring which takes possession of the soldier in a storming party knows not the most intense excitement of which the human mind and body working together are capable. But none who looked upon Marlborough's calm and handsome face could fathom what was passing in his brain, or could believe that his reputation as a leader was staked upon that issue. The whole pack of foreigners who surrounded William only waited for a sign of failure on his part to damn him for ever. How they would have gloated over his repulse, and, in the guttural accent of Friesland and of Schleswig, have exclaimed to William, 'I told you so; the English General is no good'!

The passage of the river presented a wild and striking picture, bright with varied colour and full of incident, as the young and reckless volunteers vied with one another and with the regular officers for a foremost place, each anxious to land first on the marsh beyond. The scarlet coats and picturesque costumes added much to the general effect, as the red Michaelmas sun glittered on steel breast or back piece. A gentle breeze from the sea gave motion to the feathers and streaming ribands of the broad-brimmed hats worn by the officers, whilst they held aloft their swords, pikes and pistols, to keep them from the water. Behind them, struggling manfully through the deep, muddy river, came the rank and file, each man with 'bullet in mouth,' ready for immediate use, and all holding well above their heads the snaphaunce muskets, pikes and grenades with which they were armed.* The bandoleers of the musketeers,

* The old matchlock did not 'cock,' as all small arms do now. The motion of pulling the trigger brought the burning match into contact with the powder in the pan. The snaphaunce was a flint musket,

heavy with ammunition, and the smoking match of the grenadiers, were thus kept dry for the coming struggle at the breach. As this English column forced its way through the falling tide, there was around them on all sides a heavy splashing of shot upon the water. Although the range was short and the fire well sustained, the loss was small; but those who were struck down in that deep and, at the moment, swiftly-running tide, fell to rise no more.

With the leading companies were the Duke of Grafton, Lord O'Brien, Colonel Granville, and Captains Cornwall, Leighton, Fairborn, Nevill and many other volunteers in quest of fame and adventure. Once on the opposite bank, they quickly re-formed, and drove the enemy from their entrenched posts, taking immediate possession of them. The Duke of Grafton, upon reaching the marsh, was anxious to select a good position for the guns with which it was intended, if necessary, to open a still closer fire upon the breach, and whilst so engaged within about 140 yards of the breach, he was struck by a bullet in the shoulder.* Local tradition asserts that the shot was fired by a blacksmith from his forge in the slum still called Old Post Office Lane.† The spot where he fell, then a deep, open marsh, is now built over, but the remembrance of the event is perpetuated in the name Grafton Alley, given to the little street on the west side of which he fell, where Rockford's or Stable Lane joins it.‡ Covering the wounded

which derived its name from *schnappen*, 'to click,' as our gunlocks have done ever since in the act of cocking.

* General Schravemor's letter to Sir George Clarke.

† This forge was still standing in 1823. Mr. Robert Day, of Cork, an antiquary possessing a great knowledge of everything affecting his native city, has given me much valuable information on this subject.

‡ Mr. Cecil C. Woods writes to me on this subject from Cork: 'About the year 1860, on a summer's evening, I was walking with my father along the South Mall, Cork, and just at the end of Grafton Alley a venerable, intelligent-looking old man of the labouring class saluted my father, who stopped and spoke to him, and the talk some-

Duke with a cloak, the troops pushed boldly forward to the edge of the ditch, the water in which was shallow at that state of the tide. A high bank forming the counter-scarp, together with an old house under the wall itself, afforded shelter, under which they were enabled to rally and re-form after their rapid advance over the open. It was a matter of great moment that they should do so before their final rush across the ditch and up the breach. But about three p.m., as the soldiers were closing their ranks preparatory to the final rush, the garrison beat a parley, and the white flag was once more displayed upon the walls above. The thunder of the city guns ceased, and in an

how turning on "old times," the man said he would show my father and me the exact spot where the Duke of Grafton fell. Therefore we all went down the alley till we came to where Rocheford's Lane opens into it, and pointing to the corner where the south side of the lane and the west side of the alley meet, our guide said, "There it is!" He then told us how it was that he knew the spot. What he said made so great an impression on me that I have still an excellent recollection of it, and it was in substance, and indeed, I believe, nearly word for word, as follows: "My great-grandfather was a small but crabbit boy at the time of the siege of Cork, and when the soldiers tried to get into the city through the breach in the walls, he was watching them, and he took particular notice of the Duke of Grafton by reason of his being the King's son. When the Duke, who was leading on the soldiers, suddenly dropped down on the bog, my great-grandfather knew very well what had happened, and he and some more young fellows ran down from the Red Abbey, scrambled over the river, and stole up the bog to where the Duke lay with a cloak thrown over him on the identical spot where he had dropped down. Then the soldiers drove them away, and they ran back and over the river and home again, but before he left the bog my great-grandfather took a sure note of the exact spot where the Duke lay, and the next day he went to it and marked it, and he never after forgot it, but kept an account of it, no matter what changes happened. I often heard him tell about all that he saw when the Duke was shot, and when I was old enough to go about with him he took me with him, and showed me with the greatest possible care where the Duke fell, and I took a sure note of it then, and I have kept an account of it ever since, and there it is." As to the old man's credibility, I can only say that my father knew him well and believed him, and that I have never known anyone less gullible than my father.'

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instant there was a death-like silence where, but the moment before, all was noise and confusion. The stormers under the walls seemed as if struck dumb at the sight of that white flag. Visions of plunder, which a moment before had filled their heads, vanished before the emblem of surrender, and the bloodthirsty soldier, intent on fighting, felt that he had sharpened his pike and sword to no purpose when the 'rouse' had sounded that morning. As besieged and besiegers glared at one another across the city ditch, the Earl of Tyrone and Colonel Rycat came out, white flag in hand, picking their steps over the rough masses of crumbling masonry which strewn the breach.* They said they had been sent by the Governour to treat with Marlborough for the surrender of the place. They claimed to march out with all the honours of war, with drums beating, colours flying, and men with 'ball in mouth'—that is, upon the terms which Wirtemberg had been prepared to give them the day before. But the English General would listen to no such proposals, and even Wirtemberg agreed that they must submit as prisoners of war. Unable to resist further, they surrendered, and to mark his displeasure at the trick played the evening before, Marlborough imposed severer terms than he had offered the previous day. That evening Fort Elizabeth was evacuated by the Irish and occupied by 200 English soldiers. General Schravemor, in his report, describes it as, 'On my word, almost impregnable!† All the Protestant clergy and about 1,300 Protestant citizens were at once released from the churches and prisons, where the Governour had kept them.‡ There were only two Protestant churches within the walls, Christ's and St. Peter's. The former,

*-§, 1690.

* Colonel Rycat was sent a prisoner to the Tower, and escaped from it, to be recaptured later on.—See Luttrell's Diary.

† Clarke Papers.

‡ The Governour had not imprisoned the Quakers, of whom there were then many in Cork. They went about dreading an assault, lest they, being at liberty, should be put to the sword with the garrison, for all the Protestants of the city had been imprisoned.

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being near the breach, suffered much from the fire of the English batteries, and from the Irish, who stripped its steeple of lead to make into bullets, and used its pavement to mend and strengthen the wall where it was breached.*

During the night 'many seamen and other loose persons' entered the city through the breach, and began to plunder, especially the houses of the Roman Catholics.† The next morning—Michaelmas Day—Churchill's regiment, having spent the night near the breach, entered the town at daybreak, and as soon as the south bridge was repaired, Marlborough, with Hale's regiment, entered the city, and exerted himself to the utmost to stop these irregularities, to save the place from further damage, and to restore order. In the evening all returned to their camps outside the city, except Hale's regiment, which was detailed to form the new garrison of Cork.

In the afternoon the Catholics were commanded by proclamation to deliver up their arms, and the Irish soldiers were ordered, under pain of death, to repair to the Eastern Marshes. There the seven regiments, numbering about 5,000 men of all ranks,‡ which constituted the garrison, were disarmed and placed under strong guards, and their officers—about 350 in number—lodged in the Court-house, churches, gaols and other public buildings. Amongst the men of distinction taken prisoners were the Earl of Tyrone and Lord Clancarty.§ The surrender of this garrison to a besieging force not more than double its strength was far from creditable. The place was weak, but the defence was extremely poor, and betokened a feeble Governour,

* 'Historical and Descriptive Notices of Cork,' etc., by J. Windele; Longman and Co., 1840.

† Story's 'Wars in Ireland,' Part I., p. 143; Davies, whose journal I presume Story had access to.

‡ Harris's 'Life of William III.,' p. 292.

§ At the age of fifteen Lord Clancarty had been married to Lord Sunderland's daughter, a child of eleven. Sent to the Tower, he escaped after an imprisonment of three years to claim the wife he had not seen since childhood.

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ignorant of war, and a garrison lamentably wanting in resolution and spirit.

Many of the prisoners made their escape, and some were killed in trying to effect it. About 1,000 Irish soldiers were sent as prisoners to England, and 26 officers and 160 privates perished in the *Breda*, a fine third-rate of 70 guns, which caught fire and blew up in Cork Harbour.* An Irish officer named Barret was suspected of having fired the train, as he and his servant were amongst the few who escaped. The military chest went down in her, and so great was the dearth of money that, in order to pay for supplies, Marlborough was obliged to take £800 from the money in the hands of the Collector of Customs.†

22-10, 1690.

In the following letter Marlborough gives an official report of the surrender of Cork: 'My L^d, I last night sent Captain Butler to Milford to give his Majestie an account of the taking of this Place, I send this by the way of Ruthin for fear of contrary winds: the inclosed is the capitulation, and the Names of the Regiments, that are Prisoners of Warre. I think to send the Officers of Quallity on board the fleet till his Majistes pleasure be known, the officer that comanded the Party that I sent yesterday to Kingsale has just now sent me word that the town being sumoned gave them the possession of the gaites, but that the fortes near resolved to defend themselves, I pray God blesse us with good weather, and I doe not doute of success, I march to-moroe morning, I am with respect, my L^d, your obedient humble servant, MARLBOROUGH.'‡

* Her captain, M. Tennant, then in command of the squadron, and most of her crew, which numbered 450 men, perished in her (Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals'). This accident occurred 12, 10, 1690.

† Treasury Papers, vol. xv., p. 188, and letter from Lords Justices of Ireland, stating the amount so taken by Marlborough from the Customs.

‡ The date is written in a more recent hand in pencil: '29th Sepr., 1690, recd. 9th October, 1690.' Domestic Papers of William and Mary, No. 3, 1690-91, Rolls House.

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The Duke of Grafton died of his wound in eleven days. During his last moments he said, 'I die contented, but I should be more satisfied to die were I leaving my country happier and in a more tranquil state.' He was brave and straightforward, and by far the best of Charles II.'s illegitimate offspring. More fortunate than his brothers, he died in the field for his country, which none of the others either could or would serve well.* Anxious to prove by reckless daring the injustice of the suspicion under which he lay,† he fell like an English gentleman in front of those he led.

Thus fell the city of Cork one week exactly after Marlborough's fleet first anchored off the place. The English loss was under fifty killed, and the number of wounded was small.‡ To defend Cork, as the Irish Governour strove to do, without holding the high ground in its

* His body was embalmed, sent to England in a cask of spirits, and buried at Euston. Mr. C. C. Woods informs me that his brain and entrails were buried in the little old graveyard of Ballintemple, near Cork. His mother was the depraved Duchess of Cleveland. He was born 22-10, 1663, and he died 10, 1690. He married the daughter and heiress of Henry Bennet, the Arlington of the Cabal. The following equivocal epitaph was sung in the streets of London when the news of his death reached England:

'He n'ere would dred
Shot made of lead,
Or cannon ball
Or nothing at all.
Yet a bullet from Cork,
It did its work.
Unhappy pellet,
With a grief I tell it,
It has undone
Great Cæsar's son!
A statesman spoiled,
A soldier foiled.
God rot him
Whoever shot him.

Here lies Henry Duke of Grafton.'

† See *ante*, p. 159.

‡ *London Gazette*, No. 2,598, and 'Villare Hibernicum.'

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immediate vicinity was impossible, and, from the small amount of powder found in the place, it is evident that Macgillicuddy could not possibly have sustained a lengthened siege.* The fall of Cork after so short a siege had a depressing effect upon the Irish garrison of Limerick, and shook their confidence.

On the last day of September William and Mary were
18-19, 1690. duly proclaimed in Cork as King and Queen, and there were great rejoicings amongst the Protestant minority in and near Cork at the recapture of the city. The dispossessed Protestant magistrates were reinstated, and the old system of government was re-established under a Protestant Mayor and a Protestant Common Council. No Roman Catholic was allowed to serve the King or to have any voice in the management of public affairs; and thus was the seed of race hatred resown, to spring up later on, and to grow and ripen into a rich harvest of mutual detestation and rebellion.

Tuesday
14 10, 1690.

The newly-appointed Mayor and municipal authorities, wishing to honour the General who had done so much for them and for the English settlers in the county, at one of their earliest meetings ordered that 'my Lord Marlborough and the new Governour of Cork † be presented with the freedome of this citty in silver boxes.' No mention of any kind is made of the Duke of Wirtemberg's services or
17 10, 1690. of his claim to command the army.‡ A fortnight later the Common Council passed the following resolution: 'It is thought fit in order that so great a mercy may never be forgotten, that the 29th September, being the day the army of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary entered the city, be kept as an anniversary thanksgiving to

* Harris says there were only two small barrels of powder and a 'hundred of ball' found in the place when it capitulated. See also Schravemor's report of the siege, from which Harris probably obtained his information. Clarke Correspondence.

† Colonel Hales.

‡ City of Cork Council Book.

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Almighty God for the said deliverance.* For about a century, Michaelmas was accordingly kept as a day of public rejoicing and thanksgiving by the Protestants of Cork.† Fortunate would it have been for Ireland had the discontinuance of this ceremony, now entirely forgotten, marked the extinction of the old ill-feeling on the part of the Cork Roman Catholics towards England and towards their Protestant fellow-citizens.

The townspeople and the English garrison suffered severely during the following winter from want of provisions, and from disease, the result of privations. The soldiers were neglected disgracefully by the authorities in London, and died by hundreds; neither money, clothing, stores, provisions, nor medicines were sent them, everything being reserved for the troops intended to fight under William in Holland. William's foreign Generals had not been over-successful in Ireland, and Marlborough's victory was, therefore, all the more acceptable to the jealous English people. There were, however, many Jacobites who sneered at the affair, because it had been so quickly accomplished and with so little loss. The Tory Poet Laureate refers to it thus in the prologue he wrote for 'The Mistakes':‡

'Our young poet has brought out a piece of work,
In which, tho' much of art there does not lurk,
It may hold out three days, and that's as long as Cork.'

* Caulfield's 'Council Book of Cork City.'

† Mr. C. C. Woods has supplied me with the following extract from the *Hibernian Chronicle* of Thursday, October 1, 1772: 'Tuesday, Michaelmas Day, being the anniversary of the surrender of Cork to King William, the same was observed as a day of rejoicing.'

‡ 'The Mistakes' was written in 1690 by the comedian Joseph Harris. See vol. x., p. 410, Scott's Dryden.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE INVESTMENT OF KINSALE.

Marlborough sends on his cavalry to invest Kinsale—Description of the town and its defences—Marlborough reconnoitres the place and finds it to be much stronger than he had expected.

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2^d 1^o, 1690.

MARLBOROUGH was well aware that with an open breach Cork could not hold out for many hours. He knew how limited were the Governour's resources, and from the negotiations of Saturday he must have been as sure, as men can be of anything in war, that the place would fall into his hands some time on Sunday. His Horse and Dragoons took no active part in the siege; they were available for other work, and might and ought to have been held in readiness throughout Sunday to start for Kinsale at a moment's notice. As soon as Colonel Macgillicuddy surrendered they should have marched without delay to summon Kinsale, before the news of the fall of Cork had reached that place. The distance was only seventeen and a half miles, and before daybreak on Monday the town ought to have been in Marlborough's possession, and the two forts invested by his cavalry. A large number of prisoners had to be dealt with at Cork, and it can easily be understood that he himself, with the bulk of the Foot, was unable to start before Wednesday; yet this does not seem a sufficient reason for the delay which took place in the despatch of his mounted troops. At that late season of the year it was of great importance to obtain shelter for his men in the houses of Kinsale during the coming siege. Every

hour that the march was delayed increased the chances of the enemy burning the place and retiring into the forts, thus depriving Marlborough of the cover for his men which he reckoned upon obtaining.

It was not until Monday that some 300 Horse and 100 ^{2^d 1^o}, 1690. Dragoons, under Colonel Neuhausel, were despatched to Kinsale with orders to use every endeavour to save and occupy the town. The line of march lay in a due southerly direction, over bad roads which heavy rain had already made difficult for troops; their progress consequently was slow, the weather was cold, and provisions were extremely scarce. Many of the men were sickly; for although the work at Cork had not been severe, yet numbers were already unfit for duty. They reached the neighbourhood of Kinsale about two p.m., and at once sent forward a trumpeter to formally summon the Governour, Colonel Sir Edward Scott, who was then in the New Fort. As Neuhausel could not speak English, Brigadier Villiers was sent to parley with him.* Easy terms were offered if the place were surrendered forthwith, but the Governour was assured that he would 'certainly be hanged for resisting a victorious army in case he stood till cannon were brought before the walls.' The only answer was a haughty threat to hang the trumpeter who had dared to bring so insolent a message.†

* Letter from Count Schravemor to Sir George Clarke: MS. Clarke Correspondence, Trinity College, Dublin.

† The terms offered in accordance with Marlborough's orders were: '1st. Officers and soldiers to march out without arms, only the officers to march away with their swords. 2nd. Officers to march out with their own horses and baggage, but to carry away nothing belonging to the inhabitants. 3rd. The Governour to give a faithful account of the magazines of war, provisions, etc., in these places. 4th. The gates of the forts and town to be delivered to such forces as the Earl of Marlborough shall send to demand. 5th. The garrison and Catholic inhabitants shall have safe conduct to some place of security; no injury shall be done them in passing thither. 6th. The ships and prizes in port shall be faithful to . . . I shall send to demand the said garrisons in the condition they shall be found when the said garrisons are demanded.' (I presume he meant summoned.) From a MS. by Mr. Caulfield, in possession of Mr. R. Day, of Cork.

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Scott had been ordered to fire the town and to confine his defence to the two forts; but though he had postponed the burning in mercy to the unfortunate inhabitants, he had made every arrangement for a general conflagration upon the first alarm. Great bundles of faggots were piled in the streets against the houses, to be ignited as soon as the English came in sight. But his orders on this point were so carelessly carried out that Villiers was allowed to get close to the town before the faggots were kindled, and by a rapid charge into the streets his horsemen were able to extinguish the flames. A few Irish soldiers, who had remained to plunder, were either killed or taken prisoners, the rest escaping to the forts. This easy capture of the town had an important bearing upon the subsequent operations, for it enabled Marlborough to place his men under cover during the siege of Fort Charles. It is doubtful if the army could have remained long enough under canvas at that time of year to take the place. Even with the shelter of the town many of the besiegers died, and the proportion of sick was very great. 'An advanced season in the field is always fatal to foreigners in Ireland,'* and 'the usual mortality which attended new bodys in that country was well known.'†

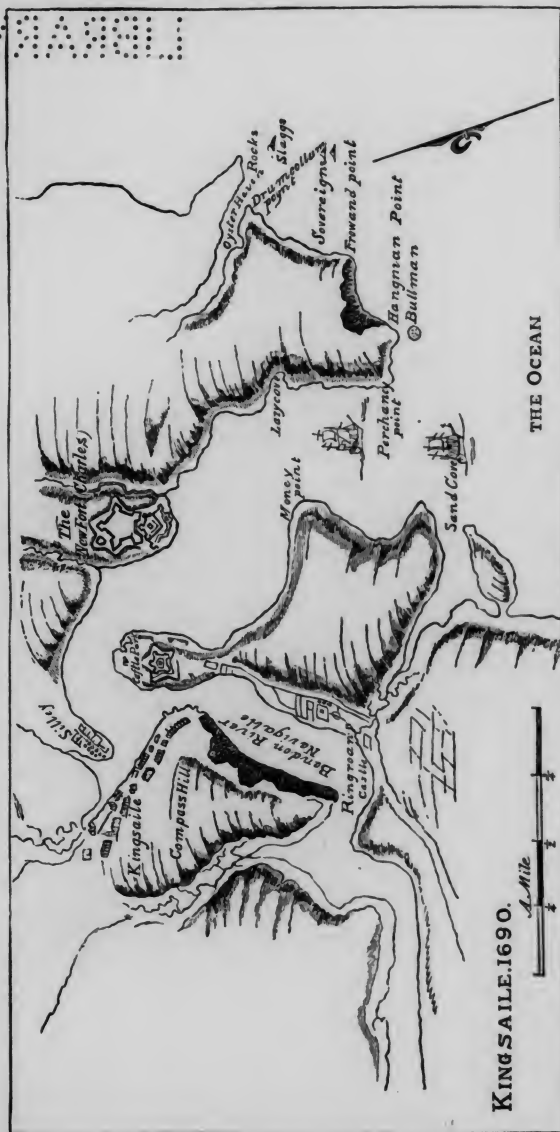
Marlborough's information regarding the strength of the works at Kinsale had been misleading, for he said afterwards that he would not have gone there so late in the year had he known the true state and strength of Fort Charles.‡ The garrison had, however, been seriously weakened by the despatch of two regiments to reinforce Cork against the English attack. Neuhausel and Villiers having possessed themselves of the town, summoned the Old Fort to surrender, but its commander, O'Sullivan-More, replied that he would hold it to the last man. He fired his guns

* General Keating.

† This statement is by Dr. R. Gorge, Schomberg's Secretary, and is in a paper now in the Rolls House.

‡ Burnet, vol. ii., p. 60.

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PLAN OF KINGSALE IN 1690.

To face p. 207, Vol. II.

and 'hung out a bloody flag' in defiance, and Sir Edward Scott, on the opposite side of the harbour in the New Fort, did the same. In reporting his proceedings to Marlborough, Villiers said that with the guns found in the town, and an immediate reinforcement of three regiments of Foot and some two or three extra guns, he would be in a position to take the Old Fort.*

On the following morning the troops and guns which he ¹¹⁻¹² 10, 1690. asked for were despatched from Cork, but the roads were so heavy that they were obliged to halt for the night at Five Mile Bridge, and only reached Kinsale the day after. His ¹¹ 10, 1690. arrangements for the safety of Cork having been completed, Marlborough started on Wednesday with the remainder of his army. He also halted for the night at Five Mile ¹² 10, 1690. Bridge, and arriving before Kinsale on Thursday forenoon, he at once closely invested the New Fort. The old house in which King James had passed the night after landing at Kinsale is still standing, and tradition says that it was Marlborough's headquarters during the siege.

Kinsale, which is one of the oldest corporate towns in Ireland, occupies a commanding position on the left bank of the Bandon River, where that picturesque stream flows into the sea. Although mean and insignificant in size, its geographical position and the possession of what was then considered an admirable harbour, caused it to be regarded for centuries as a seaport of the first importance.† Cork, indeed, was commonly known as 'Cork, near Kinsale.' A ship making for the mouth of the Bandon River leaves on its port side the Old Head of Kinsale, a wild, rugged and sea-beaten rocky promontory, which juts out into the Atlantic at six miles' distance from the harbour. The entrance was

* 'Villare Hibernicum.'

† Caulfield's 'Council Book of Kinsale.' The Rev. A. Allyn, in his diary, says Kinsale 'contains nothing good in it, besides honest Parson Tomms.' In October, 1601, Don John d'Aquila landed at Kinsale to help the Irish against Queen Elizabeth. He was besieged there by Lord Mountjoy, to whom the place fell 9, 1, 1602.

defended by two permanent works, one commonly known as the 'Old,' the other as the 'New Fort.' The former, whose ancient name was Castle-Ny-Fort, stood upon the high, narrow headland which, running out due north from the mainland, there forms the right bank of the Bandon River. The river makes a great loop round the isthmus, and two centuries ago added greatly to the natural strength of the old work. A ship entering the harbour would have this fort on the left, that is, to the westward; and to the eastward, on the right, Fort Charles, or the New Fort.* Fort Charles was strong in comparison with other fortified places in Ireland, and was armed with a hundred brass guns, ranging from 24 to 42 pounders. Placed about 100 feet above the sea-level, its guns had complete command over the mouth of the harbour. A mile further westward was the small and dirty city of Kinsale, its streets reeking of sprats and herrings, the staple articles of the local trade.

After a careful reconnaissance of the forts, Marlborough was surprised to find that the place was much stronger and the works in much better order than he had been led to expect. With an Irish winter at hand, sickness rife in his small polyglot army and the daily increasing difficulty in finding subsistence, it was not unnatural that he should inwardly repent of his promise to the Queen in Council as to the capture of the place. His siege train was still at Cork, and the roads over which it must come were already barely passable for heavily laden carriages.

* 'Macariæ Excidium,' Camden Society Papers, p. 128. 'Ancient and Present State of County and City of Cork,' by C. Smith. Fort Charles was begun in 1678, and finished in three years, at a cost of £73,000.

CHAPTER LXVII.

KINSALE SURRENDERS.

The Old Fort assaulted and taken—Marlborough summons Fort Charles—Its Governour refuses to surrender—Great delay in getting up the breaching-guns owing to bad weather—The garrison surrenders—Brigadier C. Churchill left as Governour, and Marlborough returns to England—Is well received at Court—Sufferings of the English troops during the winter—Conduct of Wolseley's Horse.

A CLOSE reconnaissance of the place made it clear to Marlborough that Fort Charles could only be taken by a regular siege, but it was equally clear that no siege was possible until his guns and stores arrived from Cork. In the meantime, the Old Fort might, he thought, be taken at once by open assault, if well pushed home at daybreak, but the success of such a daring attempt would depend upon its being a surprise. Deserters and the townspeople reported the garrison to consist of only 150 men. The works were in bad repair and obsolete in design, and Marlborough ascertained that one point at least was weak and open to a bold and sudden rush. If the Old Fort should fall, it was thought that its capture might possibly incline the Governor of Fort Charles to accept the easy terms which Marlborough was now prepared to offer.

But our General found himself in no enviable position. It was difficult to say when the siege train could be brought up: the cold weather had already set in, and the shortening days warned him that despatch was necessary if he was to fulfil his engagement to take Kinsale before the winter

began. In days of steam the siege-train would certainly have been sent from Cork by sea, and Marlborough's intention was to have done so then, but contrary winds detained the ships in Cork. He was consequently forced to send it by land; this entailed much delay, owing to the extremely bad state of the roads.*

To secure rest and winter quarters for his suffering troops, Marlborough was prepared to run more than ordinary risks. The open assault of the Old Fort might not succeed, and could not fail to entail heavy loss of life; but, on the other hand, he might lose still more heavily by disease if he awaited the slow result of a regular siege. The question which he had to consider was one which often falls to the lot of a commander. These questions frequently involve calculations affecting the lives of hundreds, perhaps of thousands, and even at times the safety of a whole army and the fighting reputation of a nation. More than a century and a half afterwards another English commander as brave as Marlborough, but of a different mental calibre, had to solve a similar question on the steppes of the Crimea.

To approach the Old Fort by land would entail a night march of more than seven miles over bad and difficult roads so open to the enemy that surprise was out of the question, whereas the troops destined for the assault might be easily ferried over the river, above the town, without the enemy's knowledge. The Irish left undestroyed a large number of small craft, of which Marlborough at once took possession. His plan was to embark some 800 men in these boats during the night at a point he had selected about a mile above the town, where there was no likelihood of their being observed, the crossing to be timed so that they might reach the Old Fort about daybreak. He selected Brigadier Tettau for the command of the operation, with Colonel Fitzpatrick as second under him.

* 'Nouvelles de la prise du Nouvelle Fort de Kingsale.' British Museum.

It was nearly low-water when the boats laden with soldiers pushed off in the dark, so that there was but little current, and the passage was quickly effected. The men landed noiselessly near the ruins of Kingroan Castle, about three-quarters of a mile south of the Old Fort, and advanced rapidly without attracting the enemy's attention. Shortly after the first streak of dawn had shown itself in the eastern horizon, Tettau was upon his enemy, giving him no time to recover from the surprise. Attracting their attention by a false attack on a part of the work known to be the weakest, where a blow was most expected and most prepared for, he made an assault upon one of the strong bastions with a detachment of his best troops. At the critical moment an accidental explosion of some gunpowder near one of the gates killed between forty and fifty of the Irish garrison, adding much to the general confusion and dismay. In the panic so caused the defenders rushed for the old masonry keep in the middle of the fort, losing about half their numbers in doing so. The Governour, Colonel O'Driscoll, and a number of other officers were killed on the ramparts, and many were shot in trying to escape by water to Fort Charles on the opposite side of the harbour. The tide being against them, only two boats succeeded in getting across. In all, about 220 of the garrison were killed; the remainder (over 200 in number), who had taken refuge in the castle, surrendered as prisoners of war, and 'our soldiers got a great deal of plunder.*' The capture of the Old Fort was a brilliant achievement well planned and boldly carried out, but it is doubtful whether it would have been attempted had the real strength of the garrison been known. In the hope that its fall might induce the defenders of Fort Charles to surrender, Marlborough again summoned that work. Sir E. Scott, a brave man, in no way daunted by the loss just sustained, sent back the jocular answer, 'It would be time enough to capitulate a month hence'—

* *London Gazette*, No. 2,601, 1690.

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no cheering prospect for the English troops in the month of October.

In the harbour were three ships laden with goods for France, which at once got under way; one was taken, the other two escaped. Trenches were opened within carbine shot of Fort Charles the same evening, and Marlborough decided upon making two attacks upon it—the English on the right to the north, and the Danes, under the Duke of Wirtemberg, on the left, to the east of the place.* By the 7th the approaches had reached within pistol-shot of the counterscarp, and breaching batteries were begun.† The following letters from Lord Marlborough describe his position and prospects at the time:

‘Mr L^d,—The reason your Lordship does not hear oftner from me, is that the passage betwixt this and Dublin is yett soe difficulte, that I doe not much caer to writt often that way. If I had not bene very much disapointed by the Canon, I should have by this time have bene nier master of this place, which now we must have patience for on eight days longer, for the Canon will not be here till to-moroe, and then you may be ashured that ther shall be noe time lost, for ther is noe greatt pleasure in Lyeing in the field in such weather as this is; the enimes horse is advanced to a place called Macrom twelfe milles from hence, wher thay expect Sarsfield with their Foot, if thay com we shall be redy to receive them; I can not but lett your Lordship know that I think itt would be very much for his majistes service, if ther wear some monys sent to Corke and Kingsale soe that the garisons mought pay for what thay take, by which the contry would be preserved. And without itt will be destroyed, for I nied not tell your Lordship that we have littell or noe monys. I have bene forced to boroe what monys I could, to incorige, and pay, soe that the king’s service mought goe on, all the shifts I could make is now att an end, however I doe not doute but in on eight

* MS., British Museum, No. 29,878.

† *London Gazette*, No. 2,602, 1690.

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days more the King will be master of this place, which is quite another thing then has bene represented, I am with truth, my L^d, etc.

‘I send you a letter I recived last night from Mon^{sr} de Genkle, which I desier you will show the king, soe that his majiste may see they think itt necessarie to have some ships this Winter in the mouth of the Shanon, etc., etc., MARLBOROUGH.*

‘From the Camp before Kinsale, 8 Oct., 1690.—It is not want of kindness that I have not constantly written to you, but in writing mine to Mons. de Ginkle in English I know you must see them, so that I look on it as if I wrote to you. We have been very much disappointed by the Canon, but to-morrow I hope to have them, and then I shall lose no time in pressing this place.—I am, etc., etc., MARLBOROUGH.†

‘For Mr. Clarke, Secretary at War.’

Wet weather greatly retarded the siege works, but the 9th 10, 1690. counterscarp was crowned on the 9th, and on the 11th the long-expected guns arrived. Six of them were mounted the 11th 10, 1690. following day in the Danish, and two mortars in the English attack. A heavy fire was kept up all day, and the mortars continued to throw shells all night. The next day two 24-pounders opened fire from the English batteries, and on the day after, the remainder of the siege-train having 11th 10, 1690. arrived, three more were added. The English miners had been some days at work, and a mine was now sprung with good effect, and the miners were hard at work upon another.‡ On the same night the Danes, having effected a tolerable breach, made a false attack to disturb and annoy the garrison.

A letter of this date from a Dutch officer gives an interesting account of the siege. For three days, he says,

* Rolls Office: Domestic Papers, Ireland, No. 367; endorsed ‘E. of Marlborough, Oct. 8, Rec. 23, 90.’

† Clarke Correspondence, Trinity College, Dublin.

‡ ‘A True and Impartial Account of the most Material Occurrences in the Kingdom of Ireland during the Two Last Years, etc., etc. By an eye-witness. London, 1691.’

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‡ 10, 1690.

‡ 10, 1690.

‡ 10, 1690.

eight guns and two mortars had fired upon the place, and six more were to open from the English part of the trenches on the following morning. The soldiers had already begun to suffer from cold and fatigue, but it was hoped that the breach would be practicable in a couple of days. Two days later Ginkel reports that the Irish near Limerick are not likely to attempt anything towards either Cork or Kinsale, as the rivers are so swollen that military operations are out of the question.*

On Wednesday all the batteries kept up a continuous fire, and preparations were being made for pushing covered galleries over the ditch and for an early general assault, when at one p.m. the Governour beat a parley and demanded terms. The weather was growing worse every day, Marlborough's army was daily becoming more sickly, and disease had already carried off a considerable number of his men. It was a matter of the greatest importance to give the troops rest in winter quarters, and to send back all that could be spared to England. He therefore granted the garrison better terms than he had given to the garrison of Cork, and he acted wisely in doing so. The negotiations occupied several hours, but the articles of surrender were signed by midnight.† The garrison of about 1,200 men were to march out on the following morning with their arms and baggage and all the honours of war, and were to be conducted safely to Limerick. The middle bastion was to be delivered up early the next morning to the English, as a guarantee of good faith. Marlborough's object in sending the garrison to Limerick was to increase the difficulties of the enemy there. He knew that the Irish garrison in Limerick was already pressed for room and very badly off for supplies of all sorts.‡

* Clarke MS. Correspondence, in Trinity College, Dublin.

† The original document, signed by Marlborough and by Sir E. Scott, is in vol. xv. of the Coxe Papers in the British Museum.

‡ 'Nouvelles de la prise du Nouvelle Fort de Kingsale,' in the British Museum.

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Besides a hundred guns, supplies of wheat, salt beef, claret, and other provisions, sufficient for 1,000 men for one year, were found in the place. The English loss was about 250 killed and wounded, but many more died of disease, and the hospitals were crowded with sick.

Colonel O'Donovan delivered the keys of the fort into ‡ 10, 1690. Marlborough's hands, and the Irish garrison marched for Limerick. Lady Scott, the Governour's wife, as a matter of bravado, when leaving the place had her carriage driven over the breach.

During the operations at Kinsale the enemy made no real attempt to raise the siege, although at one time they assembled as if with that object. They, however, laid waste the country far and near, and burned and destroyed the houses and property of all Protestants and ‡ 10, 1690. English settlers in the adjoining counties.

Marlborough left his brother, Brigadier Charles Churchill, as Governour of the place, and distributed his army for the winter between Cork, Kinsale, Bandon and other neighbouring towns. He embarked in the *Lenox* man-of-war with Lord Colchester and others, and anchored in the Downs nine days afterwards. Landing at Deal, he proceeded direct to Kensington, where he was most graciously ‡ 10, 1690. received by the King and warmly congratulated upon his signal success. This short and fruitful campaign added largely to his reputation with the English people, and raised him considerably in William's estimation. It elicited from this silent and unemotional monarch the great compliment, 'that he knew no man so fit for a General who had seen so few campaigns.' William seems to have attached undue weight to the value of long experience and practice in the art of war for a General commanding in the field. The careers of the King and Marlborough prove how mistaken he was in this idea. No man of his day had studied the science of war more deeply and attentively than William had done, and few of his contemporaries had commanded in so many campaigns. Nevertheless, as

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a General he was a failure; whereas Marlborough, upon whose inexperience he had commented, was invariably successful. It is a curious fact that few great leaders of armies have improved in their strategy as they gained experience. Napoleon never outdid his first Italian campaign in brilliancy of conception. But he, like Marlborough, was gifted with the natural genius for war in which William was deficient, and the deficiency is one which no amount of either study or practice can ever supply.

In twenty-three days Marlborough had achieved more than all William's Dutch commanders had done both in Ireland and abroad during the whole of the previous year. Genius coupled with an active imagination—as true military genius must ever be, and the like of which never seems to have inspired the slow minds of William or any of his foreign officers—marked the expedition to Cork. Had any of these commanded this army, the attacks upon both Cork and Kinsale would without doubt have been by long regular sieges according to the approved Continental methods, and the expedition would, almost certainly, have ended in failure owing to the lateness of the season.

Lord Marlborough was justly proud of having kept his word to the Queen, 'but secretly indignant that it was not put oftener to the test.*' Had he been vain, his head might well have been turned by the acclamations with which he was everywhere greeted on his return to England. But conceit found no place in his well-balanced mind. At the same time he still felt acutely the preference shown by William for his Dutch officers, and resented the favours, decorations, titles and fortunes which were lavished upon dull men like young Schomberg, Bentinck, Ginkel, Galway and Solmes. His great success served to obliterate the recollection of William's repulse at Limerick. It raised the courage of the English people, and their confidence in themselves. in their soldiers, and above all in their own

* Dalrymple, vol. iii., p. 44.

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officers, and called forth a burst of loyal feeling the like of which had been unknown since the Revolution.

The fall of Cork and Kinsale had an important bearing upon the following year's campaign in Ireland, especially upon the taking of Limerick, as their capture cut off the entire southern coast of Ireland from communication with France in the same way that the victory at the Boyne had severed it with the east coast. All things considered, this campaign of Marlborough's was the best-planned and the neatest, as well as the most successful, military operation in William's reign.*

It was the one redeeming event in what are commonly known as the Williamite wars in Ireland. William's troops had won the battles of Newtown-Butler and the Boyne, and the following year they were successful at Aughrim, but as a war it was badly planned from the first, and was full of disasters, for all of which William was mainly responsible. Londonderry nearly fell through his supineness in not sending troops to relieve it, and because he chose to send abroad into an unimportant theatre of operations the regiments he ought to have sent to the North of Ireland. His failure before Limerick makes us compare his generalship with that of Marlborough, and with the operations of Cromwell in his conquest of Ireland in 1649-50.

Although Sir E. Scott had shown courage in his defence of Fort Charles, he was much to blame in not having secured the Old Fort against an open assault. With the garrison under his command and the help of the townspeople, he ought to have greatly strengthened both those works. Had he done so, and burnt the town, Marlborough would probably have been compelled to raise the siege. James, his French military advisers, and Berwick, who then commanded for him in Ireland, all showed great ignorance of war by their neglect of the defences of Kinsale, then commonly styled 'the Key of Ireland.' It was a harbour which became of vital importance to their

* Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii., p. 430.

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cause when Waterford was taken after the battle of the Boyne. To render Cork secure, extensive works on the high ground outside the city would have been necessary, and for them guns and ammunition may not have been available. Not so, however, at Kinsale; where the existing works were good, while their positions were excellent and their armament ample. It would seem as if the same fatality hung over James's military affairs in Ireland as over every political move he made in England from the beginning to the end of his short and inglorious reign.

Marlbrough's brothers appear to have conformed to the low standard of public morality which prevailed in their day. George, the naval Captain, had been sent to the Tower the year before by the House of Commons for disreputable conduct in the matter of convoy money; and we now find that grave suspicion attached to Charles, the Brigadier, for 'the greate imbeslement of the stores' and supplies taken at Kinsale. When official inquiry was instituted, he pretended that what was missing had been given to him as a present by the Jacobite Governour, Colonel Scott!*

During the winter the English troops in the South of Ireland suffered terribly from want of good provisions, and there was no money to purchase even the ordinary necessities of life. Sickness increased at an appalling rate; and the mortality—the result chiefly of misery—was very great. From first to last throughout William's wars in Ireland, want, and its awful shadow, disease, dogged the steps of the English army. There were loud complaints at the time as to the unhealthiness of the climate and its injurious effects upon the English constitution. It was not, however, so much from the fevers bred in the undrained bogs and forests of this wet country that our soldiers suffered, as from the extremely unsanitary conditions under which they lived. Encamped on the most insalubrious sites, and suffering from the proverbial

* Domestic Papers, Ireland, No. 367: Rolls House.

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inaptitude of the Englishman for camp life, their cheerless and uncomfortable existence became almost intolerable in the cold, rainy winter weather. Often shoeless for months, clothed in rags, crammed into filthy cabins and insufficiently fed, it is no wonder that they sickened and died. The foreign troops never suffered like the English, because of their handiness in providing for their own wants, and because they were more familiar with the shifts and expedients of camp life, but, above all, because they were better looked after by their officers. During the ensuing winter the Governour of Cork complained that his men were dying of want, and that he had not even the money required to put the place in a proper state of defence. In the Council-book of Kinsale we read 'that Brigadier ²⁴⁻¹¹, 1690. General Churchill, our Governour, be informed, that Mr. Wm. Hull's house, formerly Captⁿ Stawell's dec. is the fittest in the town for an Hospital, and that Mr. Hull be satisfied by the Corporation for the same, and that the Governour be entreated to lend or sell some coals for the use of the Guards and Hospital, the charge to be defrayed by way of a rate on the inhabitants of the towne.'

Brigadier Churchill thus describes the unhappy condition of his men at this time: 'They are fit to conquer, for they must do that or starve, which they are very nigh doing, and consequently are desperate: that he could draw out 500 men, but not 100 pair of shoes amongst them, which were not to be got there for money, if they had it.'*

It is no wonder that the events of 1690 should still be remembered in Ireland. The battle of the Boyne, one of the salient points in Irish history, put an end to Lord Tyrconnel's cruel, persecuting and unjust Irish government, and re-established English ascendancy. But the year was one of wrong and outrage inflicted upon the unarmed people by the soldiers of both sides. William's army was irregularly paid, and James's troops had nothing but the almost valueless brass 'gun money.' There was no

* Harris's 'William III.,' p. 297.

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bullion in England to spare for the army in Ireland, for all that could be found was sent to pay the war expenses in Holland. And as must always be expected with unpaid armies, both sides lived at free quarters upon the poor Irish people. In their cruel exactions it would be difficult to say whether the English or Irish soldiers, or the rapacious 'Rapparees,' were the most inhuman in their treatment of the peaceable inhabitants.* The conduct of the Dutch troops, highly disciplined and well looked after by their officers, was, however, a creditable exception. They took the necessaries of life, but no more, and no cruelty could be laid to their charge. The other foreign troops did not, however, imitate their chivalrous and meritorious conduct in this respect, and none behaved worse than Colonel Walseley's Inniskillen troops. When in command this year of the military operations round Mullingar, and unaccustomed to Irish ways, he wrote: 'I am only uneasy here with the disorder of our own men, which has been so great in our march to all without distinction, that 'tis a shame to speak of it, and 'twas not in my power nor the other Colonel's to prevent it, having neither bread nor money to give them, which had I had, I would have hanged them to the last man, but I would have reclaimed them.'† The English company officers were nearly as bad as their men, but the most cruel and relentless of all were the Irish Protestant militia. They seemed to think it a duty to take vengeance upon their Roman Catholic countrymen for the massacres and cruelties inflicted upon their fathers and grandfathers, and for the infamous treatment they

* The 'Rapparee' was a peasant who lived like a savage. His food was potatoes and milk, and he went about half naked. The hovel in which he lived was a mere lean-to of poles resting on a natural bank or on a mud wall, and it was covered only with gorse and peat. His cunning nearly equalled his cruelty to man and beast. He relentlessly murdered men, women and children, and he maimed cattle with all the ferocity of the lowest order of savage. See Dalrymple, Part II., Book IV.; and Story's Continuation, p. 68.

† Clarke's Correspondence, T. C., D.

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had recently received under Tyrconnel's priestly government.

In nearly all the memoirs of Marlborough it is asserted that after a short stay at home he returned to Ireland for the winter; that he did great things towards the settlement of the country, and introduced order where all before was chaos. As a matter of fact, he never revisited Ireland. Ginkel, who was Commander of the Forces, during the winter undertook some unfortunate operations against the enemy in Kerry, and when they failed he returned to Dublin. We know that Marlborough was in London in January, 1690-91, because we are told that he 'dined that 24th, 1691, month in the Tower with Lord Lucas, the Constable, upon which occasion he ordered £100 to be distributed amongst the poor Irish taken prisoners at Cork and Kinsale.'*

* Luttrell's Diary, 29, 1, 1691; also Clarendon Correspondence. It is evident from a letter of his, of 27th-1, 1691, that he had been in London for some time before that date. Dalrymple, Appendix to Part II., Book VII.

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THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

Difficulty in obtaining recruits.

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MARLBOROUGH'S brilliant successes at Cork and Kinsale relieved William of much anxiety, and placed his affairs in Ireland on a new and satisfactory footing. The French troops had returned home, a few French officers alone remaining to mark the interest which Lewis XIV. still took in James and his cause. Throughout the operations there had been much ill-feeling between the French and Irish soldiers, and the former quitted Ireland with unconcealed joy. An Irish army still held Limerick, Athlone, and the country beyond the Shannon; but now that Cork and Kinsale had fallen, it was tolerably certain that Ginkel would be able to make himself undisputed master of all Ireland in the course of the coming year. Rebellion having been put down in Scotland, it was possible to reduce the army there, and to send more troops to Flanders. William could now turn his attention from home affairs to those European combinations which a war with France involved. By a close alliance between England, Holland, Spain, and the German Powers, he could calculate upon beginning the approaching campaign with forces superior in number to any army which Lewis could send to the Netherlands.

In those days the sentiments of nationality and patriotism, which now so largely influence armies, were little valued or even recognised, nor was the superiority of an army

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drawn exclusively from one nation over an army made up of contingents from many kingdoms fully understood. The moral force which community of national aims and sentiments gives to an army was not yet reckoned an important factor when computing the relative fighting strength of opposing sides. In the previous year Lewis had been successful everywhere except in Ireland. The Dutch army had been defeated at Fleurus, and the English fleet off Beachy Head. Our ships, driven from the Channel, had sought refuge in the Thames and Medway. The Turks had taken Belgrade by storm, and seriously pressed the Emperor in Hungary. When the Duke of Savoy joined the Grand Alliance he was at once defeated by the French at Staffarda, his duchy occupied, and Susa taken from him. Lewis had also gained considerable advantages in Catalonia.

The formation in this year of the 'Grand Alliance' was the masterpiece of William's diplomacy. It was a confederacy of the closest nature between England, the German Empire and the United Provinces, commonly called Holland. Its chief object was to prevent Lewis XIV. from obtaining supreme power in Europe, and it may be regarded as the beginning of that great combination against France of which Marlborough in the next reign became the moving spirit and leader. It now occupied William's thoughts to the exclusion of all other subjects.

During William's absence in Holland, whither he had gone to negotiate this Grand Alliance, Marlborough remained at home in charge of the military arrangements ^{27-3, 1691.} of the country. He was also a member of the 'Committee for the affaires of Ireland.' He had by this time become thoroughly discontented. Lord Sydney, writing to the King about the end of February, says: 'My Lord Marlborough behaves himself so much better than he did at first after your Majesty's going away; he is now pretty diligent, and seldom fails the committees.' He was thoroughly disgusted at seeing the command in Ireland

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given to the Dutchman Ginkel, and no high position in the army destined for service in Flanders reserved for or offered to him.

William was anxious that a strong British contingent should take the field with the Allied forces in the coming summer. But as is usually the case in armies raised by voluntary enlistment, it was no easy matter to find the required number of recruits. The war in Ireland had cost thousands of English soldiers; the regiments stationed in that country were short of men, and required frequent drafts from home to keep them up to their establishment. The drums of the recruiting-sergeant were to be heard in every county, almost in every village. Even the gaol-bird was welcomed with open arms, provided that he could shoulder a musket or trail a pike. Upon Marlborough devolved the difficult task of finding the required numbers, and he greatly resented Caermarthen's interference in matters of which the latter was naturally ignorant. They disliked one another, and the Minister was prone to show his spite by interfering with the military plans of his colleague. In the following letter Marlborough complains of this to the King: 'Whitehall, February 17, 1691. 'SIR,—I here send your Majesty a copy of what we have done concerning the recruits. I must at the same time take leave to tell your Majesty that I am tired out of my life with the unreasonable way of proceeding of Lord President, for he is very ignorant what is fit for an officer, both as to recruits and everything else as to a soldier; so that when I have given such as I think necessary orders, he does what he thinks fit, and enters into the business of tents, arms, and the offe-reckonings, which were all settled before your Majesty left England, so that at this rate business is never done; but I think all this proceeds from, I hope, the unreasonable prejudice he has taken against me, which makes me incapable of doing you that service which I do with all my heart, and should wish to do, for I do with much truth wish both your person and government

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to prosper. I hope it will not be long before your Majesty will be here, after which I shall beg never to be in England when you are not.—Etc., etc., MARLBOROUGH.*

The letters between Marlborough and the King at this period were of a confidential and almost of an intimate nature, though there was certainly no love lost between them. William could never forgive the part Marlborough had taken in the matter of Anne's settlement, and Marlborough was disappointed and enraged at William's blind partiality for Dutch commanders, and at his treatment of one to whom he was so largely indebted for his Crown. In fact, the King had, unwisely, done nothing to make the foremost of his English soldiers either a loyal subject or a firm friend.

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Part II., Book VII.

CHAPTER LXIX.

MARLBOROUGH'S TREASONABLE CORRESPONDENCE WITH JAMES.

Marlborough discontented with William's treatment of him—Most of the leading Englishmen intrigue with James—Marlborough tries to convince James of his repentance, and sends him military intelligence—He obtains a written pardon from James—Duke of Wellington's opinion of Marlborough's conduct—William displaces some recalcitrant Bishops.

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WILLIAM was by this time aware that many of his former friends had ceased to wish him well. He knew that several of them were in correspondence with James, and had entered into conspiracies against his Government; but as yet William did not suspect Marlborough, although he was amongst the first who had done so. Admirals Russell and Carter and other leading naval officers also made overtures to James at this time. The first-named loudly complained of the manner in which William had neglected him.

In the month of January, when Marlborough began his direct correspondence with James, we find him writing effusively to William about his friend Godolphin, who wished to retire from office: 'That which I urge most to him is your personal kindness to him, and I find that has weight with him,' etc. He goes on to beg William to write himself to Godolphin to say 'that you deserve better than that he should abandon you at this time, when you have most need of his service.'* The suggested letter is written, and the Minister thanks the King for it, and assures him of

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Part II., Book VII. These letters from Marlborough were found in King William's cabinet.

his warm attachment; yet both these men, so full of loyal protestations to William, were at that moment plotting, or at least pretending to plot, with his enemies!

Through the arrest and trial of Lord Preston, the names of many Jacobites in England were obtained; but Preston, in his confession, did not mention Marlborough, Godolphin, or Halifax, and these three, being members of the Council, were aware of his reticence. As early as January, 1690-91, Marlborough wrote to James to implore his forgiveness, and to assure him of his future devotion and loyalty.* Whilst William was absent in Holland, struggling with selfish, short-sighted allies to arrange a common plan of campaign against France, Marlborough, Godolphin, Halifax, Russell, Mordaunt, Sunderland, Caermarthen, and Shrewsbury all began to intrigue with James. They expressed heart-felt contrition and begged for pardon, and Marlborough specially seemed sincere in his repentance. He strove to persuade James that he was truly sorry for his past conduct, and endeavoured to make him believe that he sincerely wished to see him restored to the Throne. As already mentioned, he was thoroughly discontented with the inadequate rewards he had received for his great service to William at the Revolution; and when he saw substantial favours bestowed upon Dutchmen, he felt that his campaign in Ireland had not been properly recognised. But although these things made him more open to Jacobite influences and less friendly to the new King, he never seriously desired to have James established again in England, his object being merely to hedge against the contingency of the exile's restoration, which then seemed by no means improbable. The more thoroughly the correspondence on this point is sifted, and contemporary evidence examined, the more clear does this become, not only as regards Marlborough, but as regards the other conspirators also.†

* Macpherson, vol. i., p. 238.

† See Clarke's 'Life of James': Dalrymple: Macpherson, etc., etc.

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Marlborough's first move in this unworthy game was to convince James of his sincerity; and he set to work with characteristic shrewdness and cunning. His intimate knowledge of James made him realize that, no matter what terms James might accept in order to compass his own restoration, he would not abide by them when once more settled on the throne. Marlborough knew that if James were restored to power it would mean not only the destruction of liberty and constitutional government, but degradation and poverty to those who, like himself, had taken a leading part in the Revolution. He knew that James would never forgive him, and he sought therefore, by means of well-feigned remorse and by promises of present and future help, to obtain a written pardon for his treason. In his heart he loathed the principles upon which James had governed; his conduct, therefore, throughout this correspondence with St. Germain's must have been dictated by purely selfish motives. He felt that he could best induce James to credit his sincerity by supplying him with secret information accessible only to William's Privy Councillors. He gave, or pretended to give, the Jacobite agents intelligence of what the Council heard daily of the Jacobite movements and plots. This much is certain, that the information he and other Privy Councillors supplied was of incalculable use to these agents, as it enabled them to act with greater ease and safety. He and some of his colleagues also furnished them with what purported to be full details of William's naval and military plans. In this treasonable correspondence Marlborough professed to regard his past conduct towards James as so reprehensible that he did not ask to have his confidence or to share Jacobite secrets. He only humbly begged to be made use of in any way that his former master might deem advisable. He assured James that Lady Marlborough would bring back the Princess Anne to her allegiance. He inquired if James wished him to join in a plot against Lord Danby, who was then William's First Minister and most trusted adviser. He

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engaged, if desired to do so, to bring over to the Jacobite cause the British troops then serving in Flanders. He said, however, that it would be better, in his opinion, to wait and co-operate with those in Parliament who intended next session not only to press for the recall of the British troops serving abroad, but to rid England of all foreign soldiers. When this had been effected it would be easier, he said, for him to win over the army to the Jacobite cause. He even went so far as to advise James to invade England with a French army of about 20,000 men; a larger force might, he added, frighten the English people, always suspicious of foreigners, and he counselled him to promise that the French troops should return home as soon as he should be restored to his rights. He urged that every endeavour should be made to maintain James's cause in Ireland, as William, in his impatience to fight Lewis XIV. in Flanders, meant to overpower the Irish rebels with all despatch.* Godolphin was a party to this correspondence; and Marlborough now urged James not to allow Godolphin to resign his position in the Treasury and in the Privy Council, as his retirement from office would be a serious loss to the Jacobite cause.

To what extent he divulged information not generally known to hundreds of others, it is now impossible to determine. James, writing in 1691, says in his *Memoirs*: 'He (Churchill) laid open that Prince's designs both by sea and land; which concurring with *what the King had from good hands*, was a great argument of Churchill's sincerity.'† From this it may be fairly assumed that all Marlborough told the Jacobite agents was what he knew that others had already communicated to the Court at St. Germain's. This will be seen further on to have been

* Macpherson, vol. i., pp. 237, 238.

† See opening of this chapter, p. 226, where it is told that Marlborough also wrote to King William begging of him to ask Godolphin to continue at the Treasury, as he was so useful a public servant. The fact is, Marlborough wished to keep his friend in office, as his own power and influence were thereby increased.

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the case in 1694 about the Brest affair. But although it cannot be proved beyond contradiction that he never told his old master anything that could hurt England or injure William's cause, it is certain that he strove to make James believe that he told him all he learnt which might serve Jacobite interests. The fact that James never believed in the sincerity of his contrition goes far to prove the hollowness and dishonesty of his Jacobite professions. The Jacobite agents did not see through his conduct as their master did; his repentance was apparently so sincere, and from his position in the army it was so important to win him over, that they thought it advisable to send a special messenger to St. Germain's to communicate with James on the subject. Although the poor exile did not believe in Marlborough's protestations of penitence and loyalty, he was not in a position to reject any proffered aid. The result was, that he gave both Marlborough and Godolphin a full pardon in his own handwriting, and Mary of Modena endorsed it with a few pleasing sentences. Marlborough having thus secured what he had so basely plotted for, felt that, come what might, he was at least safe from the block, and his children from poverty.

In the following month he again declared that he was the most penitent of men. He enlarged upon the sincerity of his remorse for 'his villainies to y^e best of Kings, and y^t it would be impossible for him to be at rest till he had in some measure made an attonement by endeavouring (though at the utmost peril of his life) to restore his injured Prince and beloved Master.' He wrote to James, 'that he was so entirely returned to his duty and love to his Majesty's person, that he would be ready with joy upon the least command to abandon Wife, Children, and Country to regain and preserve his esteem.'* In this letter he assured James that Lords Caermarthen and Shrewsbury, as well as others, only kept aloof because they despaired of being forgiven, a

* See Macpherson, vol. i., pp. 237, 238; and Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., pp. 448, 449.

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statement which led to both those noble Lords being drawn into a correspondence with St. Germain's.*

There can be no doubt that all this, related at length in King James's memoirs, actually occurred, and that Marlborough did make these protestations of penitence while imploring James's pardon. But it was all lip-work, and when pressed by James to fulfil his promise of bringing over to the Jacobite cause the English troops in Flanders, he pretended that there had been a misunderstanding on that point, and he backed out of his promise to gain over the army at home, by saying that it could not be done until James should come himself to England.† Referring to Churchill's correspondence, James remarks in his Memoirs that 'so little other proofs of a change, than words and protestations, made his intentions lyabel to suspicion; yet he put so plausible a face upon his reasons and actions, that if they were not accompanied with truth and sincerity, they had at least a specious appearance of fair and honest dealings.'‡ Stupid as James was, he saw clearly through these proceedings, and complained bitterly that, whilst Marlborough contrived to make his own position safe, he himself gained nothing, and was put to considerable expense by the agents whom he employed.

The morality of the law at that time was superior to the moral code professed by society, and was certainly above the ordinary standard of honour up to which men were expected to act. According to the law and to the theoretical morality of the day, it was wrong to take bribes or to disclose State secrets to the enemy. Yet nearly all public men of the time were more or less guilty of these malpractices, and consequently, those malpractices did not imply the relative degree of turpitude which they would do at present. The Revolution had upset men's notions of right and wrong, and for years afterwards the fact of having two

* Dalrymple, Part II., Book VII.

† Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 449.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

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Kings, one in exile and one on the Throne, confused the national ideas of loyalty and allegiance.

In passing judgment on the men who, having placed William on the Throne, plotted, or pretended to plot, his downfall, we must not forget that treason was associated in their minds only with hereditary monarchy. They would have ridiculed the application of the word 'traitor' to one who had conspired to destroy Cromwell, and to them William was little more than a princely Protector. There was no *jus Divinum* to remind the discontented subject, suffering under what he conceived to be personal slights and injuries, that opposition to William was treasonable. And though it was neither Marlborough's wish nor interest to have James on the Throne again, yet there were times when he almost repented of his disloyalty to him, and regretted on personal grounds the change of Kings which he had so materially helped to bring about.

The great Duke of Wellington, when discussing the double part played by Marlborough, said: 'It was no more than many men in France did during Napoleon's reign.* To a vast number of the English people William was a usurper, whilst the majority merely tolerated him as their only possible protector against Popery and arbitrary power. None loved him, or felt for him that loyal sentiment which the Jacobites entertained for James.

In reading the history of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, we weary of the impeachment and trial of Ministers for treasonable practices, and for stealing public money. These were the most common crimes amongst the servants of the State, and treason was esteemed the greater of the two. It was not treason against the nation, but treason against the King that was deemed the really heinous crime, and plots against the Throne or life of the Monarch struck the seventeenth-century imagination with unaffected horror. For fifty years Englishmen had been habituated to rebellions and revolutions, and to

* Greville's Diary, 8, 8, 1843.

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the plots and treacheries which necessarily attend them. Indeed, at one time ambition's only chance seemed to be in conspiracy. Cromwell's crimes were succeeded by the coarse immorality, private and public, of the Restoration. All this grievously undermined the principle of hereditary right, and the foundations upon which our ancient laws were based. It is no wonder, therefore, that men's perceptions of right and wrong should have been blunted by these violent changes, and warped by the unworthy practices which sprang from them.

William's position at this time was a trying one, requiring both courage and a keen knowledge of human nature to maintain it. Abroad he had to deal with timid and half-hearted allies, and he now found that his difficulties in England were no less serious. The country was, as he discovered, honeycombed with Jacobite plots, of one of which Lord Clarendon, his uncle by marriage, was the head. In some instances he found it necessary to punish severely those taken red-handed in these conspiracies. Several Bishops, too, still refused to swear allegiance or to recognise him as King, and before going abroad for the summer's campaign he felt it necessary to remove them and appoint others in their places. This course he adopted most unwillingly, being loath to punish worthy men for an action dictated by principle, and especially men who had so lately defended the rights of the people against James.

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THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1691.

Marlborough goes to Flanders with William—Experiences the obstructiveness of the Dutch Government—Great want of money to carry on the war—'Pickeering'—Vaudemont's opinion of Marlborough—The Campaign in Flanders ends without a battle—Aughrim, Galway, and Limerick surrender—The Irish Brigade—Parliament meets: large supplies for the war demanded—Great discontent at William's foreign policy and his preference for foreigners—Marlborough's grievances against William—Anne asks her father's forgiveness.

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WILLIAM now determined to take Marlborough with him to Flanders in command of the English contingent; and in order to carry out this arrangement he recalled General Tollemache, and sent him to command a brigade in Ireland under Ginkel.*

Accompanied by Marlborough, Sidney, and the Dutch favourite Portland, William reached the Hague early in May. Then and throughout the whole year's operations, William treated Marlborough with every outward show of esteem and confidence. He made him, indeed, subordinate to his Dutch Generals, but this he did partly from a natural preference for his own countrymen, and partly because he thought that their previous experience in European warfare fitted them better for high command. Besides, William never

* The amount of the comforts which a Major-General carried with him into the field must have been considerable, for Luttrell mentions that Kirke's equipage for Flanders consisted of 'above 30 ledd horses and sumpter horses.'

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forgot that Churchill's influence with the army had placed him on the Throne, and, lest that influence might some day be used against him, he was determined to give Marlborough no opportunity of increasing it. Ginkel had hitherto done nothing to earn the position of Commander of the Forces in Ireland, but, though far from brilliant, he was eminently safe, and William had nothing to fear from him. The Cork campaign had greatly added to Marlborough's reputation and influence with the army, and were he now allowed to complete the reconquest of Ireland, he might possibly become a source of anxiety, if not of actual danger. William preferred, therefore, the risk of failure under dull Ginkel to the certainty of success under brilliant Marlborough.

Upon reaching the Hague, William sent Marlborough and Count Solmes into Flanders to make the necessary arrangements for assembling the army prior to his taking the field himself. It was during this visit to Holland that Marlborough realized for the first time how vexatious, dilatory, and obstructive the States-General could be. He was destined for ten long years to suffer at their hands, and the experience which he gained as a subordinate upon this occasion was of great value when subsequently he was called upon to deal with the Dutch Government as Commander-in-Chief. He now had to encounter not only worry and petty obstruction from their 'High Mightinesses,' but also the national jealousy of their military officers.

The prospects of the Allies were far from bright. Money was so scarce that it became necessary to disband many good Spanish and Walloon regiments. Some of the contingents were badly equipped, and generally speaking the whole army presented an appearance very inferior to that of the troops opposed to it. The Spaniards especially were ill-clothed, and deficient in everything; yet desertion was almost unknown in their ranks, which could not be said of either the French or English armies. The French army, under the Duke of Luxembourg, was provided with everything required to make it an effective military machine. It

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consisted of 142 squadrons and 53 battalions, with 80 guns.* The Marquis de Boufflers joined subsequently, and raised the total strength of the French army to about 57,000 men. In the month of July the numerical strength of the Allied army became some 8,000 or 9,000 stronger than that of France; but it was made up of many nationalities having no sound bond of union, and consequently it lacked the homogeneity—another word for military strength—which was so prominent a feature in the armies of Lewis.†

† 7, 1691. This campaign, in which Vauban and Cohorn were the engineers of the respective sides, was more than usually barren of decisive result. It was, like all the campaigns of that uninteresting seven years' war which the Grand Alliance waged against France, a series of profitless marches and counter-marches, and did not even end in the customary siege. William's first object was to protect the southern frontiers of Brabant and Hainault, the western borders of the latter and of Flanders between the sea and the Scheldt; but at the same time he kept an observant eye on Mons, watching for a chance to retake it. He strove to decoy Luxembourg from its neighbourhood, intending, if he should succeed, to double back and invest it before the French army could prevent him.

Whilst prepared to accept battle under favourable conditions, he did not feel equal to attack Luxembourg, in a strong position, as a prelude to the investment of Mons. That able General was, however, too great a master of the strategy and military science of the day to afford William any good opportunity of putting this plan into execution. Seeing that he could not succeed in this direction, the King endeavoured to draw Luxembourg into a general action on equal terms in the open country, but although the French

* If the squadrons are computed at 130 men each and the battalions at 550 each, the total strength of the French army was about 46,600.

† Some English battalions had joined the Allies since the fall of Mons—viz., a second battalion of Douglas's (now the Royal Scots), the Royal Fusiliers, Lord Bath's (now the Lincolns), and a battalion of Scottish Guards.

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Marshal was willing to fight on the defensive in a strong position, he would not surrender his advantage to please his antagonist.

At times the two armies remained for days in close proximity. There was a great deal of mutual reconnoitring, the commanders rising betimes to inspect one another's positions. On these occasions there was often much firing between the outposts, and what our soldiers called 'pickeering'—a term applied to the practice common amongst the volunteers and other gentlemen who followed both headquarters, of riding out in front to fire their pistols at one another. In these frequent skirmishes much powder was expended, but little execution was done.* During the progress of this uneventful campaign Marlborough had no opportunity of showing what he could do as a leader in battle, but his administrative ability and his mastery of details made a deep impression on all who were brought in contact with him. The Prince of Vaudemont, when asked his opinion of the English Generals then serving with the army, said: 'Kirke has fire, Lanier thought, Mackay skill, and Colchester bravery; but there is something inexpressible in the Earl of Marlborough. All their virtues seem to be united in his single person. I have lost,' he added emphatically, 'my wonted skill in physiognomy, if any subject of your Majesty can ever attain such a height of military glory as that to which this combination of sublime perfections must raise him.' The Prince thoroughly understood the genius of the man, and William acknowledged the propriety of the observation by replying, with a smile: 'Cousin, you have done your part in answering my question, and I believe the Earl of Marlborough will do his to verify your prediction.'†

According to custom, both armies went into winter

* D'Auvergne's 'Campaign of 1691,' p. 115.

† 'Lives of Marlborough and Eugene,' p. 30. The writer states that the Pensionary Heinsius, who heard the conversation, had repeated it to him.

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quarters in October, the bad weather and deep roads putting a stop to what we may fairly call William's annual 'autumn manoeuvres.' Towards the end of that month Marlborough returned to England. This costly parade in Flanders was a ridiculous affair from every point of view; but the experience was not thrown away upon Marlborough. He learnt from this campaign how easily the most important objective of any war can be mistaken, and its great aim misunderstood by the military pedant, and how the fighting spirit of a General who lacks originality can be nullified by formalism. The commander who seeks his inspiration in military text-books, and bridles his imagination and fetters his instincts with red tape, can spend the taxpayers' money; but he will never achieve any magnificent success. It may be said of this year's campaign, as of the last, that the French had everywhere the best of it, except in Ireland. The renewed war with Turkey had prevented the Emperor from rendering substantial aid to the Allied cause. The possession of Strasburg and Philipsburg secured to Lewis two excellent passages over the Rhine, and with the Duchy of Luxembourg in possession of his troops he could, from his central position, put superior forces into the field at any moment, either on the Upper Rhine or in Flanders.

But whilst Marlborough was thus compelled to be a silent witness of William's incapacity as a General in Flanders, Ginkel was engaged in completing the reconquest of Ireland. For the first half of the year the French General, St. Ruth, with a native Irish army, still held Connaught for James; but early in July Ginkel took Athlone, and, twelve days afterwards, attacked St. Ruth in his carefully selected position at Aughrim. The Irish fought well upon that memorable Sunday afternoon until a round shot struck down their General, when they broke and fled in all directions.*

* 'Aughrim is now no more, St. Ruth is dead,
And all his Guards are from the battle fled;
As he rode down the hill he met his fall,
And died a victim to a cannon ball.'

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James says in his Memoirs—and having the best information, his opinions on military points always deserve attention—that had the English 'pursued their victory and marched on Limerick, they would have finished the war at one blow.' Without doubt Marlborough in Ginkel's place would have done so, but the Dutch General was made of different metal.* The capture of Galway followed, however, as the immediate result of this victory, and Limerick, after a six weeks' siege, surrendered also. Ginkel, created Earl of Athlone for this campaign, owed much of his success to the able assistance of Generals Mackay and Tolle-mache, who, to the disgust of the officers and soldiers, had no notice taken of them 'because they were not foreigners.†

The victory of Aughrim destroyed the Irish army, and the fall of Limerick completed William's reconquest of Ireland, and robbed James of all further hope of power or position in that country. Had Lewis employed in Ireland half the army which Luxembourg had been moving uselessly from camp to camp in Flanders, he could easily have destroyed Ginkel and re-established James in Dublin Castle.

The residue of St. Ruth's unfortunate army was shipped to France. In all it is computed that some 19,000 splendid Irish soldiers, under the gallant Sarsfield, embarked at Cork.‡ These brave and reckless spirits, led by Irish gentlemen who knew and understood them, now transferred their allegiance to England's greatest enemy. They never forgot their old hatred of those who had been their masters, and the native Irish still glory in the fact that the only important victory which the French can fairly claim over the English was won for them by the hard-fighting Irish Brigade which had its origin in these emigrants.

Marlborough spent this winter at St. Albans when not in attendance upon the King. Though in frequent correspond-

* Macpherson, vol. i., p. 239.

† Dalrymple, Part II., Book VI., p. 166.

‡ James estimates the number at 30,000.—Macpherson, vol. i., p. 240.

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ence with his old master at St. Germain's, and thoroughly discontented with his position at Court and in the army, he still lived on fairly friendly terms with William. None but Dutchmen, however, were admitted to real intimacy with the King, though we read of his dining occasionally with Lord Montague in his lodgings in Whitehall, when Lords Marlborough, Portland, Essex, Sydney and Godolphin were present.* There were great rejoicings this winter upon the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, and in celebration of William's birthday. A grand ball was given at the palace, where the company, we are told, mostly appeared in very fine new clothes. The crowd was so great that not half of the ladies invited could obtain entrance, and only nine chosen couples were able to dance, Marlborough being one of the nine men. Though now past forty-one years of age, he was still remarkably handsome and graceful, whilst his manners were more polished and fascinating than ever.

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Upon his return to London, William lost no time in assembling Parliament. In his opening speech he dwelt upon the success with which the war in Ireland had been brought to an end, and at the same time urged the necessity for vigorous operations against the French King in the coming year. He asked for large supplies to enable him to equip a strong fleet and a land force of some 65,000 men. The proposal to maintain a large army in Flanders was by no means well received. The necessity for prosecuting the war in Ireland at all costs had been generally recognised, but it was not equally clear why troops should be sent to protect the United Provinces, where English interests were, to say the least, remotely involved. The educated alone could fully comprehend what those interests were, and few but far-seeing statesmen like William could understand why it was desirable to fight for them. Thoroughly English was all this, and quite worthy of 'her Majesty's Opposition' for the last half-century.

* Historical MSS., Appendix, Seventh Report, p. 207.

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As soon as the surrender of Limerick had marked the end of the war in Ireland, the Jacobite party in England, and all whom William's bad manners had alienated, found in the standing army a popular subject for complaint. The old cry that it would be used against the liberties of the people was revived, and it was boldly asserted that the militia sufficed for the defence of the country. If we had Allies whom we must help, let that help, it was urged, be in ships, not in soldiers. Those who argued thus ignored the fact that no fleet, however strong, could protect Flanders from France, and that if Flanders were lost Holland would soon share the same fate. The discontented Whigs forgot that if the Dutch fleet were joined to that of France, English ships could not keep the sea. The Channel would become French, and we should in consequence lose our foreign trade. Every story that could arouse the national prejudices of the English people against William was invented and freely circulated. His partiality for Dutchmen had from the first excited much comment and angry remonstrance from those who, like Marlborough, were disappointed of their expected preferment. William took no pains to make himself popular in England or to gain the affection of his new subjects. The figure of the King was unfamiliar to the people, and he disgusted the nobility by his ungracious silence and unsympathetic manner. They felt this all the more deeply because they knew how intimate and convivial he could be over the bottle with his favourite Dutch courtiers. It was with difficulty that Englishmen could obtain audience of the King, and when they did see him he opened his lips seldom, and his heart never. He gained no friends in his new kingdom, while he daily added to the number of his personal enemies. To throw discredit upon his administration, it was sought to prove that the country was defrauded by the payment of soldiers and sailors who, it was alleged, had no existence except in the pay-sheets. The subject was hotly debated in the House of Commons.

Shortly after his return from Flanders, at the beginning of the winter of 1691-92, Marlborough sought to obtain the post of Master-General of the Ordnance, which had become vacant by the death of Schomberg at the Boyne, and had not yet been filled up. He was without doubt the most fitting man in England for this important military charge, and as the emoluments and patronage of the office were considerable, he—still far from rich—craved for the income it would secure him. He was the foremost soldier in the English army, and his services entitled him to look for this reward. But it was refused him, and was bestowed two years later upon William's English favourite, Henry, Viscount Sidney, who was no soldier and hated Marlborough. This refusal rankled in Marlborough's mind, and showed him how little he had to expect from his new master. He spoke openly in the army of the want of consideration shown to English officers, and in his anger he often alluded to William in disparaging and offensive terms. Before several people assembled at Lord Wharton's he related that in the previous reign James had been so anxious to fill the army with Irishmen, that the only question asked was, 'Do you speak English?' Now, he said, you had only to change the word 'Irishman' into 'Dutchman.*' He was certainly not checked by his wife in any of these ebullitions of petulance—on the contrary, she followed his example, and her loud denunciations of the King and his Dutch favourites were daily repeated in Kensington Palace. Anne, who cordially disliked William, encouraged her Lady-in-Waiting in this conduct.

Marlborough had another cause of complaint. During the autumn the Princess Anne and her husband had both reminded William of his promise to confer the Garter on Marlborough in recognition of his services in Ireland, and they urged him to fulfil it as a personal favour to themselves, the Prince adding that it was the only request he

* The Minister F. Bonnet to the Elector Frederick III.: Ranke, vol. vi., p. 177.

had ever made of the King. But no notice was taken of their request.*

It was about this time that Marlborough, perhaps with more candour than wisdom, remonstrated with the King upon his lavish bestowal of Crown property upon Lords Portland and Rocheford, and others of his fellow-countrymen.† It was, he said, 'with great grief of heart many of his faithful servants, among whom he requested the honour to be included, saw the royal munificence confined to one or two lords, and those foreigners.' 'As far as he was concerned he had no reason to complain, he was amply provided for in the post he held under his Majesty; but in duty bound he felt obliged to lay before him what he ought to know, because he could not otherwise be apprized of means to remedy the disasters that might be the result of such an unpopular conduct.' William was most indignant, and, as might be expected, the strained relations between Marlborough and Bentinck were further embittered. Such plain speaking could not be forgiven, nor was it ever forgotten.‡

Early in the winter a number of general officers were named to be employed in Flanders during the next campaign. Marlborough, who was one of them, was freely condemned at Court for refusing to serve in Flanders except in command of the English troops, a position which he was fully justified in claiming, though Ginkel had been sounded to accept it.§

Meanwhile James was pressing Marlborough for something more than promises, but the latter had no desire or intention of committing himself, and was far too cautious and astute to comply. But it was safe and easy to induce the Princess Anne to ask her father's forgiveness and assure

* Dalrymple, Appendix to Part II., Book VII.

† William had raised his friend and illegitimate relation Zulestein to the peerage as Lord Rocheford.

‡ 'Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals'; London, 1713, p. 31.

§ The Minister Bonnet to the Elector, 2^d 1, 1692: Ranke, vol. vi., p. 177.

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‡ 5, 1692.

him of her sorrow for the part she had played; and this much Marlborough did, for, whilst it bound him to nothing, it would, he knew, supply James with a useful card to play in his difficult game with the French Court. It would enable him to assure Lewis that whilst Marlborough would answer for the army and Russell for the navy, the great and powerful English Church would be managed for him by the Princess Anne. Her repentant letter was written in December, 1691, but owing to the close watch kept on all persons going to France, James did not receive it until after Russell's victory off La Hogue.* It would appear to have served Marlborough's purpose to a great extent, for it is mentioned in James's Memoirs thus: 'Considering the great power my Lord and Lady Churchill had with her, was a more than ordinary mark of that Lord's sincerity in what he professed.† It is tolerably certain that William and Mary both knew of Anne's letter, and it is reasonable to infer that this knowledge tended to estrange them still more from the Marlboroughs, whom they justly held responsible for it. Everything that took place in Anne's little Court was known to Barbara, Lady Fitzharding, one of Anne's household and Lady Marlborough's most intimate friend.‡ She habitually recounted all she heard day by day to her sister Elizabeth, William's ill-favoured mistress,§ and it is only natural to suppose that a woman of Sarah Churchill's outspoken nature would tell her friend all about Anne's letter to her father. In a similar way Lady Fitzharding was in the habit of hearing much of the Jacobite news that reached the Cockpit.

Marlborough's loss of the Royal favour made James at this time more disposed than he had been previously to

* Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., pp. 477-498.

† *Ibid.*, p. 476.

‡ She was the daughter of Sir Edward Villiers.

§ She married Lord George Hamilton in 1695, who was made Earl of Orkney by William as a reward for his compliance. She died 1733. She had been Lady-in-Waiting to Mary before her marriage with the Prince of Orange.

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accept his assurances of personal devotion. As Marlborough was brother-in-law to Tyrconnel and uncle to Berwick, it was taken for granted that he would lean towards the cause which was theirs as well as that of his old master. With more sagacity than James is usually credited with, he says in his Memoirs: 'The most interested men's repentance may be credited when they can reasonably hope to mend their fortune by repairing their fault, and better their condition by returning to their duty.'

A scheme, said to be for the restoration of James by a constitutional mode of procedure, was much talked of this year. I do not for a moment believe that Marlborough and the others who devised it had the least intention of using it for that purpose, although they told James they had. But they meant to use it for the purpose of compelling William to govern England exclusively by Englishmen on English lines and for exclusively English objects. The national hatred of foreigners was proverbial, and Marlborough as a soldier had special reasons for detesting them, as William confided almost every important command to his own countrymen. In all military society Marlborough was loud in denunciations of this policy, and impressed upon his hearers that it destroyed their prospects. His scheme was to take advantage of this national feeling and to move an address in Parliament requesting the King to dismiss all foreigners from the public service, and to send out of England all the Dutch troops—about 5,000 men—he still retained there. William knew of this scheme and dreaded it above all things, as it would place him in a most serious dilemma. If he gave way, he would thereby hand himself over to his enemies in England, as powerless as Samson was when deprived of his hair; if he refused, he would create an estrangement between himself and Parliament that he felt would naturally destroy his position in England. James was buoyed up with the hope that Parliament, under these circumstances, would recall him, and that the army led by Marlborough,

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and the navy by Admiral Russell, would side with Parliament and secure his restoration. The plot came to nothing, for some over-suspicious Jacobite, seized with an apprehension that Marlborough was working not in James's interest, but with a view to place Anne on the throne, thought it advisable to stop the whole proceeding, and accordingly disclosed the secret to Bentinck.*

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 440.

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LEWIS XIV. PROPOSES TO INVADE ENGLAND.

James draws up a project for the invasion of England—The French Navy—Whilst Lewis was preparing for the invasion of England, William was making arrangements for a descent upon the French coast.

WHILST William was obtaining supplies from Parliament and making arrangements for a vigorous prosecution of the war in Flanders, his enemy, Lewis XIV., was secretly preparing, for the invasion of England, an army of between twenty and thirty thousand men to be under the command of James II. It is a curious and unaccountable fact that it was not until William had reconquered Ireland, had put down rebellion in Scotland, and the Jacobite party in England had been demoralized in consequence, that Lewis turned his attention seriously to the invasion of this country. Had he sent a strong squadron into the Irish Channel to prevent the return of William and his army from Ireland, and landed 20,000 men under a British commander on the coast of Sussex immediately after his victory off Beachy Head, or even a month earlier, such an army, aided by the English Jacobites, might easily have taken London. The Jacobites were at that time strong in Scotland; in England they had not yet been disheartened by reverses; whilst in Ireland, even after the defeat of the Boyne, a considerable army, as well as the whole Catholic population, recognised James as King. The French officers employed in Ireland during the three

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previous years by Lewis, hating service there, had endeavoured to impress on him the hopelessness of continuing the struggle in that island. Other reasons also led him to believe that a movement in James's interest could be more effectively made in England than in Ireland, and he was assured by the exiled King that most of those who had taken a leading part in the Revolution were so dissatisfied with William that they would hail the return of their lawful Sovereign.

James had, at the request of King Lewis, drawn up a project for the invasion of England. The invading force was to be largely drawn from the 18,000 Irish troops in the French service.* The troops were to assemble at Brest, Belleisle, Rochefort, and Ambleteuse, where every arrangement was to be secretly made for the collection of ships to carry them across the Channel. James urged that everything depended upon the French fleet getting to sea before the English. He proposed to land either near Dover or in the Downs behind the Goodwin Sands, and thence to march upon Rochester, to seize the naval stores there and the men-of-war in the Medway. This, he added, would give him possession of the 'wives, children, and houses of a great number of the officers and sailors of the fleet, which will hinder them from acting against me with the same vigour.' He would thus become 'master of the English fleet, because when they know that I have in my hands all that is most dear to them, they will not fight against my interest.' From Rochester he intended to march on London. If he succeeded in taking that city, 'which has never yet,' he wrote, 'resisted when it was attacked, even by an army of but five or six thousand men, I do not deceive myself when I imagine that the rest of England will not make a long resistance; since it is certain that in London all the men of quality, all the good houses of the nobility, all the rich merchants of the kingdom, have so much interest that I shall have in my hands very good

* Macpherson, vol. i., p. 397.

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pledges of their fidelity.* He was fully alive to the necessity of keeping all knowledge of these preparations from the enemy. He goes on to say: 'That all the matter be as long concealed as possible; that the true design be never named but in the closest councils, and that no questions be publicly asked of places convenient for such an attempt, lest thereby people should form notions prejudicial to the design, and that spying may be prevented.' 'That the secrecy of this affair be entrusted to none but such as are of uncontroverted loyalty; that this thing be never named at St. Germain, even though all the world should talk of it elsewhere.' He was a man of slow understanding in many things, but he thoroughly realized the value of secrecy in military operations, and he understood that the first condition of a successful invasion of England was to secure complete naval supremacy in the Channel. When in 1815 Napoleon set out from Paris to encounter the armies of England and Prussia, his first aim was to bring them separately to battle. And so with Lewis now. His first object was to encounter the navies of England and Holland separately; for if his fleet could but meet that of England before the Dutch fleet should have joined it, his success ought to be assured; and the Dutch fleet, left to its own resources, could not hold the sea against France.

For nearly thirty years Lewis had aimed at creating a fleet to equal those of England and Holland combined. He had spent enormous sums upon his navy, which was now well commanded, efficient, and superior in fighting strength to the navy of England. His agents assured him that the English fleet would not be ready to put to sea before the month of June, and James also persuaded him that Admiral Russell would not oppose the passage across the Channel of the army which was to reinstate the Stewart dynasty. Lewis, however, wishing to be on the safe side, laid his

* These projects by James, which are given in Macpherson, vol. i., p. 398, etc., are very interesting, and should be instructive reading to those who find it convenient to deny the possibility of an invasion.

plans so as to have the whole naval strength of his kingdom concentrated in the Channel long before the Dutch fleet should put to sea, for in previous years the junction of the two fleets had not taken place before summer. It was confidently expected that De Tourville's fleet of about seventy-five ships of the line would be collected in the Channel by the beginning of April, and would be fully competent to destroy any English fleet which it might encounter.

There were, however, many risks to be faced, which Lewis forgot or ignored in the delightful contemplation of the expected naval victory. An invasion of England, followed by the restoration of James, would be, he felt, the most effective checkmate to the Grand Alliance; for William, reduced to his former position of Stadtholder, could no longer take the lead, and without his guiding hand it would soon tumble in pieces. It was arranged between James and Lewis that the invading army should consist of about 20,000 men, the strength recommended by Marlborough, half to be French, and half to be drawn from the Irish troops in France. James was to command the army, with the veteran Marshal de Bellefonds under him. These troops and a fleet of some 300 transports were secretly collected during the month of March in the ports of Normandy, between Havre and La Hogue, and hoped to land on the south coast of England early in April.*

Whilst Lewis was thus occupied in preparations for the invasion of England, William, ignorant of his designs, was on his side making every arrangement for a descent upon the French coast, hoping thereby to create a diversion in favour of his intended operations in Flanders. It would seem that his first intention had been to attack Dunkirk, whose unfinished fortifications offered many openings for a successful assault, but the enemy got wind of this project, and at once put the place in so thorough a state of defence

* Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii., p. 443. Dalrymple, Part II., Book VII.

that all hope of taking it by surprise had to be abandoned. However, the idea of a descent somewhere on the coast of Normandy was persevered in.*

It is a strange coincidence that whilst these preparations were going forward on both sides of the Channel neither King knew of the other's intentions. It was not until late in April that Mary's Council realized the seriousness of the danger which threatened.† The information was first obtained from letters between De Tourville and some of his agents in England, which were taken in a privateer wrecked on the Goodwin Sands. Mary's Council urged the naval Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Russell, to use all possible despatch in getting the fleet ready for sea. The Dutch were likewise urged forward in their preparations, for it was hoped that the combined navies might early in the year have undisputed command of the Channel. A body of troops was held in readiness to embark in transports then fitting out in the Thames; many new ships were built, and every available man-of-war was put in commission. The utmost activity prevailed in our dockyards, and orders were sent to all our squadrons abroad to assemble in the Channel with the least possible delay. No expense was spared, and powder, stores, and provisions were lavishly supplied.

* See *post*, p. 265.

† Ranke, vol. v., p. 46.

CHAPTER LXXII.

MARLBOROUGH DISMISSED FROM ALL HIS OFFICES.

William, well aware that he is surrounded by enemies, is determined to keep command of the Army in the hands of foreigners, as he distrusts the loyalty of English officers—Mary quarrels with Anne, and Marlborough is disgraced the following morning—Admiral Russell takes his part.

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WILLIAM had been for some time gradually realizing that traitors to a hereditary sovereign could be equally disloyal to an elected king. This discovery naturally threw him more than ever into the arms of the foreign adventurers who had come to seek their fortunes in wealthy England. Them he could trust implicitly, for as soldiers of fortune and strangers in a foreign land they were entirely dependent upon him, both for advancement and riches. They could expect nothing from the English nation except through their master's influence, and the lands and highly paid offices which he had bestowed upon them could be at any moment taken back. Knowing the character of the men who had helped to make him King, he felt that they would not hesitate to depose him if they believed the change to be advisable in the interests of England; but though he avoided employing English Generals, he was compelled to select Englishmen to be his Ministers, because he knew how impossible it would be for foreigners to administer the affairs of the country. Indeed, he displayed great magnanimity towards those suspected of hostility to his person and Government, and for years

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continued to employ men whom he knew to be Jacobites at heart. He was too indifferent to what his courtiers might think of him to punish mere abuse of himself and his friends. William had many faults, but envy, hatred, and malice were for the most part foreign to his nature. In mind he was essentially liberal, and he cared nothing for the petty ambitions of party politicians, or for the quarrels and jealousies of courtiers. To him Whigs and Tories were alike, provided that they served him well. He did not exact nor did he expect from them the fervent loyalty of the Cavalier; he was content to wait until his Government should have been for some years well established, to obtain the goodwill of his English subjects. He knew that they disliked his Dutch favourites in spite of their Protestantism, but he also knew that they detested French Roman Catholics. He never sought for information against those in office, even when he believed them to be in correspondence with James; and knowing, as he certainly did, that many of his Ministers, as well as Marlborough and Russell, were in constant communication with St. Germain, he nevertheless continued to employ them, and had the sagacity to appear, at least, to trust them. But he would not give high commands in the army to Englishmen. James lost his crown through the defection of his army, and his army through the defection of Marlborough, and William felt that if in his turn the army failed him, he too would be ruined. He consequently determined to keep it entirely in his own hands, employing only Dutch officers in high commands. They had been trained in the wars which for the last score of years William had been waging against France. They were his friends, his comrades in arms, and his countrymen, and it was only natural that he should give the preference to men of tried military capacity and of undoubted devotion to his person rather than to untried English officers of doubtful loyalty. The following lines explained why it was that William preferred his own countrymen for high commands:

' We blame the King that he relies too much
On strangers, Germans, Huguenots and Dutch,
And seldom does his great affairs of State,
To English councillors communicate.
The fact might very well be answered thus:
He has so often been betrayed by us,
He must have been a madman to rely,
On English gentlemen's fidelity.
For (laying other arguments aside),
This thought might mortify our English pride,
That foreigners have faithfully obeyed him,
And none but Englishmen have e'er betrayed him.'*

He had, moreover, been educated in the superstition that no military talent was to be found outside the stiff and formal armies of Europe, trained in that methodical system of warfare practised on the Continent. Few English officers had had this training, and William consequently had no opinion of them as leaders in the field. The French Ambassador, writing to his Court, says of them: 'They are even ignorant of the smallest rules of war, and except a few officers who have seen active service in France and in Holland, the great bulk of them do not know even the first principles of the articles of war.'†

But his attitude in this respect was keenly criticised whenever he was compelled to ask Parliament for supplies of men and money, and insulting attacks were made upon him. Upon one occasion a member said that 'one of the plagues of Egypt had fallen upon England, where the croak of frogs was to be heard everywhere from the palace to the cottage.' It is certain that, impassive and phlegmatic as William was, he deeply resented the attacks upon his countrymen.

In his campaigns he had always been accustomed to deal with armies made up of contingents from many countries,

* Defoe's 'Trueborn Englishman.'

† Barillon to Lewis XIV. of 9, 12, 1688. This might have been written with truth of the army which we sent to the Crimea in 1854, and even of our army subsequently, until public opinion compelled its reform.

and commanded by officers of various nationalities. He could not therefore understand why English soldiers, more than others, should object to serve under foreigners; nor was it intelligible to him why Englishmen should entertain so strong a prejudice against all men born outside their own islands. It is curious that these sentiments should exist even to-day, seeing that few nations in the last thousand years have been longer ruled by foreign kings. As late as the last century we had two who did not even speak English.

Whilst William could command the services of many foreign Generals of experience, his choice of English commanders was extremely limited. Marlborough was now the only English soldier of any note, and to him he was certainly under the deepest obligations. But as yet Marlborough was only known as a successful commander amongst his own countrymen, and, except during the recent expedition to Cork, he had hitherto only served in subordinate positions. The fact that whatever he undertook succeeded, and that wherever he commanded fortune smiled upon his dashing activity, intensified the jealous dislike of the King's Dutch officers, and William certainly allowed his partiality for them to weigh heavily against Marlborough. Had his correspondence with James been the only bar to his employment, the only cause of dislike and the only reason why he should be disgraced, imprisoned and neglected, it may be assumed that he would have been employed, as well as many others who were also playing a double game. But there were other reasons, the strongest being the unlimited influence which he and his wife exercised over the Princess Anne. Besides, it is not impossible that William—the unsuccessful commander—may have shared in some measure the dislike and jealousy which the Ginkels, Bentincks and Schombergs entertained for the one able and successful commander whom England possessed.

Meanwhile the breach between the two royal sisters increased with time, and at length ended in a serious explosion. Anne was at Court one evening early in January, when the

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Queen attacked her for making an allowance of £1,000 a year to Lady Marlborough from her Parliamentary annuity. The dispute rose high, and Mary was enraged at having her authority disputed. She rated her sister in unmeasured terms, or, as Anne describes it, she began 'to pick quarrels,' and even talked of reducing the Parliamentary annuity by one half.* But strong as was the Queen's determination to assert her authority, she could make no impression upon Anne's obstinacy, and the open defiance of her power provoked her to such a degree that she persuaded the King to dismiss Marlborough from all his Court and army employments, believing that his disgrace would necessarily lead to a separation between the Princess and her objectionable Lady-in-Waiting.

¹/₂ 1, 169¹/₂. The blow was struck the day after the above-mentioned altercation. Marlborough was in waiting that morning as Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and, according to custom, had handed the King his shirt as he dressed. William's manner towards him was as usual, and as soon as this important duty had been performed Marlborough introduced Lord George Hamilton to the Royal presence. But before a couple of hours had elapsed Lord Nottingham, the Secretary of State, brought him an order from the King to sell at once all the offices he held, civil and military, as from that date he was to consider himself dismissed from the army and all public employment and forbidden the Court. These orders were as insulting as they were peremptory, and, coming a few hours after her rupture with the Queen, the Princess Anne felt them to be intended as a personal and open affront to her also. William had just reasons of complaint against Marlborough, but he should have remembered his services at the Revolution, in Flanders, and in Ireland. These services, however, were ignored, and Colonel Tollemache was promoted to fill Marlborough's place. His troop of Life Guards was given to Lord Colchester; his regiment, now the Royal Fusiliers, was

* Letter from Anne to Sarah, pp. 83, 84, of 'The Conduct.'

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bestowed upon Lord George Hamilton; and his post of Gentleman of the Bedchamber was filled by Lord Lansdowne. In accordance with the custom of the times, he received, however, a round sum down from each of his successors in the offices of which he was deprived.

It is much to Admiral Russell's credit that he had the courage to upbraid William for his ungenerous treatment of one who was not only the foremost English soldier, but who had, in fact, 'set the Crown on his head.'* It was in vain that he pressed the King for some reason for this conduct; he only incurred his Majesty's displeasure without in any way benefiting his friend. Strange to say, Marlborough's offences, whatever they may have been, were not visited upon his relatives; for one of them, Charles Churchill, was promoted to be a first-lieutenant in the army shortly afterwards.† George Churchill, however, resigned his position and commission in the navy because ²³/₁, 169¹/₂. of the ill-treatment his brother Lord Marlborough had met with from the King.

* Burnet, vol. ii., p. 92.

† Hatton Correspondence of January 28, 1692, vol. i., p. 170.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE KING'S REASONS FOR THE DISMISSAL OF MARLBOROUGH.

Many theories started on the subject at the time—Sarah ordered to leave the Court—Anne leaves in consequence—Sarah wishes to quit Anne's service, but does not do so, at the urgent request of the Princess.

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THE cause of Marlborough's abrupt dismissal from office has remained for a long time unexplained, but with the fuller information now before us it is not difficult to penetrate the mystery.* When Russell pleaded with William on behalf of his friend, the King was fully aware that, as far as treasonable correspondence with James was concerned, Russell was quite as guilty as Marlborough himself. It was not, therefore, solely on this account that he was dismissed; neither was it because of a desire on the part of the King to comply with Mary's wishes. It is more likely that he thought it advisable to make an example of one of those whom he knew to be engaged in plotting against him, and, by selecting Marlborough, to show his faithless servants that the highest services rendered at the Revolution would not screen the guilty from his wrath. In Marlborough also he chose the man who had made himself specially obnoxious both by personal abuse of him as an individual and by constant depreciation of him as King. It was but natural that William should in his heart resent Marlborough's

* Lord Hardwicke, in a note on Burnet (vol. ii., p. 85), says the real cause of Marlborough's disgrace was never cleared up.

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conduct in this respect, and we know from himself that he did resent it deeply. His Dutch friends also, to further their own ends, did their best to fan his wrath. Moreover, he must have calculated that, in consequence of Marlborough's disgrace, Anne would be compelled to dismiss from her household the wife of a man forbidden to appear within the precincts of the Court. This was a consummation devoutly wished for by himself and by the Queen.

It is a melancholy truth that success breeds envy and detraction. Marlborough's rivals, both English and Dutch, sought to disparage his achievements by attributing them to good luck; for it is the way of incompetent men to accuse the able of being fortunate.* But, making every allowance for the envy and hostility of this class, it remains a curious fact that, courteous, affable, and pleasing as Marlborough was to all with whom he came in contact, he yet had no party and few stanch adherents at Court, or even in the army. He had a few good friends, such as the Duke of Shrewsbury, Admiral Russell, and Lords Nottingham and Godolphin, who always did their best to promote his interests, and were anxious to help him now that he was in trouble. He had a host of acquaintances, but had always been too self-contained to have many intimate friends, especially after his marriage. In an age of jovial festivity he was not a convivial man, and his temperate and simple habits were a sort of standing reproach to the gambling and drinking men around him. His frugality had already earned for him a reputation of penuriousness, which we are told was often the subject of ridicule at Court. It was complained, too, that he never entertained—a circumstance which was not calculated to promote his popularity with his contemporaries, devoted as they were to the pleasures of the table. It was also said that his style of living was on a very humble scale, more suited to a man with an income of £1,000 a year than to one as rich as he was. Many, therefore, besides those who coveted his places

* Napoleon.

at Court or in the army, rejoiced at his fall; whilst to others, such as Portland, who envied his reputation, it was a source of triumph. Few indeed, excepting his personal friends, Godolphin and Russell, seemed to grieve over it.*

Mary had long distrusted Marlborough and his wife—a feeling that was fostered in her by Edward Villiers, her Master of the Horse, who hated them cordially. In short, everything the Marlboroughs did or said that could be made to tell against them was carefully reported and exaggerated. At the same time, it is strange that two clever people bred up at Court and familiar with its ways, who knew how essential it is to stand well with the Sovereign and with the Sovereign's favourites, should so utterly spoil their game by allowing temper to override judgment and discretion when they talked of William in society. They took no trouble to ingratiate themselves with the members of the Villiers family, then the most influential people at Court. One sister, 'the squint-eyed Elizabeth,' was William's acknowledged mistress; and another had married his favourite, Bentinck. The brother Edward, afterwards created Earl of Jersey as the price of his sister's dishonour, had long been in Mary's service, and still enjoyed her confidence. The whole influence of this family was united with that of the King's favourites, Portland and Sidney, to injure the Marlboroughs, and to inflame William and Mary against them. Thus, had there been no other reason for Marlborough's long exclusion from employment after his disgrace, the bitter animosity entertained towards him by a clique of courtiers who had constant access to the King by day and night is sufficient to account for it. Sarah's temper had made Elizabeth Villiers a bitter enemy; and Portland's jealousy of Marlborough having grown into active personal hatred, both he and the King's mistress in-

* Historical MSS., Appendix to Seventh Report, p. 220. For some years he possessed but three very modest-looking coats, one of which was strictly reserved for the festivities upon the birthdays of the King, the Queen, and the Princess Anne.

cited William against this ambitious couple, and denounced their ingratitude and avarice with the most bitter invectives.

In those days no man could long maintain his power who was at enmity with the King's mistress. Her favour was quite as important to the courtiers at Whitehall as the interest and good wishes of the Zenana have always been for the Eastern Vizir. It was not, however, until Mary, smarting under the irritation of her open rupture with Anne the previous evening, had pressed William to dismiss Marlborough, that he finally resolved to do so. Two and a half years afterwards Lord Shrewsbury, in a letter to the King, when pleading for Marlborough's forgiveness and re-employment, refers to William's cause of complaint as embracing some points of a nature too tender for him to advise upon, and of which he said the King only could judge; 'but if those could be accommodated to your Majesty's satisfaction,' etc.* From this it seems plain that he was not disgraced for any fault that could be regarded as a crime in the eyes of the law.

For many days the great topic of London gossip was the news of Marlborough's disgrace, and his dismissal filled the pages of every news-letter. Endless were the guesses as to the cause of his disgrace. Sir C. Lyttelton, [¶] 2, 1694, who states that his information is derived from Lords Caermarthen, Nottingham, and from Marlborough himself, says: 'All agreed in this, y^e King, besides other things of high misdemeanour, said he had held correspondence with K^s James.'† Evelyn, who disliked Marlborough, states that he was dismissed 'for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers.' It is to be noted that even at this period of his career charges of this sort were associated with his name, but such accusations were commonly made against

* Shrewsbury Correspondence.

† This letter, addressed to Viscount Hatton, is given at p. 170, vol. ii., of Camden Society edition of Hatton Correspondence.

nearly all leading public men, and, indeed, the echo of them is to be heard even in our own days. Most of the conjectures as to the cause of Marlborough's sudden dismissal were at least partly founded upon his openly expressed condemnation of Dutch favouritism, and upon his alleged endeavour to excite discontent in the army. Some lay stress upon the fact that it was he who induced the officers to complain to William of his neglecting them, particularly since 'the reduction of Ireland.' The Jacobites were especially spiteful in their abuse of the fallen courtier, for at this time many of their agents still suspected that his plots and schemes were in Anne's interest rather than in her father's. Every sort of damaging story was told against him at Court. He was reported to have said that he had quitted James because he would not govern according to law, and that he would now leave William, because he seemed determined to follow in James's footsteps. In a letter to Anne, the Queen says she 'need not repeat the cause he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his unwillingness at all times to come to such extremities, though people do deserve it.' From this it is evident that Anne and her Lady-in-Waiting were both acquainted with the alleged cause.

A close and intelligent observer of these events at the English Court has left us a series of valuable and interesting despatches concerning them. Being the representative of the Elector Frederick III. of Prussia, he was allowed to see perhaps more of the inner life at Kensington and Hampton Court than fell to the lot of most foreign Ministers. He reports to his Royal master, towards the end of January, that William, referring to Marlborough's disgrace, said that he had been treated so infamously by that nobleman that had he not been King he would have felt it necessary to demand personal satisfaction.* The Prussian Minister adds—evidently repeating the gossip of the Court ante-chamber—that all Marlborough's misfortunes sprang from

Bonnet to the Elector: Ranke vol. vi., p. 177.

an excessive confidence in his own talents, and from his belief that he could not be done without; that he was extremely angry because he had not been made Master-General of the Ordnance, and that he had pressed upon the attention of the English officers that the chief commands in the army were invariably given to foreigners. He had even gone so far, Mr. Bonnet alleged, as to tell the officers that their only chance of remedying this condition of things was to band themselves together and to refuse, as a body, to obey orders. He also dwelt upon the offensive terms in which Marlborough had often spoken of William, and of his having derided the notion that he was capable of ruling England. Several of the officers who heard Marlborough speak thus—professing friends amongst others—told the King all this two months before the final blow was struck. It was even said that Marlborough wished William to know that he was discontented. His vanity showed itself, Mr. Bonnet stated, in his refusing to go to Flanders unless he were given command of the English troops. The despatch containing all this goes on further to describe the King's and Queen's grievances against Sarah for her great influence over the Princess Anne. Indeed, it was more than hinted that the Lady-in-Waiting was also in the habit of winning largely from her Royal mistress.* William himself said, in a conversation with Lord Nottingham, that he had disgraced Marlborough for sowing dissension and breeding faction in the army, and for holding correspondence with the Court at St. Germain; but, added the King, 'he has rendered such valuable services that I have no wish to push him too hard.'†

In the 'Rough Draught' of 'History of His Own Time' Bishop Burnet states that William told him he had good

* The Princess, it was rumoured, was pressed for money owing to her debts, which already amounted to £50,000, of which some £15,000 or £16,000 was said to be due to Lady Marlborough as gambling debts. Ranke, vol. vi., p. 177.

† Vol. xi., No. 11, of Tracts in Athenæum Library.

reason for knowing that Marlborough had made his peace with James, and was then in correspondence with France; that he had done his utmost to create a faction in the army and in the nation against the Dutch; that he and his wife had alienated the affections of the Princess Anne from Queen Mary, who had striven to remain on the most sisterly terms with the Princess, but had not bought Anne's favourite, Lady Marlborough, as she deemed it would have been beneath her dignity to have done so.*

In her 'Conduct,' the Duchess ignores any cause of complaint that William may have had against her husband. She tries to persuade us, that his disgrace was solely the result of a Court intrigue set on foot with a view to force the Princess Anne to dismiss her. As far as she tells this story it seems to be absolutely correct. But it is evident that the violent quarrel between the sisters on the evening I have referred to was the immediate cause of her husband's disgrace the following morning. It was the last drop which made the cup of Mary's wrath flow over. The suddenness with which the dismissal was determined upon, and the abruptness with which it was carried out, strongly corroborate this view. In support of her explanation, the Duchess says that when Lady Fitzharding had some time before endeavoured to persuade her to side with the Court on the subject of Anne's annuity, her dear friend had warned her 'that if she would not put an end to measures so disagreeable to the King and Queen, it would certainly be the ruin of her Lord, and consequently of all her family.†

There is reason to believe that the discovery made by William, of a very important military secret having been communicated to the enemy through Lady Tyrconnel, had also something to do with Lord Marlborough's dismissal.

* This 'Rough Draft' is in the Bodleian Library; it is curious to note the difference between it and the published book on all points dealing with the Marlboroughs. The Bishop altered his original draught to please them, as he was on very intimate terms with them when the final draught was prepared for the press.

† 'Conduct,' pp. 30, 31.

It was naturally assumed that Sarah corresponded with her sister in France, and, although it is possible that she never told Lady Tyrconnel any news of importance, it was generally believed at the time that secrets had reached Lewis through this channel. It is tolerably certain that, as already mentioned in Chapter LXXI., an early attack upon Dunkirk was one of William's projects for the campaign of 1692. Horace Walpole tells us that, as a boy, he heard his father and his father's contemporaries repeat the following anecdote on this subject: William had resolved upon the operation because he had good reason to believe that Dunkirk was entirely unprepared to resist a sudden attack; but success would depend upon the secrecy with which it was prepared, and the suddenness with which it was delivered. As Marlborough was to take part in the undertaking, he was entrusted with the secret, which was imparted to none but himself and the two Lords Caermarthen and Shrewsbury. The project had, however, to be abandoned, owing to the preparations for defence made by the French—preparations which were evidently due to the secret having been betrayed. William, much incensed at this breach of faith, questioned the three lords to whom only he had mentioned the intended attack as to whether they had told anyone of it. Marlborough's answer was: 'Upon my honour, sir, I told it to nobody but to my wife.' 'I did not tell it to mine,' was the King's rejoinder. It was commonly supposed Sarah had informed her sister, by whom it was communicated to James, and through him to the French Court. The story is corroborated by so many contemporary writers that its main features may be accepted as true.* In another version we are told that a French

* Burnet, vol. ii., p. 90. A note by Lord Dartmouth states that Lord Nottingham had told him this story. Carlton, in his memoirs, tells the same story in reference to a projected attack the same year upon Brest, but he evidently mistakes the name of the place, although he is correct as to the betrayal of the secret. He says, the secret

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officer, commanding in some important outwork of Dunkirk, had been bribed to betray his post to the English, and that when the secret leaked out the would-be traitor was executed.*

²⁹/₈-1, 1692.

Towards the end of January the Princess received an anonymous letter informing her that Marlborough's disgrace was but the prelude to his attachment for high treason. It warned her that Lady Fitzharding was a spy upon all her doings and sayings, which she retailed at Kensington, and wound up by stating that Anne would soon be compelled to dismiss her favourite lady.† Lady Marlborough's haughty imprudence soon afforded the Queen a plausible excuse for again calling upon the Princess to take this step. During a couple of weeks after her husband's disgrace she refrained from appearing at Court, but was then, she says, persuaded by her friends—in particular by Godolphin

¹/₄ 2, 1692.

—to attend her mistress to Kensington. It was a strong, indeed an impudent proceeding on her part, and one which enraged the Queen beyond measure. The next day, February 5, Mary wrote to her sister desiring her to dismiss her offending Lady-in-Waiting. She pointed out that as long as she remained in Anne's household Marlborough, though forbidden the Court, was afforded a just 'pretence of being where he ought not to be.' She intimated that it was only from a fond consideration of Anne's condition—she was then with child—that she had not turned Sarah out of the palace the preceding night, and upbraided Anne for the want of civility and of proper respect shown by this conduct. She does not, she says, require an immediate answer, 'because I would not have you give a rash one.'

'having been entrusted to a female politician on land, it was soon discovered to the enemy.' At p. 30 of 'Remarks upon the Account of the Conduct,' etc., there is a full detail of this matter, the author adding, 'He had the narrative from a person of the highest consideration in that and the succeeding reigns.'—Lediard, vol. i., p. 75.

* Lord Ailesbury, in his memoirs, p. 283, asserts this to be a fact.

† Coxe, vol. i., p. 48.

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She intimated her intention to pay Anne a visit the following day before the customary daily card-playing began, for she could not join in the Princess's game whilst Lady Marlborough was one of the party. Her Majesty then goes on to say, in allusion to Sarah's dismissal: 'Though it be hard, it is not unreasonable; but what has ever been practised.' Anne was furious, and her attendant indignant. When the Queen first reached London she had shown Sarah much kindness, and, as the latter asserts, 'did me many honours, which would have engaged some people to fix the foundation of their future fortune in her favour; and that there was no person more likely than I to rise upon this bottom, if I could have been tempted to break the inviolable laws of friendship.'* She goes on to remark very justly that as the difference in age between the sisters was small, there was not 'the least probability that the Princess should outlive the King and Queen.' Her attachment to Anne was consequently not the result of a deep calculation of chances on her part.

Anne, in her reply to the Queen's letter, intimated that she did not mean to part with Lady Marlborough, and this led to a message, conveyed to her by the Lord Chamberlain, forbidding that lady to remain 'any longer at the Cockpit.' The result was that early in March Anne quitted the town residence which Charles II. had bought and given to her on her marriage, and went with Lady Marlborough to live at Sion House, which the Duke of Somerset lent her. Sarah assures us that from the beginning of the quarrel she wished to leave Anne's household, and often entreated the Princess to allow her to do so. She felt that the Queen's enmity with Anne was solely due to her presence at the Cockpit, and she desired to remove this cause of quarrel by leaving the Princess's service. This is corroborated in one of Anne's letters to Sarah, written in May, in which she mentions having told the Bishop of Worcester: 'You had several times desired you might go

* 'The Conduct,' p. 53.

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from me.' She adds, 'But I beg it again for Christ Jesus's sake that you would never name it any more to me. For be assured, if you should ever do so cruel a thing as to leave me, from that moment I shall never enjoy one quiet hour. And should you do it without asking my consent (which if I ever give you may I never see the face of Heaven) I will shut myself up and never see the world more, but live where I may be forgotten by human kind.* In several other letters the Princess writes in a similar strain imploring her favourite 'for God's sake' never again to mention the possibility of leaving her, and assuring her that the Prince entirely shares her views on this point. Lady Marlborough tells us that whenever she hinted at leaving Anne's service she was met with passionate outbursts 'of tenderness and weeping' from her mistress.

At Sion House Anne gave birth to a child, which only lived a few hours. She immediately informed the Queen, who paid her a formal visit. Her greeting to Anne was: 'I have made the first step by coming to you, and I now expect you should make the next by removing my Lady Marlborough.' Anne's answer was that she had never disobeyed the Queen except in this one matter, 'which she hoped would some time or other appear as unreasonable to her Majesty as it did to her.' The Queen rose and left immediately.† The two sisters never met again, although some letters passed between them.

When strong enough to move, after a short visit to Bath, Anne finally took up her residence in Berkeley House, Piccadilly.‡

* 'Conduct,' p. 75.

† *Ibid.*, p. 70.

‡ It stood where Devonshire House now is. Anne took it for three years at £600 per annum.—Luttrell's Diary, 19, 4, 1692.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

MARLBOROUGH SENT TO THE TOWER.

Invasion threatened—Marlborough sent to the Tower.

WHEN William went to Holland this year he left Mary with full authority to govern in his absence. General Tolle-mache accompanied him as Lieutenant-General—the position intended for Marlborough previous to his sudden disgrace. The force left at home for the protection of the kingdom was dangerously small, owing to William's anxiety to collect a large army in Flanders, and he was consequently filled with anxiety when the Secretary of State informed him that a French invasion was impending.* It is a curious fact that although the preparations made by Lewis for an invasion had been long known to hundreds of Jacobites in England, none had betrayed the secret to the Government or given any information on the subject; indeed, when the news was communicated to Lord Nottingham he declined at first to believe it. The Queen countermanded the embarkation of six regiments intended for Flanders, and ordered six others to be recalled from Ireland and three from Scotland, William at the same time sending back three more under Tollemache. All these battalions were despatched in haste to the southern coast.† The

* The troops left at home were eight regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and twelve of Foot, and of these six were under orders for Holland.

† These three regiments from Holland were Selwin's, now the Queen's or West Surrey; Beveridge's, now the West Yorkshire; and

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Dutch Duke of Leinster* was appointed to command the forces in England, the Militia was called out, and camps were formed between Petersfield and Southampton; preparations were made to drive all cattle and horses fifteen miles inland upon the first alarm being given, and every possible arrangement was made to oppose the expected invaders. A general embargo was laid upon all shipping for fifteen days from May 10. Consternation reigned in London, and all looked troubled and anxious, excepting the Jacobites, whose spirits rose with every fresh report from James's headquarters. Everything now pointed to a counter-Revolution. The country was unsettled, none rendered to the new King more than a cold and grudging allegiance, and with the exception of the foreigners in William's service no one seemed anxious for a continuance of his reign. The Government at last became fully alive to the impending danger, and every hour brought them additional information of the Jacobite preparations for civil war. The prospect was so disquieting that Mary thought it advisable to burn her private journals.

William at once despatched Lord Portland with letters and instructions to the Queen. He reached London on the evening of Monday, May 2, and a Cabinet Council met the following day to consider the King's letters. The first result of its deliberations was the issue of warrants for the immediate arrest of Lords Marlborough, Lichfield, Scarsdale, Huntingdon and others. The warrant for the arrest of Marlborough, as entered in the Privy Council books, is dated May 3, and says 'that he was charged with high treason, and for abetting and adhering to his Majesty's enemies.' On May 4, Marlborough was examined by the Council, and he was sent to the Tower on the following day, the warrant for his committal being signed

Lloyd's, since disbanded. They encamped on Southsea Common. Of the six regiments whose embarkation was countermanded, three were Sir J. Lanier's, now the King's Dragoon Guards, Lord Portland's, and Colonel Langston's.

* Meinhardt de Schomberg had been created Duke of Leinster, 3, 3, 1691.

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by the Secretary of State, Lord Sydney, who was hostile to him. The guards were doubled in London, mounted sentries patrolled the approaches to Whitehall, and two companies of the train bands were ordered to be under arms every night.* A fortnight earlier hot and cold fits regarding invasion had alternated, but now the scare was general; every citizen went to bed in terror lest the dawn should discover French troops in the streets; Parliament was summoned to meet forthwith; all Roman Catholics were ordered to leave London and its neighbourhood; the Jacobite agents known to be in the City were diligently sought for, and many of them were caught and imprisoned; numerous arrests were made, and houses were searched daily. Surely 'twas 'a very jealous time'!†

No convincing evidence of Marlborough's guilt was produced before the Council, and Lords Devonshire, Bradford and Montagu refused to sign the warrant, scornfully passing it on to the members sitting next to them with undisguised contempt for the whole proceeding.‡ Their reason for this attitude was a just one; the accuser—Robert Young—upon whose evidence the suspected lords were committed, being known as a worthless insolvent of infamous character. On the other hand, the accused lords were known by William to be in constant correspondence with James, and were believed to be dangerous to the public peace. Whether there was or was not technically sufficient evidence to warrant their legal imprisonment is a question; but it is nevertheless certain that at so critical a moment the Government were fully justified in the course they took. The maintenance

* Letter of Sir C. Lyttelton to Lord Hatton, dated 5, 5, 1692, Camden Society Papers of 1878. Prices went suddenly up in London. The loaf, which had previously cost but ninepence, became a shilling; mutton rose to fivepence, and beef to threepence the pound. See Hatton Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 174. A letter dated 'Pell Mell, April 10, 1692.'

† Letter of Sir C. Lyttelton to Lord Hatton, dated 5, 5, 1692, Camden Society Papers of 1878.

‡ 'Conduct,' p. 62.

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of peace and the safety of the country are considerations superior to all the formalities of law. Marlborough was kept a close prisoner in the Tower, no one being allowed to see him except by order of the Secretary of State. His wife left the Princess Anne at Sion House in order to be near him in town, and she left no means untried to obtain his release. There still exist many orders signed by Lord Nottingham granting her permission to see him in prison, the earliest being dated five days after his committal, and worded 'for this time only.' A Mr. Chudleigh was a frequent visitor;* the first order of admission given to him was to see Marlborough in presence of a warder 'for this time only.' Later on we find an order addressed to Lord Lucas, the Constable of the Tower, signifying the Queen's pleasure that friends and relations of the prisoners lately committed should have access to them from time to time. They were subsequently allowed to dine together when all dread of invasion had passed away.

Marlborough in the Tower had fewer friends than ever, but his wife makes honourable mention of Lord Bradford, who not only refused to sign the warrant which committed him to prison, but paid him a visit when there. Others kept aloof for fear of injuring their position at Court, and had not even the kindness to visit his wife in her hour of trial and humiliation.† She writes of this with a bitterness strange in one who, having seen much of the world, ought not to have been surprised at its ingratitude.

Marlborough's arrest was extremely mortifying to the Princess Anne. The anger, grief, and anxiety which it occasioned to her favourite found an echo in her heart, and she gave expression to her feelings in the following affectionate letter to his wife: 'I hear Lord Marlborough is sent to the Tower; and though I am certain they have nothing against him, and expected by your letter it would be so, yet I was

* He was a correspondent of the Earl of Yarmouth's. Historical MSS., Seventh Report, Appendix, p. 535.

† 'Conduct,' p. 62.

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struck when I was told of it, for methinks it is a dismal thing to have one's friends sent to that place. I have a thousand melancholy thoughts, and cannot help fearing they should hinder you from coming to me; though how they can do that without making you a prisoner, I cannot imagine. I am just told by pretty good hands that as soon as the wind turns westerly, there will be a guard set upon the Prince and me. If you hear there is any such thing designed, and that 'tis easy to you, pray let me see you before the wind changes, for afterwards one does not know whether they will let one have opportunities of speaking to one another. But let them do what they please, nothing shall ever vex me, so I can have the satisfaction of seeing dear Mrs. Freeman; and I swear I would live on bread and water between four walls with her without repining; for as long as you continue kind, nothing can ever be a real mortification to your faithful Mrs. Morley, who wishes she may never enjoy a moment's happiness in this world or the next if ever she proves false to you.*

Let us hope that this pious wish was not registered in heaven, for fifteen years later she hated her 'dear Mrs. Freeman' with a bitter hatred. In the same letter Anne refers to the indignities put upon her by order of the King and Queen, because she insisted upon retaining Lady Marlborough in her household against their wishes. Society was given the hint not to call upon the Princess, and she was deprived of her military guard and the other outward marks of respect usually paid to members of the Royal Family.

Marlborough, of course, knew in his heart that his recent correspondence with James rendered him guilty of high treason. But the villain Young accused him of complicity in a plot which had no existence, and he was consequently able to repudiate the charges upon which he had been arrested with the indignation of an innocent and injured man. He appealed to Lord Caermarthen, President of the

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 65.

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Council, although there had never been any intimacy between them.* He wrote: 'Having been informed that it is now publicly discoursed in Westminster Hall to-day, that a letter under my hand was to be produced to the grand jury, to induce them to find a bill against me, I beg leave to assure your lordship, upon my honour and credit, that if any such letter be pretended, it must and will, upon examination, appear so plainly to have been forged, that as it can be of no credit or advantage to the Government, so I doubt not but your lordship's justice will be ready to protect me from so injurious a proceeding, who am,' etc.

He also sent the following appeal to the Earl of Devonshire, then Lord High Steward: 'I am so confident of my innocence, and so convinced, if there be any such letter, that it must appear to be forged, and made use of only to keep me in prison, that I cannot doubt but your lordship will be so kind as to let me find your protection against such a proceeding, which will be a reproach to the Government as well as an injury to Yours,' etc.†

* Caermarthen, like Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and, indeed, like all William's Ministers, was then in correspondence with James.

† Coxe, vol. i., pp. 64, 65.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.—MARLBOROUGH'S RELEASE FROM THE TOWER.

French preparations for the invasion of England—James issues a Proclamation to the English People—Admiral Russell—He gains the battle of La Hogue—Young's accusations against Marlborough—Death of Marlborough's boy Charles—Released from the Tower.

WHILST these events were taking place at home, active preparations were in progress on the other side of the Channel, where nothing was talked of but the invasion of England. Every port in Normandy was alive with rollicking Irish musketeers and busy French sailors. Impoverished soldiers of fortune—and there were many serving with the Irish Brigade—looked eagerly across the Channel in anticipation of the rich plunder which London would afford. Everything was, however, retarded by bad weather. The naval preparations were not up to time; but James found the military arrangements completed when, with Berwick and De Bellefonds, he reached Caen about the middle of April. The recent storms had damaged the ships, head winds prevented the embarkation of the troops, and the squadron under Count d'Estrée, which was expected from Toulon, could not get through the Straits of Gibraltar. This was a serious loss, for these ships were required to convoy the transports across the Channel, whilst the great fleet under De Tourville was to engage that of Admiral Russell. Notwithstanding these unfortunate delays, the French were confident of success. 'How happy shall I

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be,' writes a French colonel, as he was about to embark, 'when I date my first letter from on board ship! the next will perhaps follow dated from the English shore; a third, please God, from London.'*

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The preparations for the crossing were eagerly pushed forward by the exiled King himself, nor were the Jacobites in England wanting in zeal and activity. In Lancashire, the home of so many old Roman Catholic families, a military force was being organized, and James was assured that a formidable body of devoted soldiers would join him as soon as he landed.† He issued a proclamation which was freely distributed throughout Great Britain, assuring Protestants of all denominations that they had no cause to dread his return on the score of religion, and pardoning all, with the exception of a few specially named, who had proved unfaithful to him. Lord Churchill was amongst the exceptions, but James took care to inform him that this was done lest his true sentiments should become known. James assured him that he not only pardoned him, but would regard him henceforward as his chief agent, by which title he was generally styled in the subsequent Jacobite correspondence. The following entry relating to this critical period occurs in James's Memoirs: 'The correspondence with my Lord Churchill was still kept up, for thō so much former treachery, and so little other proofs of a change than words and protestations, made his intentions lyable to suspicion; yet he put so plausible a face upon his reasons and actions, that if they were not accompanied with truth and sincerity, they had at least a specious appearance of fair and honest dealing; and had this reason, above all others, to be credited, that not only he, but his . . . ‡ (wife?), was out

* A paper in the French War Office quoted by Ranke, vol. v., p. 46.

† A number of officers who had arrived from St. Germain to raise troops were arrested through information supplied by Mr. J. Macky. 'Memoirs of the Secret Services of J. Macky, Esq.,' 1733, p. v.

‡ This blank is in the original MS. I presume the omitted word is 'wife.'

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of favour with the Prince of Orange, and reap'd no other benefit from their past infidelities than the infamy of having committed them,' etc.* But in every reference to Marlborough in these interesting memoirs it is easy to read between the lines, and to see that James was quite aware that he was merely being played with for interested motives by Marlborough, Russell, and Godolphin. In fact, stupid as he was, he saw through them, and fully comprehended their game, though he could not afford to tell them so.

Marlborough's friend, Admiral Russell, was as unprincipled, sordid, and self-seeking as most of the public men of the day. It was commonly said that only those who bribed and flattered him could expect consideration at his hands, and that he cared for his own interests to the exclusion of James's claims upon his loyalty, and of William's upon his gratitude. Like the proverbial Irishman, he was against all authority. Unfaithful to James at the Revolution, he threw in his lot with William and Mary, whom he subsequently deserted; but though he again swore allegiance to his old master, yet he would not serve him when the crucial moment came. He never rose to distinction or gained a leading position. Though a pronounced Whig, he was yet in James's confidence and in close communication with him. He was now pre-eminently the man upon whose conduct the fate of England depended, for he was in command of the Channel fleet, which alone could save the country from invasion, the army in England being too small to do so. Should he draw off without fighting, or be defeated in an engagement, a French army would land forthwith on our shores. The military position was very much the same as it was immediately before the battle of Trafalgar. Can anything be more unwise than to trust the fate of the country to the issue of one battle upon that most unstable element, the sea?

At this crisis the Admiral commanding the Channel fleet and our foremost English General were both in close corre-

* Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 476.

spondence with James II., who was in command of a hostile army encamped on the opposite French shore. Although Russell had promised James that the English ships should not get in the way of the French fleet, he nevertheless impressed upon him that if he did happen to encounter the enemy's ships he should feel compelled to give them battle, even though James himself were on board. James justly thought that these promises were cleverly devised to suit Russell's own purposes, and to make him safe whatever might be the result of the operation. But he was in no position to question or dissent, for his only chance lay in a frank acceptance of the schemes worked out for him by untrustworthy conspirators. At the same time, the poor de-throned King allowed himself to feel very confident, for everything looked like success. He was too sanguine, however. The elements combined to ruin his well-laid plans, or, as the Protestants put it, the Almighty interposed with storms and winds to save England from Popery. When the time for action came, everything went wrong. De Tourville's fleet, which was ready for sea, was kept weather-bound in harbour for nearly six weeks, whilst the same wind enabled the English men-of-war to assemble at their appointed stations in the Channel. The delay also afforded the English and Dutch fleets time to unite. Admiral De Tourville was still smarting under the abuse heaped upon him for having failed to follow up his success at Beachy Head. His orders were to seek out and fight Russell's fleet, and this he was determined to do, whatever might be the strength of his enemy or the chances in his favour.

In no previous year had the junction between the Dutch and English fleets taken place before the beginning of summer. Lewis had consequently assumed that De Tourville would be able to engage the English alone, and believed that his superior fleet would be sure of victory. Hence the positive orders sent to his Admiral. When he subsequently learnt that the Allied fleets had united, he strove

in vain to countermand those orders; but the French fleet had put to sea before his messengers reached the coast. Meanwhile the gallant De Tourville, coming up with the English and Dutch fleets, which, together, outnumbered his nearly two to one, attacked them boldly. With such odds against him he was, of course, easily defeated, and, though he lost no ships in the action, being closely pursued the following day, he lost the best part of his fleet.* In this battle Marlborough's corpulent brother, Captain George Churchill, proved himself a hard fighter and a skilful seaman.

From Cape La Hogue the unfortunate James witnessed the battle which destroyed his hopes. His proposal had been that the French fleet and the transports carrying the invading army should set sail in March; but, fortunately for England, Lewis was behindhand in his preparations. Had James been able to set sail for England immediately on reaching the coast, it may be safely asserted that he could have landed his army without serious hindrance. The French fleet in the Channel was at that time superior to the English, as the Dutch had not yet joined; so that if Russell had fought he would in all probability have been defeated. There were then, also, so few troops available for the defence of London that, after a feeble show of resistance, James would probably have entered Whitehall in triumph. A considerable amount of popular sentiment would have been exhibited in his favour, and the King would have 'had his own again.' All this must have seemed not only possible, but probable, to those in the Jacobite secrets. It is not greatly to be wondered at, therefore, that when the standard of private honour and public morality was so debased, men like Marlborough,

* Some of De Tourville's fleet were absent at the time of the battle. See Campbell's 'Naval History,' vol. ii., note on p. 447. On board the English fleet of 63 ships of the line were 28,570 men and 4,530 guns. The Dutch fleet of 36 ships had 13,051 men and 2,614 guns. In all, Russell's fleet consisted of 99 ships of the line, with 41,621 men and 7,144 guns. Russell's flagship was the *Britannia*.

Russell, Godolphin, and others, should wish to secure themselves from James's vengeance in the event of a restoration, which seemed so near at hand.

The victory of La Hogue crippled the naval power of France for the remainder of Lewis XIV.'s reign, and saved England from invasion, as did the greater battle of Trafalgar in this century. How different would have been our history had we lost either or both of those battles! Our victory of La Hogue may be said to have been the first great step towards the naval supremacy which Rodney's victory, nearly a century after, secured us. It has been no easy matter to maintain it, and more than once we nearly lost it. Thanks, however, to Duncan and our great Nelson we won, and we are still regarded as supreme upon the seas; let us hope that our future record may always be as glorious as our past. We have now put nearly all our eggs into one basket, so that the destruction of the fleet would lay England open to invasion, and London to capture; for in these days of Ironclads it takes at least three years to build a first-class ship of war, and to make the enormous guns required to arm it.

The public rejoicings over the victory of La Hogue found Marlborough still in the Tower. No peer could be legally arrested for high treason except upon the sworn depositions of at least two credible witnesses, but the perjuries of Young and Pearson had enabled the Government to seem at least to conform to this requirement of the law in Marlborough's case. Young had not only forged some treasonable letters in the General's name, but he also fabricated a scheme for the restoration of James, to which he attached the signatures of Lords Salisbury, Marlborough, Cornbury, the Bishop of Rochester, and others.* Young confessed

* 'A Relation of the Late Wicked Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young against the Lives of Several Persons by forging an Association under their Hands.' In the Savoy, 1692. This is by Dr. Spratt, Bishop of Rochester. In 1700 this Young was hanged for another offence.

afterwards that he had obtained Marlborough's seal and signature to copy by applying to him under the guise of a country gentleman who wished for the character of a servant lately in Marlborough's employment. Dr. Spratt, the Bishop of Rochester, soon proved these documents to be nothing but impudent forgeries, and the whole plot to be a conspiracy of Young's, concocted in order to obtain money as an informer.

Sarah alleged that he was instigated to bring forward these charges against her husband by Lord Romney (Henry Sidney), William's only English favourite.* Certainly he was no friend to Marlborough, but even in that age of conspiracies and intrigues it is difficult to believe that any gentleman could descend to so infamous a mode of attack even against his worst enemy. The forged papers were hidden in a flower-pot at the Bishop's palace in Bromley, Kent,† with the intention that they should be found there by the King's officers who were sent by the Council to search the house. Had they been discovered there, the case would have gone hardly with the accused; for when they were shown to Marlborough he pronounced them to be so exactly like his own handwriting as to have deceived himself, had he not been certain that he knew nothing whatever of the pretended plot.

The forged 'Association' ran as follows:

'That we whose names were subscribed should solemnly promise, in the presence of God, to contribute our utmost Assistance towards King James's recovery of his kingdoms. That to this end, we would have ready to meet him, at His Landing, 30,000 men well armed. That we would seize upon the person of the Princess of Orange, Dead or Alive; and take care that some strong Garrison should be forthwith delivered into His Hands: And furnish Him with a Considerable sum of Money for the support of His Army.—

* 'The Conduct,' etc.

† This palace exists no longer, but the grounds where it stood are still kept up as a gentleman's place.

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March 20, '91.—Marlborough, Salisbury, Basil Firebrace, W. Cant, Thos. Roffen, Cornbury, John Wilcoxe.'

In one of the letters said to have been written by Marlborough to Young, it was stated that the above 'Association' had been committed to the Bishop's keeping, and the Bishop himself was alleged by Young and Blackhead to have carried on a treasonable correspondence with Marlborough. When examined by the Lords of the Council, Dr. Spratt was questioned closely as to his acquaintance with Marlborough, and was asked: 'Had any letters passed between them during the previous three months?' He replied that although they had known one another both at the Court of King James and in Parliament, he had neither written to nor heard from him; and when subsequently he was confronted by his accusers, Blackhead broke down in cross-examination, and admitted his guilt and the falsity of the charges. The whole plot was cleverly contrived, and the forgeries were admirably executed; it only failed through the accident of their not being found at the right moment in the Bishop's palace. Such was the state of feeling at the time that the slightest evidence of guilt would have condemned them, for the dread of invasion was then no mere illusion. An invasion by James at the head of the combined French and Irish Army was known to be really imminent, and the people were in a mood to believe in any plot against William's Throne. Well indeed may the Bishop have said: 'To God, therefore, my only Deliverer, be the praise!'

So ended this infamous plot. The accused were all released with the exception of Marlborough, whose retention in prison was contrary to law, especially after the Grand Jury had found a true bill against Young for forgery. Most people will admit, however, that, at a time when James was threatening to invade England, the fact that Marlborough was in correspondence with him amply justified Mary's action in the matter.

This was a time of trial to Lady Marlborough, for

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her anxiety about her husband was now deepened into sorrow by the loss of her youngest child Charles, who was not quite two years old. His death was a great and real grief to his parents at this trying period of their career. Anne refers to it in the following letter: 'May 22, Sion House.—I am very sensibly touched with the misfortune that my dear Mrs. Freeman has had of losing her son, knowing very well what it is to lose a child; but she knowing my heart so well, and how great a share I bear in all her concerns, I will not say any more on this subject, for fear of renewing her passion too much.'*

The Princess Anne's letters to her favourite at this period are filled with loving expressions of sympathy for her distress and anxiety of mind. Under the pressure of mental trouble Sarah's health and strength began to suffer, and frequent are the inquiries on this head: 'I am in pain to know how my dear Mrs. Freeman does, for she is not used to complain, nor to be let blood for a little thing: and therefore I cannot help enquiring what is the matter, and how she finds herself now.'† In the following letter Anne evinces the bitterness of her feeling against her sister at this time: 'I am sorry with all my heart dear Mrs. Freeman meets with so many delays; but it is a comfort, they cannot keep Lord Marlborough in the Tower longer than the end of the term: and I hope when parliament sits, care will be taken that people may not be clapt upon for nothing, or else there will be no living in quiet for any body, but insolent Dutch and sneaking mercenary Englishmen,' etc.

Marlborough's great endeavour was to avail himself of the privilege secured to all Englishmen by the Habeas Corpus Act. It was necessary that he should find men ready to go bail for him, and amongst other letters written by him on this subject is the following one to Lord Halifax: 'MY LORD,—My Council being to move the Court of King's Bench for my Habeas Corpus the beginning of next Term, and being very certain of my own innocence, and that no

* 'Conduct,' p. 79.

† *Ibid.*, p. 68.

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instance can be shewn why I should not be bail'd, I desire the favour of your Lordship to be there and be one of my Suretys for my appearance not knowing yet how many they may require to be found for me; I shall be unwilling to give your Lordship this trouble without a necessity, and in that case I shall always own it as the greatest obligation to your Lordship's most obedient MARLBOROUGH.*

¶ 6, 1692. At length, on June 15, Marlborough was brought before the Court of King's Bench on a writ of habeas corpus, and released from the Tower upon finding bail for £6,000 for his appearance when required. His sureties were Lords Shrewsbury, Halifax and Carbury, and Mrs. Boyle. One Mr. Maule, a false friend, went to Sarah and offered his services in the matter of bail when he knew them to be no longer required. She thanked him, and told him that her husband had many friends, but that his best friend was the Habeas Corpus Act, which she had consequently often kissed. A week later the names of the first two of these lords and that of Marlborough were removed from the list of Privy Councillors by Queen Mary's orders.†

In the following October Marlborough again appeared before the Court of King's Bench, petitioning to have his recognisances discharged. He urged that Young, upon whose forged evidence he had been committed, had been convicted, whipped, and pilloried, and that it was monstrous to treat him differently from those who had been already relieved of responsibility in the matter. If his request were refused, he announced his intention of appealing to the House of Lords as a matter of privilege; but the Court refused to grant him the release he sought for.

To the people, who knew nothing of Marlborough's double-faced dealings with James, the treatment he received from William seemed harsh and ungenerous, and tended greatly to increase the King's unpopularity.

* Spencer House Papers.

† Carte MSS., 242, fo. 94.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

WILLIAM'S UNFORTUNATE CAMPAIGN.

William's defeat at Steinkirk—Death of General Mackay—William as a General—Parliament begs William to dismiss all his foreign officers—Attempts to bring about a reconciliation between the two Royal sisters—Queen Mary's unhappiness—Jacobite intrigues—William loses the battle of Landen.

WHEN the King had made arrangements for the winter quarters of his army in Flanders he returned to England. His entry into London was like a triumph, and the cordiality of his reception was in marked contrast with what it had been on former occasions. The people, cheered by the victory of La Hogue, which had relieved them from the dread of invasion, were for the moment in good humour with William, notwithstanding the failure of his campaign in Flanders.

But the defeat at Steinkirk had been a bloody affair on ²⁴⁻⁵ 1692. both sides, and the heavy English loss led to renewed complaints against the King's Dutch officers.* Amongst those who fell in the battle was the gallant General Hugh Mackay, who, though ten years older than Marlborough,

* The Princess, writing to Sarah when the news of William's defeat had just reached her, says she supposes Marlborough had heard all particulars from his brother Charles, who commanded a brigade there, or from Colonel Godfrey, his brother-in-law, who was in command of a regiment. Eighth Report, MSS. of 1881. Amongst the killed was General Mackay, Sir J. Lanier, Sir R. Douglas, the Earl of Angus, many other officers, and about 2,000 rank and file. The wounded and prisoners numbered about 3,000 men more, and we lost several guns.

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had been his brother subaltern in early life. He was a pious, God-fearing man, full of wisdom and common-sense, and his death was a heavy loss to Marlborough, with whom he had always kept up a friendly and regular correspondence. Moreover, he was well thought of by William, and might have helped to procure his friend's restoration to favour.*

William, though brim-full of military knowledge, lacked the military genius to turn that knowledge to the best account, by the formation of bold strategic conceptions or new combinations. The names of most great conquerors are associated with some innovation in tactics, for it is new ideas which generally win battles. The campaigns conducted at this epoch on principles learned from treatises on war seldom led to anything decisive, and William's costly campaigns were no exception to the rule. Had a Napoleon or a Marlborough with undisputed power appeared on either side—a man who would have thrown to the winds all stiff and conventional notions—he would have ended the war in one campaign. William never spared himself, but worked hard to win on all occasions, and, though weak in body, he made light of fatigue and privations. Brave to a fault, he despised danger, and yet the Boyne was almost his only victory. This year Namur was taken by Lewis under his very nose, and the crushing defeat of Steinkirk robbed him for ever of the soldiers' confidence. The English troops were disheartened and discontented, declaring loudly they had been sacrificed by the imbecility of Count Solmes. Tollemache, who, since the death of Kirke and the disgrace of Marlborough, had become the best known English General, did not hesitate to lay the blame of the defeat upon the military incapacity of the Prince of Waldeck and of Count Solmes. This did not tend to promote a better state of feeling between the

* Subaltern officers together, they were made Major-Generals in the same *Gazette*, but afterwards Marlborough became a Lieutenant-General long before his friend.

Dutch and English armies, or to reconcile the nation to William's practice of confiding all high commands to foreigners.

Parliament met on William's birthday, but neither House seemed anxious to please him, and complaints were heard on all sides. Marlborough, smarting under the indignity of dismissal from the army and recent imprisonment, was eager to incite the discontented Whigs to oppose the Court. The Whigs, as a party, considered that the King had behaved badly to those who had put him on the Throne. It was not, therefore, difficult for a man of Marlborough's persuasive powers and tenacity of purpose to excite them to a determined opposition in Parliament.* The war in Flanders had always been unpopular, and was now doubly so, because of the recent failure. Many officers and a host of private soldiers had been uselessly and stupidly sacrificed in the unfortunate battle, while the merchants complained loudly of great losses at sea through ignorance and want of energy on the part of the navy. The House of Lords, instead of considering the King's speech, entered at once into questions of privilege. Marlborough, Lichfield, and others had been sent to the Tower on imperfect information, and not on the sworn depositions of two credible witnesses, as custom, if not the law, demanded. These peers now appealed to the House, and were warmly supported. Angry debates ensued, full of hostility to William and his foreign favourites. The judges who had refused to discharge the recognisances of the imprisoned peers were summoned to appear and explain their conduct, and the Constable of the Tower had to produce the warrants upon which they had been committed. The retention of Marlborough's bail was also regarded as a breach of privilege. The question was referred to the judges and law officers of the Crown. A committee of the House of Lords reported that the recognisance of these peers should be discharged, and pointed out that an order from the King would be the best solution. This was adopted,

* Dalrymple, Part III., Book I.

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† 11, 1692.

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and so ended a debate as injurious to William's interests as it was personally offensive to him.

Ministers were screened from further attack by an Act of Indemnity. William saw that whilst his treatment of Marlborough had embittered the feeling of Parliament against the Court, it had also increased Marlborough's reputation amongst his countrymen. And yet the King could at any moment have ruined him in the eyes of all Protestants and lovers of constitutional government by making known his traitorous correspondence with James. It may be presumed that he did not do so either because he could not see his way to prove his assertions, or because if he accused one he would have to implicate others who, like Godolphin, were necessary to his Government. To accuse Marlborough would frighten all his Ministers, for he knew that all had been and many were still engaged in a similar correspondence.

18, 2, 1693. The Lords prayed that no foreigners should be members of the Board of Ordnance or keepers of stores in the Tower; that the General of the English forces under the King should be a subject born in their Majesties' dominions; that English officers should be preferred to foreigners, and that none but English troops should be left in England for its defence.* A strong feeling was evinced in the House of Commons also against William's Dutch Generals. A resolution was passed that none but Englishmen should be placed in command of British troops. The Duke of Leinster and Count Solmes were particularly aimed at in this motion; the latter having recently rendered himself specially obnoxious to the English in Flanders. Some of the officers who had commanded regiments there, including Colonel Godfrey, Marlborough's brother-in-law, took part in the debate. They did all they could to excite the House against Count Solmes, whom they denounced for his conduct at Steinkirk, and they strove to arouse popular feeling against all the foreign Generals. The Whig Lords took a similar

* The House of Lords' Journal for 18, 2, 1693.

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line in the Upper House, egged on and encouraged by Marlborough. But notwithstanding the critical if not hostile attitude of Parliament, liberal supplies were voted for both army and navy; for the army, 54,562 rank and file, at a cost of over two millions sterling, and for the navy 33,000 seamen at a somewhat similar amount. The exact sum voted for both services was £4,205,068, not including the cost of the army in Ireland.

Marlborough, who was far from rich before his disgrace, now found himself deprived of the greater part of his income, and this did not tend to reconcile one who loved money, as he did, to William or his Government. He associated much with Admiral Russell, Lord Halifax, Shrewsbury, and the Whigs who had been William's chief agents at the Revolution, but who were now in communication with St. Germain. Lady Marlborough was still in constant attendance upon the Princess, who lived like a private individual in Berkeley House. There Marlborough spent most of his time, with occasional visits to St. Albans. Anne wished to create an office for him in her household, with a salary of £1,000 a year, but his wife dissuaded her from doing so.*

During the winter of 1692-3, and all through 1693, frequent efforts were made by friends of the Princess to effect a reconciliation between her and the Queen, but to no purpose. Mary would not even negotiate, as long as Lady Marlborough remained with Anne, and the latter positively refused to part with her. Mary in a letter to her sister says, 'It is not words can make us live together as we ought. You know what I required of you.' 'I cannot change my mind, but expect to be complied with.' 'You can give me no other marks that will satisfy me.'† Anne repeats to Lady Marlborough her determination never to submit to the Queen on this point, and again refers to Sarah's desire to quit her service. 'No, my dear Mrs. Freeman,' she writes, 'never believe your faithful Morley will ever submit. She can wait with patience for a sun-

* 'Conduct,' p. 285.

† *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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shiny day, and if she does not see it, yet she hopes England will flourish again. Once more give me leave to beg you would be so kind never to speak of parting more, for, let what will happen, that is the only thing that can make me miserable.'*

In August, 1693, it was commonly reported in London that a reconciliation between the sisters had been brought about through Marlborough's influence.† It was even said that he was to be restored to his position in the army as a reward for this great public service. The bells, which owing to the repeated failure of our arms had long been silent, rang out merrily once more, and there was general rejoicing. But in a few days the whole story was found to be without foundation. The wish had been father to the thought.‡

Meanwhile, Mary, one of the best of women, was beginning to experience the pangs of remorse, and her thoughts turned often towards her father. Strong as was her Dutch Protestantism, and much as she abhorred Popery, yet she could not forget that the Throne she occupied was not rightfully hers. She deeply deplored her disagreement with Anne, and regarded it as a direct punishment from God for the disloyal, underhand, and dishonest part which both sisters had played in the drama of the Revolution. But, as she wrote, 'it was unavoidable,' and she trusted that neither the Church nor the nation should suffer.§ She hated being Queen, but she did her best to play the part cheerfully in order to please her exacting, unloving husband. Her lot was indeed a sad one. Mated with a man whom she had come to love after marriage, and on whom she lavished all the tenderness and warmth of her nature, she received from him in return little but neglect and cruelty, and saw her rightful place in his affections usurped by a mistress. Though handsome, young, and

* 'Conduct,' p. 85.

† Hatton Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 195; Luttrell, 24, 8, 1693.

‡ Luttrell, 29, 8, 1693.

§ Memoirs of Mary II., by herself, edited by Doebuer.

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full of life, she had for ten years, as she mentions in one of her letters, been compelled by her husband's neglect to live the life of a nun.*

When James recovered from the blow which he received at La Hogue, he renewed his correspondence with Russell, Marlborough, Godolphin, Shrewsbury and other high officials in England. He found them still, in word, devoted to his cause. In November he describes the position of affairs in England very fully in a memorial presented to his most Christian Majesty of France. His project of invasion having failed for the time being, he argues upon the chances of being recalled by Parliament. His friends, he says, had wished to bring this about the year before—as described in a previous chapter.

Though daring in enterprise and reckless of personal danger, Marlborough was, as a plotter, cautious, if not timid. It was as natural to him to trim and hedge in politics as to charge at the head of his steel-breasted horsemen in battle. He never threw away the scabbard or burnt his boats in any political venture. This characteristic is revealed in every phase of his correspondence with the exiled Stewarts from this year to the end of his life. The period intervening between the accession of James II. and Marlborough's death was remarkable for the sudden changes of fortune which overtook, not only the occupant of the Throne, but the King's servants also. Each fresh turn of the wheel might make or mar the fortunes of any individual; might make him a Minister or send him to the block. Public life involved something more than the mere question of being 'in' or 'out' of office. It meant a conflict that would probably end in impeachment and imprisonment, and might end on Tower Hill. The year 1693 was the gloomiest in William's reign. His rule inspired general disgust, for his system of govern-

* Mary, although a healthy woman, was childless, and Elizabeth Villiers, although she bore her lawful husband many children, never had one by her Royal protector.

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ment and his aims and objects were regarded as essentially unpatriotic and un-English. There was still much talk of invasion; the better classes were tainted with treason, and the political horizon was black with clouds.

To watch over his interests in England, James depended chiefly on Lord Middleton, who was connected with Lord Shrewsbury by marriage. He it was who, before La Hogue, had negotiated with Admiral Russell and the other 'shattered reeds,' as James styles those whom Mary imprisoned. Middleton reports to James that he found Marlborough 'frank and cordial in the matter,' and not only ready to serve his exiled master, but anxious to indicate how he thought the King's interests could be best furthered.* He and the other Jacobite lords who thus deceived James with effusive assurances of loyalty, now declared that he must by solemn proclamation make more explicit promises on the following points: A general pardon; the frequent assemblage of Parliament; the redress of grievances; the protection of the rights and properties of the Church; the maintenance of the Test and renunciation of all power to dispense with it, unless by the sanction of Parliament; and, lastly, a guarantee to re-establish the Act of Settlement in Ireland. James and his intimate advisers disliked these terms, and deemed them harsh and exacting, but they met with the approval of Lewis XIV.—on whose bounty James lived—and were consequently embodied in a proclamation which was published. Before the ink was well dry James repented of the promises he had made regarding the Church of England.† But he disquieted himself in vain, for the proclamation fell quite flat. He has well said in his Memoirs, 'That all the frute the King reaped from this Declaration, was blame from his friends, contempt from his enemies, and repentance in himself.'‡

* James's Memoirs in Clarke's Life, vol. ii., p. 501.

† Clarke's Life, vol. ii., p. 509.

‡ 'His friends' here means his confessor and the other priests who were his secret advisers. Clarke's Life, vol. ii., p. 511.

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Lord Middleton, writing to a friend in England, says: 'Excuse my not writing to Lord Churchill. But let him know that by the next he shall hear from me; and that his affairs are in as good a posture as we could wish.'* 1693. James's emissaries passed incessantly between St. Germain and London. Marlborough and his friends were intimate with them, and many were the letters they carried between him and James. In one he gave James the following advice: 'If there be anything proposed you may think a little hard, you will please not to shew yourself much offended with it, and what you cannot comply with, make it appear it is from the impracticableness of it: for should you positively refuse to agree to what is proposed, you will loos some of the ablest of your Council, which may endanger the loosing all.' He ends by saying 'he would not have taken the libertie of giveing him that advice, but that he had already and did again assure him, that for himself he would go on, in whatever measures should be taken.' Upon this the writer of James's Memoirs says, 'Whether he was to be credited or no in this generous assurance, is doubtful.'†

Whilst most anxious to have his cause pushed in Parliament by the refusal of his friends to give William money for the war with France, James still kept before Lewis XIV. the advisability of invading England. In many memorials of this year, he pointed out how advantageous such a course would be, not only to himself as King of England, but also to Lewis in his struggle with William in Holland. Writing 10, 1693. to Admiral Russell, he urged him to regain the command of the English fleet, which William had taken from him soon after his victory. He desired the Earls Shrewsbury, Danby, Godolphin, Churchill and Admiral Russell to 'do what in prudence they can, to hinder money or retard it, and hinder the going out of the fleet, so soon as it might do otherwise.'‡ He thought only of himself, he had no

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 443.

† Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 513.

‡ Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 457.

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care for England or for her interests. The following instructions in Lord Melfort's handwriting, signed by James, are interesting:* 'By C. Shr. to E. Sh. and Ld. Ch. by C. Sh. to Russell.' 'It is his Majesty's pleasure that you lett Admiral Russell kno that his maj^{ty} desires him to endeavour to get the command of the Fleet from the P. of Or. that his maj^{ty} trusts in what the Adm. sent him word of by E. of Mdlton and Mr. floyd, and assures him that on his part he is ready to perform what he has promised at his desire that he is so far from giving any ground to any to wrest the contrary that of all things he desires that they will lett him kno the Authors of the Calumny that he may sho them his dislyke by the punishment he will inflict upon them.

'That you inform y^r selves how Adm. Russell can best serve his maj^{ty} and when that things may be timely adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned and that you endeavour by all means to keep Mr. Russell to thos ways which may secure him the command of the fleet and lett all other resentments if possible sleep since upon these occasions the fewer enemys he reases to himself his affaor will go the smother on which is much his maj^{ties} interest His Maj^{ty} lykeways desires that you may from time to time lett him know how this mater proceeds and that without delay since his affairs require hast.'

Oct. 16, 1693. 'This had wreaten abov: This is to be given to 39 (Churchill) and 33 (Ld. Shrewsbury) concerning 36 (admiral Russell) Signed, this is my desire. M. dated. Oct^r 16, 1693.'

'Instructions to E. Danby, Lord Godolphin and Churchill by C. Shrewsbury.—It is his Maj^{ties} pleasure that you desire the Earl of Danby to endeavour to gayne Ad. Killegrasse to his service since his Maj^{ty} knows that he has due influence on him that is if he be to be employed.

'That his Maj^{ty} expects upon this conjuncture that the

* This letter is in cipher. It is in the Carte MSS., 209, fo. 100. The 'Ld. Ch.' means Marlborough.

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Earle of Danby will do him what service he can and most particularly by giving him—(a cue or a guide) how to act against the Prince of Orange and by letting him kno as well as he can what the s^d prince's designes may be and his opinions how to prevent them E. Sh: Dan: God: Ch: Rⁿ. etc.*

'That you doe what in prudence you can to hinder money or retard and to hinder the going out of the fleet so soon as it might doe otherways. That they send the K. their advice if it be for his service to send anything to the Par^t. in pursuance of his declarations and if it will not be fitt that M.C.† King emitt some Declaratione now that he is so victorious as to giv terror to all his nighbours and it may be to England showing that he has no intentione in relatione to England but the re-establishment of her lawfull King upon his throne which done he will not medle in their concerns but leave them to be governed by their own laws and to enjoy the religious libertys propertys which by the laws they have right to. And that in all other things wherein his maj^{ties} interest may be concerned, it is his Maj^{ties} desire, that they send him their advice, that if he can answer for his sone, he by no means permitt him to lay downe his imployment at sea.†

Great distress prevailed in France throughout this year in consequence of two bad harvests and vintages, and thousands died of starvation. Although William had, as usual, suffered reverses in Flanders, and the French had been successful not only there but in Piedmont and elsewhere, Lewis, out of regard for his people's misery, thought it advisable to make peace if he could do so on favourable terms. Peace would, of course, be the end of James's hopes, and he was naturally rejoiced when the

* These initials mean Shrewsbury, the Earls of Danby, Godolphin, Churchill, and Admiral Russell.

† M.C.=Most Christian.

‡ Carte MSS., 209, fo. 101. The son at sea referred to was Lord Caermarthen.

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French overtures were refused by William. The terms offered by Lewis were most liberal, but they did not include the recognition of William as King of England, and this precluded all chance of their acceptance by him. The continuance of the war cost England millions of money and thousands of lives, and the destruction of the English Smyrna fleet in June by De Tourville created great discontent in London. William, although well aware of Russell's correspondence with St. Germain, now re-appointed him to the command of the fleet. James could not, however, obtain from Russell anything more than promises of a general nature. Even Marlborough and Godolphin made excuses, and tried to throw the blame upon Mary of Modena and James's councillors. The former wrote to James that an invading army could alone help his cause effectively, and that it should consist of not less than 25,000 men, besides arms, etc., for 7,000 more.* This was the delusive advice which the King received from these pretended friends, who never did him any tangible good or themselves any harm; for if they were left out of employment they claimed credit for being opposed to the Government, and if they obtained office they represented it as an advantage to the King that they were in a better position to serve him. Commenting upon the disappointment of the French at their failures on his behalf, James says: 'For to be sure it was fear, not affection, that made up the main ingredient of those men's loyalty, who had so lately engaged to do such wonders for him; so when they saw no more reason to be afraid they soon forgot what, for that reason alone, they had so solemnly promised.'

These extracts, especially the last, contain the key to what has long been a puzzle. For nearly 200 years the question has been warmly discussed as to how Marlborough and those who had placed William on the Throne came to open a correspondence with James almost immediately after they had driven him out of his kingdom. But they recognised

* Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., p. 519.

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the weakness of William's hold upon the country, and lived in daily dread lest the unforgiving James should regain his Throne. No Englishman of weight or power regarded William with affection; Anne, the heiress-presumptive, was openly hostile, and dangers, political and military, threatened him both at home and abroad. Thus, like the unjust steward, they sought to secure themselves against what for some years seemed a most probable contingency, though they were, as James so clearly perceived, moved by apprehension for themselves rather than by affection for him. Moreover, the recollection that James was rightfully King remained firmly rooted in the minds of the peers and landed gentry, and he still reigned in the hearts of thousands. The hunting squire was by nature a Jacobite. He hated Popery, but he had no love for the principles of the Revolution, and as he caroused with his neighbours he drank the health of his rightful sovereign. Cromwell's austere rule had served to heighten the loyal sentiment which clung round the memory of the fallen house of Stewart, and James's father was generally regarded by the gentry as a martyr of blessed memory. But above all, both father and son were Englishmen, whilst the puny, dyspeptic Prince who now ruled them was only a Dutchman, and this, apart from William's personal unpopularity, accounts for the affection which was still felt for James. Lord Halifax declared that if James would but give his Protestant subjects sufficient sureties as to their religion and the rights of the Church, it would be impossible to keep him from the Throne for many months longer.*

The campaign in Flanders in 1693 was as unsuccessful as § 7, 1693. those in previous years. William displayed the greatest daring, and worked hard for victory at the bloody and profitless battle of Landen, or Neerwinden, as the French call it.† But all to no purpose, for he was again hopelessly

* Berwick's Memoirs, vol. i., note on p. 424.

† The regiments now in the army that were engaged in this battle were the Foot Guards, the Royal Scots, the Queen's, the Buffs, the

defeated with the loss of about 7,000 men and 60 guns. He was no match for Luxembourg in the serious game of war. One of the most dramatic incidents of that unfortunate battle was the capture of the Duke of Berwick by his uncle, General Charles Churchill. Berwick had with great gallantry charged at the head of the French Horse, but advancing too far, he found his retreat cut off. To avoid detection, and in the hope of escape, he took the white cockade from his hat and drew the brim over his face. Unfortunately for him his uncle, Charles Churchill, recognised the Duke's aide-de-camp, and, looking round with a tolerable certainty that the nephew could not be far off, he discovered and made him prisoner. He was soon afterwards exchanged for the Duke of Ormond and a ransom of 20,000 guilders, which went to Brigadier Churchill.

The English fought with determined courage, and the skilful manner in which General Tollemache brought off the British infantry and covered the retreat with them won general admiration. Meanwhile it must have been gall and wormwood to Marlborough to hang about Berkeley House listening to abuse of the unsuccessful 'Caliban' and his 'Froglanders,' whilst English troops were suffering defeat because their Dutch commander did not know how to win battles. For him who felt the inspiration of military genius within him it was indeed a sore punishment to be thus compelled to remain idle at home whilst British soldiers fought and bled on lost fields of battle. To Marlborough, conscious of his own ability, and eager for an opportunity of displaying it, enforced idleness was peculiarly galling.

King's Royal Lancaster, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, the King's Own Scottish Borderers, and the Scottish Rifles. The following British regiments, subsequently disbanded, were also engaged: Mackay's, Lander's, Fagel's, and Stanley's.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

WILLIAM III. TAKES THE PEOPLE INTO HIS CONFIDENCE, AND TELLS THEM THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT THE STATE OF THE ARMY AND NAVY.

A change of Ministry — Marlborough's correspondence with St. Germain — Wellington's opinion of this correspondence.

WILLIAM returned to England on October 30, and opened Parliament eight days later with a speech in which he deplored the national failures by sea and land. Being a soldier, and not a party politician, he always told the people the whole truth about the army and navy, and stated plainly to Parliament what he believed to be essential for both services in the interests of the State. He kept back nothing, and Parliament was consequently able to judge whether his demands for men, money, stores, etc., were or were not necessary. It is to be regretted that this practice has not been continued to our day. But in 1693, the system of government by party had not as yet perverted the sense of public duty, and led men to put the exigencies of party before the great interests of the nation. William never disguised his contempt for the political divisions and animosities which prevented educated men from combining in support of measures calculated to strengthen the kingdom and to further the welfare of the people. He looked upon party government as fatal to our best national interests, and regarded both Whigs and Tories as place-hunters who could always be bought at the price of employment.

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§§ 12, 1693.

In this instance he laid the position of England and her Allies before Parliament. He stated his views as to what ought to be done, and dwelt upon the necessity of immediate preparation for the next campaign, and of an increase to the army, leaving the decision in the hands of the people's representatives. His appeal was generously met by the House of Commons, as such an appeal always is met when a Cabinet has the courage and the honesty to tell the whole truth about the army and navy. Parliament pledged itself to support the King, and voted two millions and a half sterling for the fleet and a little more for the army, the strength of which was fixed at 83,121 men of all ranks, for home and foreign service. In these numbers were included six new regiments of Horse, four of Dragoons, and fifteen of Foot.* But, to the King's extreme annoyance, a resolution was passed by the House of Commons that the new regiments were to be 'commanded by their majesties' born subjects.'

1694. In April, at the instigation of Sunderland, William at last resolved upon a change of Ministers. He replaced the Tory Secretary of State Nottingham by 'the one-eyed' Shrewsbury, a cautious Whig, whom he created a Duke; but although he thus went back to the party which had made him King, he dismissed no Tory who earnestly supported his Government. Of all the Englishmen whom he employed, the industrious Sunderland had most weight with him. An able though an unprincipled and corrupt Minister in a corrupt age, prepared even to change his religion to please his master, Sunderland was nevertheless one who sincerely wished to see the liberties of the people firmly established. His intimate knowledge of England, and of all the men of note in his time, and his great

* These regiments were all disbanded at the Peace of Ryswick. The regiments of Horse were to be of the same strength as the Queen's Regiment of Horse, the Dragoons of the same strength as the Royals, and the Foot the same as Colonel Selwyn's (now the Queen's or West Surrey Regiment).

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experience in public affairs, rendered him a most useful servant to William.

The nation was angry and disheartened at the naval and military failures of the previous year, while the heavy taxes and the absence of prosperity at home caused those failures to be felt all the more acutely. The army was unpaid, and no less than a million sterling was owing to the sailors, who were in a state of mutiny. Government could only raise money at seven per cent.* Fresh taxation was required to sustain the war, whilst the merchants complained loudly about their losses at sea. The roads were infested with highwaymen, many of whom were, it was said, discharged Jacobite officers deprived of all other means of livelihood. No road leading to London was safe, and these desperate men even attacked houses in the City itself. So bad did this state of things become, that at one time it was seriously proposed to contract for the protection of the kingdom against the highwayman and the housebreaker, in consideration of the sum of £8,000 a year.†

The correspondence between James and some of the leading men in England was actively maintained throughout the winter of 1693-4 and through the following spring and summer. A memorial presented to the French Court^{25-12, 1693.} in January contains a list of the landowners who, on the authority of the Jacobite agents, were said to be prepared to stand by James, and in it occurs the following entry: 'Lord Churchill advises his Majesty to come, and gives him assurances of his own services, and of the services of all those who are of his party, which is very considerable.'‡ The memorial is in Mr. Nairne's handwriting, and is apparently a digest of the news and reports received from England made by Lord Melfort for the French Ministers.

* Macpherson's History, vol. ii.

† F. Bonnet's reports in vol. vi., p. 193, of Ranke. Only two years before Marlborough had been stopped by highwaymen near Coney and robbed of 500 guineas when on his way to St. Albans. See Luttrell, 25, 8, 1692.

‡ Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 475.

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Many of those who were in William's confidence were in constant correspondence with the little Court at St. Germain, but as long as they did their duty he did not care to inquire into their political opinions. Lord Godolphin, for example, gave William the most statesmanlike advice, and at the same time conveyed to James, and, through him, to the French Court, the earliest information of the intended attack upon Brest.* It is only the biographer—blinded by partiality for his hero—who can deny that the cautious, prudent Godolphin was as deeply involved in treasonable correspondence with St. Germain as were Admiral Russell and many others of his friends. These men were far more guilty than Marlborough, for they were the trusted servants of the State, whilst he at this time held no command or office, nor was he in receipt of any public emolument.

When the popular Earl of Shrewsbury—the 'king of hearts,' as he was nicknamed—accepted office, Marlborough explained to James how this event had come about.† He said that William had so earnestly pressed office upon the new Secretary of State that he could not resist, but 'tho' he altered his condition,' 'he would never alter his inclinations.'‡ It is alleged by Marlborough's enemies that whilst he thus expressed himself in writing, he suppressed the fact that he had advised Lord Shrewsbury to accept office with a view to obtain the assistance of a powerful Minister who was willing and able to serve him, 'and procure his re-

* Dalrymple's Appendix to chapter i., Part II. The Stewart Papers, 1694. Macpherson's 'History of Great Britain,' vol. ii., p. 67. Godolphin was commonly called 'Judas' in this reign, because he 'carried the purse.'

† Shrewsbury, a moderate Whig, had long carried on a correspondence with St. Germain through his infamous mother. Sunderland pressed James to invade England. The Earl of Abington, and Lord Clare, just made Duke of Newcastle by William, Mulgrave, just made Marquis of Normanby, Godolphin, the Duke of Leeds, Rochester, Admiral Russell, and a host of others, were engaged in this secret correspondence with James.

‡ Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., pp. 519, 520.

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admission into favour.' According to Marlborough's letter of February to James, his friends had assured him that the command of the army would be restored to him if he would allow them to request it for him; but, he added, he would only again accept office with 'his Majesty's permission²⁸⁻³, 1694. and approbation.' 'I have already,' he wrote, 'been so unhappy, and you so good, that it were impossible for me to take pleasure in anything but what I was sure you approved of.'*

But all this meant nothing. Marlborough did not feel any of the loyalty to James which he thus expressed. In truth, the sentiment of loyalty—once so active a principle within him—had by this time become almost extinct. When he renounced his allegiance to James he did not, and Tory as he was he could not, acquire for William that reverence which is born of loyalty to a hereditary King. It is sad to think and still more sad to write this of one of our very greatest Englishmen. But the fact remains, that neither William nor the State ever replaced in his soul the idol of loyalty which was overturned when he forsook James.

Well indeed may the Duke of Wellington have said that Marlborough had only done in 1688 what so many of Napoleon's Marshals did in 1814. Marmont and others who deserted at Fontainebleau had been raised to the highest positions in France and enriched enormously by a kind and indulgent master—a Sovereign who had been adored for years by his country and who had raised her from the abyss of the Revolution to cover her with glory and make her the foremost of nations. But Marlborough and those who made William King deserted a cruel and selfish despot who had done his best to degrade England, to rob her of her free institutions, and to eradicate the religion to which her people were deeply attached.

* Clarke's 'Life of James,' vol. ii., pp. 519, 520.

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TOLLEMACHE'S ATTACK UPON BREST.

What led to this Brest Expedition—General Tollemache—Reconnaissance of Brest—The Attack and its repulse—Examination of the charge made against Marlborough about this affair—Vauban ordered to strengthen the defences of Brest—Marlborough's conduct inexcusable.

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THIS was the year of our disastrous repulse before Brest, for which Marlborough has long been held primarily responsible. For nearly two centuries it has been repeated as a historical fact that the destination of the expedition sent against that place was *first betrayed by Marlborough to St. Germain's*, and that it was in consequence of the information given by him in a letter of the 4th May this year, that *Lewis XIV. placed Brest in the condition of defence which caused the attack to fail*. In considering this charge, it is essential that the reader should remember its wording. The charge is not merely that he communicated with James on the subject before the attack came off—for of that there is no doubt—but that he was *the first* who did so, and that it was in consequence of the information he gave that the French King had Brest so well prepared, that the attack upon it was repulsed with great loss to the English.* If, therefore, it be conclusively proved that the preparations were the result of information obtained by

* At p. 15 of 'Paradoxes and Puzzles' this subject is lucidly and exhaustively dealt with.

Lewis from others previous to the date of Marlborough's letter, then this charge falls to the ground.

The circumstances which led to the Brest expedition were briefly as follows: After the battle of La Hogue the French fleets could no longer be decoyed into the open sea. But while they kept within their fortified harbours, single ships of war and privateers made frequent sallies upon our merchantmen, and, from Brest in particular, made great havoc of English commerce. William soon realized that this species of warfare could only be stopped by a combined naval and military attack upon the French ports, and he selected Brest for his first attempt. He was led to believe that the state of its defences was such that the place might be taken by open assault if suddenly attacked before the French could have had time to strengthen the works or to reinforce the garrison. But should it become known at Versailles that danger threatened Brest, the place could be easily rendered secure against any attack short of a regular siege—an operation which was then out of the question. Secrecy was therefore of the first moment.

In April about 7,000 troops were ordered to encamp on the Portsdown Hills, and the large number of transports collected at Portsmouth for the conveyance of so many regiments soon drew attention to the fact that some expedition beyond the seas was in contemplation, and gave rise to speculations as to its destination.* Even at this early stage it was generally assumed that the troops were intended for a descent upon the coast of France.† Then, as now, it was difficult to keep from the British public the

* Birche's 'Lives of Illustrious Persons.'

† These 7,000 troops consisted of the ten following battalions: One battalion of Foot Guards, the regiment of the Marquis de Roda (now the Royal Warwick), Stewart's regiment (now the Norfolk Regiment), Hastings' regiment (now the Somerset Light Infantry), Earle's regiment (now the Yorkshire Regiment), Venner's regiment (now the Welsh Borderers), and the four regiments of Lord Cutts, Colonels Collier, Rowe, and Cootes, all of which were subsequently disbanded. Two battalions of Marines were also to accompany the fleet.

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plans of projected naval and military operations. Every effort was made to put the people upon a wrong scent; but in vain. For months before the troops put to sea the intended attack upon Brest had been the common talk at London dinner-tables. Contemporary papers and letters prove this beyond doubt; and in the correspondence between William and Shrewsbury after the repulse many references are made to the length of time the French had known that Brest was the point selected for attack.* In fact, neither King nor Minister was at all confident of success, and their letters prove that both believed no landing would be attempted should Tollemache find that special preparations had been made to resist it.

Lieutenant-General T. Tollemache, who was selected to command the expedition, was son of Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart in her own right. He possessed natural ability, was well educated, and, like Marlborough, had always been a strong Protestant and much opposed to the measures of James II. When that monarch showed his determination to re-establish Roman Catholicism, Tollemache resigned his commission in the army, and in March, 1688, went to Holland. There William made him Colonel of one of the English regiments in the Dutch service—now the Northumberland Fusiliers—and with it he returned home at the Revolution. He subsequently distinguished himself in the Irish war, and again at the battle of Landen.† Like Marlborough, he disliked William's Dutch officers, and was in turn detested by them, a fact which did not tend to ingratiate him with the King.

* Macpherson's History, vol. ii., p. 67; Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 483. See also Rappin's Continuation; Kennet, vol. iii., p. 664; Harris's 'William III.,' vol. iii., p. 298; the Shrewsbury Correspondence.

† He played an important part in the passage of the Shannon, the capture of Athlone, and in the battle of Aughrim. Dartmouth, in a note on Burnet, Book V., p. 130, says: 'It was commonly thought that he (Tollemache) was Oliver Cromwell's son, and that he had a very particular sort of vanity in desiring it should be so understood.'

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His plan for the attack of Brest was to land suddenly with about 7,000 troops on the narrow neck of land which separates the roadsteads of Cameret and Brest, and so to seal up, as it were, the whole port. Admiral Russell did not approve of this scheme, and writing to the Duke of Shrewsbury early in May from his flagship, at St. Helens, ¹/₃ 5, 1694. he expressed great doubt as to the success of any such attack made with so small a number of soldiers.*

In the present day transports for the conveyance of even 100,000 men across the Channel could be easily and rapidly collected by either France or England at all times. Nor need they assemble, as formerly, in one or two ports, for being independent of wind, they could embark the troops at many places, and then rendezvous to the hour at any named spot. Neither would it be necessary to concentrate the troops before embarkation, for they could in twelve hours travel by rail from distant military stations to their respective ports, and embark at once upon arrival. It would thus be easy, by properly planned arrangements, to keep an enemy in ignorance of the fact that an expedition was intended. Not so two centuries ago. It was necessary then that all the troops should assemble at the port of embarkation, and, as soon as the ships were ready to receive them, should go on board to await a favourable wind, which often meant a delay of weeks.

Although Marlborough did not himself take part in the attack upon Brest, its disastrous results are so commonly laid to his charge that the following particulars regarding it may not be out of place.

After many delays, the ships detailed for the operation were at length ready for sea. Admiral Russell, with the bulk of his fleet, sailed for Brest on May 5. He left Sir ¹/₃ 5, 1694. Cloudesley Shovel with a small squadron at St. Helens to embark the troops in the hired transports, but returned ²/₃ 5, 1694. after an absence of eighteen days, having ascertained that the French fleet had quitted Brest. He sailed again in a

* Cox's Shrewsbury Papers, p. 192.

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few days with his whole fleet, troopships included.* At sea the fleet divided, one half sailing for the Mediterranean under Russell, the other with all the transports, under Lord Berkeley, bearing down for Cameret Bay to attack Brest.

Upon nearing that place, a council of war was held on board the flagship, to settle all details for the landing and final plan of attack. Lord Cutts—the ‘salamander,’ as Marlborough subsequently nicknamed him—strongly advised caution before the troops were finally committed to the attack.† He thought that a captain and fifty grenadiers should first go ashore to reconnoitre the enemy’s position, and he was of opinion that the attack should not be made if the place were found to be strongly entrenched and garrisoned by regulars. Should it, however, be found to be weak, he would propose that all the Grenadiers of the force, about 600 in number, should land and assault the nearest entrenchments, whilst the rest of the troops followed in support with all speed. Admiral Lord Caermarthen—the second in command of the fleet—says, ‘This advice of his lordship’s was approved of, and General Talmach himself agreed it should be so.’ We gather, from the way in which the proceedings of the council are recorded, that Caermarthen regarded Tollemache as too impetuous and inclined to be rash. He is described as accepting rather than approving the wise precautions advised by the gallant Cutts, who ‘very honourably’ volunteered to lead the Grenadiers ashore.

1st 6, 1694. The fleet when it anchored was received with a mortar fire, which showed that the attack was expected and the garrison prepared to resist it. Lord Caermarthen accordingly determined to go in close enough to reconnoitre the

* Lord Caermarthen’s Journal, contained in a pamphlet ‘printed for Randal Taylor, near Amen Corner, 1694.’

† Lord Cutts was the bravest of the brave, so when he urged caution, the undertaking must indeed have been hazardous. Born in 1661, he died in Dublin as Commander of the Forces in 1707. He wrote verses, and was cruelly libelled by Swift. He chose for his motto ‘With labour and with blood.’

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position before any landing should be attempted. Taking Lord Cutts with him in his galley, Caermarthen stood well into Cameret Bay, exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy’s batteries. He found the place far stronger than he expected, and the garrison well entrenched and on the alert. Another council of war was ordered to assemble on the following day.

Day broke with a dense fog, and when it lifted, about 1st 6, 1694. seven a.m., fourteen squadrons of French Horse were seen in line on the high ground to the west of Cameret Bay. They were believed to be regulars, from the appearance of their clothes and appointments. The majority of the council—indeed, nearly all but Tollemache, it would seem—were opposed to any attempt at a landing under the altered condition of things ashore. He, on the other hand, would listen to no words of warning, and maintained that the men whom they took to be regular soldiers were only a rabble brought together to make a show of strength; besides, he urged, the die was cast, it was too late for cautious advice, and he could not now retreat with honour.* A wise and prudent commander would have retired to try his fortune at some other point less prepared for resistance, but Tollemache would listen to no such proposal, and the Admirals unfortunately gave way to him.

The frigates whose duty it was to cover the landing had much difficulty in taking up their appointed stations, and a heavy fire was opened upon them, especially from three new batteries, whose existence had not been previously suspected. Tollemache’s plan was to try and take Cameret Fort by open assault, a difficult operation at any time, and in the circumstances a piece of unpardonable folly.† As they neared the land, the boats carrying the troops, 1st 6, 1694. exposed to a close and searching fire, fell into disorder, and when they reached the shore, the seamen mingling with the soldiers as they tried to form up, added to the confusion.

* Birche’s ‘Lives of Illustrious Persons.’

† T. Bourchett’s Memoirs, 1703.

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At this moment the enemy's Horse charged, the General was shot in the thigh, and retreat became inevitable. Meanwhile the ebbing tide had left the heavy troop-boats nearly high and dry on the sandy beach, and the crews were only able to launch a few of them. Nearly all the men who landed were consequently either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

Admiral Lord Berkeley was greatly to blame for allowing the disembarkation to take place on an ebb-tide, a circumstance to which much of the loss which followed was directly attributable. Besides the losses ashore, the killed and wounded on board the fleet amounted to about 400 men. The ships that had engaged Cameret Fort for about three hours made little impression upon its thick walls, and when their crews saw that the attack by the troops had failed, 'great numbers of the Ships' Companies that were there, both Dutch and English, ran into the Hold, in spite of all the officers could do to prevent it.* The fleet could do nothing against the shore batteries. A few guns on land, well placed and well served, must always be a match for the largest men-of-war, as we found at Sevastopol.

¹/₂ 6, 1694. The morning after the repulse our fleet weighed anchor and sailed for the Isle of Wight, where the troops and wounded were landed. The brave but headstrong Tolle-
¹/₂ 6, 1694. mache was put ashore at Plymouth, where he died of his wound, and so ended this disastrous undertaking.

A century afterwards there was found amongst the documents left by King James in the Scotch College at Paris, a paper which was the alleged copy of the letter said to have been written by Marlborough for General Sackville, giving full information regarding this projected expedition. Few stopped to analyze the paper, or to compare its date with the dates of orders issued by Lewis XIV. for the defence of Brest. The result is that most writers have hitherto unhesitatingly denounced Marlborough as the man who was responsible for our disaster.

* Lord Caermarthen's Journal, p. 27.

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This is the gravest charge which Marlborough's political enemies have brought against him. It has been repeated as a fact by most of our historians down to the present day, yet, of the many accusations preferred against him, it is the most easily disproved. It is essential in the first place to remember that our repulse was the result of preparations made to meet an expected attack, and that Lewis XIV. ordered these preparations because he had ascertained that Brest was the place aimed at by King William. The point, therefore, to be determined is, from whom and when did he first learn this?

About the beginning of March, Floyd, Groom of the Bed-chamber to James, reached London for the purpose of conferring with the leading Jacobites. He had interviews with Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Admiral Russell, and Marlborough, all of whom, with the exception of the last, held high public offices of trust. The three first named were Ministers trusted by William, who when giving the seals of office to Lord Shrewsbury this same month, said: 'I know you are a man of honour, and if you undertake to serve me you will do so faithfully.' Yet he was at that very time, had long been, and long continued to be, like Marlborough, in treasonable correspondence with William's enemies! Marlborough, smarting under the remembrance of recent imprisonment, and still in disgrace, knew nothing of what took place at William's Councils, except what his friend Godolphin, the First Lord of the Treasury, volunteered to tell him. He received Floyd with cordiality, but gave him no information. Russell with many oaths, and Shrewsbury with great plausibility, did the same, but Godolphin went further, and told him that Russell would certainly appear shortly before Brest, which the military officers deemed open to attack, though the sailors were of a different opinion; 'that this would give a just pretext to His Most Christian Majesty to send troops to that place.*' Floyd's information was laid before Lewis at Versailles on

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 483.

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May 1, so we are justified in assuming that it was about April 15 or 20 when Godolphin told Floyd this.* It is thus beyond all doubt that the French King, even through this channel, was in possession of the so-called secret at least a week before Marlborough's letter of May 4 could have reached him.

The document in the Scotch College to which I have referred is in the handwriting of Mr. Nairne, the Under-Secretary of State to James, and afterwards to the Pretender. It is said to be a copy of the translation into French, made for the convenience of Lewis XIV., of an English letter sent in cipher to Lord Melfort at St. Germain by General Sackville, the Jacobite agent in London. The original letter is not in existence; we have only this alleged French translation of the English decipher of it; but there is good reason to believe that it had at least been seen by the Earl of Melfort, for it is interlined in one place with four words which Macpherson, the Tory writer, declares to be in that nobleman's handwriting.† James also, in his Memoirs, writes: 'May 4th.—Lord Churchill informed the King of the design on Brest.‡'

The document runs as follows: 'May 4, 1694.—I have just now received the inclosed for the King. It is from Lord Churchill; but no person but the Queen and you must know from whom it comes. Therefore for the love of God, let it be kept a secret even from Lord Middleton.§ I send it by express, judging it to be of the utmost consequence for the service of the King my master, and consequently for the service of his most Christian Majesty. You see, by the contents of this letter, that I am not

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 480; and 'Paradoxes and Puzzles,' p. 22.

† Everything Macpherson states against those who were hostile to James must be accepted with much reserve.

‡ See Clarke's Life, vol. ii., p. 522; Dalrymple, Part III., Book III., p. 62.

§ The words 'even from Lord Middleton' are interlined in Lord Melfort's handwriting. See Macpherson, vol. i., p. 487.

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deceived in the judgment I form of Admiral Russell; for that man has not acted sincerely, and I fear he will never act otherwise.'

The English translation of the copy made in French of Marlborough's paper, is as follows: 'It is but this day that it came to my knowledg what I now send you; which is that the Bomb Vessells and the twelve regiments now encamped at Portsmouth, together with the two Marine Regiments, are to be commanded by Talmach, and are designed to burn the harbour of Brest, and to destroy the men of war there; this would be great advantage to England, but no consideration can, or ever shall hinder me from letting you know what I think may be for your service, so you may make what use you think best of this intelligence, which you may depend upon as exactly true.'

In the translation given in James's Memoirs, Marlborough's letter ends here, but in the version given by Macpherson it continues thus: 'But I must conjure you for your own interest to let no one know it but the Queen, and the bearer of this letter. Russell sails to-morrow with forty ships, the rest being not yet paid; but it is said that in ten days the rest of the fleet will follow, and at the same time the land forces. I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from Admiral Russell. But he always denied it to me, though I am very sure that he knew the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions. I shall be very well pleased to learn that this letter comes safe to your hands.*' Marlborough's letter is not dated, but as Russell sailed on May 5, we may assume that his letter was written on the 4th, the day before—as he says—that event.

The authenticity of this letter is denied by some, because the original of neither Marlborough's nor Sackville's letter has ever been found; but the circumstantial evidence is

* For the English version see Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 522, and Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 487, and Dalrymple, Book III., Part III., p. 61.

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too strong to admit of doubt. It is certain that Marlborough was at this time in constant communication with James's emissaries in England, and that he was most anxious to convince his former master that he was sincerely devoted to his service. His only knowledge of when the fleet was to sail was derived from his intimate friend, Godolphin, by whom this news, except the actual date of sailing, had been already communicated to the French Court. Marlborough consequently knew that his letter could not injure England, whilst it would serve to impress James with the reality of his professions. We know, moreover, from James's own pen, that he had been early warned of this Brest expedition by Lord Arran as well as by Godolphin.*

The dates bearing upon this point deserve examination.

- † 5, 1694. Sackville's letter of May 1st from London could not have been deciphered, translated into French, and placed before
 ‡ 5, 1694. Lewis XIV. before the 1st of that month at earliest. But a full month before that day Lewis, having already ascertained that Brest was to be attacked, sent orders to reinforce largely the ordinary garrison of 1,500 men, and to place the fortifications in a complete state of defence. His letter, now
 § 4, 1694. in the military archives of Paris, is dated April 1st, and is addressed to his great engineer, Marshal Vauban. In it he says that he has learned from several sources that an attack on Brest is intended by 7,000 British troops and the combined navies of England and Holland. He does not think that the attack will succeed, but, as a precautionary measure, he has ordered two regiments of Horse and six battalions of Coastguards to proceed there. In terms most flattering to Vauban, the letter goes on to say that as soon as he has seen the other ports of Normandy he is to proceed to Brest, assume command, and use every effort to place it in an effective state of defence.

- §§ 4, 1694. Vauban was engaged in inspecting the ports of Normandy

* Clarke's 'Life of James II.,' vol. ii., p. 523. Lord Arran and his father-in-law, Lord Sunderland, were as deeply implicated in this treasonable correspondence as either Marlborough or Godolphin.

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when this letter reached him on April 26 at Conch  ,* some twelve and a half miles from Brest. He acknowledged its receipt on the following day, saying that as the King had mentioned no date for his arrival at Brest, he would finish his work at St. Malo, before proceeding to take up his new command.† He reached Brest on May 13, and, in ‡ 5, 1694. reporting his arrival, said that as yet no reinforcements had arrived. In another letter, written before the English fleet arrived, he assured the King 'that he need be under no apprehensions, for he had made all the subterranean passages under the Castle bomb-proof, and had mounted ninety mortars and three hundred guns in good positions: that all the ships of war had been secured beyond the range of the English shells: that the troops were in good order: and that there were three hundred bombardiers, the same number of gentlemen, four thousand regular infantry, and a regiment of Dragoons in the place.'‡

All this proves beyond doubt that Tollemache's disastrous failure was due to the completeness of the preparations made by Vauban, in obedience to orders from Lewis *three weeks before the date* of Marlborough's letter on the subject. Indeed it is quite certain that Tollemache's disaster would have taken place all the same, if Marlborough had been beheaded for treason two years before. But although it is thus clear that the gravest part of the charge against Marlborough cannot be sustained, he was none the less guilty of a high misdemeanour. To communicate with James, the declared enemy of his acknowledged Sovereign, was treason, notwithstanding the fact that William's enemies were regarded as England's best friends by a large and powerful section in the country.

When Marlborough sent this information to St. Germain's, he was aware that it had been already communicated to

* This place is now spelt Conquet.

† His acknowledgment is in the military archives in Paris.

‡ Harris's 'Life of William,' vol. iii., Book VII., p. 299.

King James by others. What were, then, his motives in this proceeding?

Some writers have asserted that his great object was to ruin the growing reputation of his one English rival, General Tollemache, by insuring his defeat. This is to attribute to him a Machiavellian malevolence so entirely foreign to his nature that we are justified in summarily rejecting an imputation which rests on no evidence of any kind. The story has its origin in a statement by Oldmixon to the effect that when Tollemache was dying he said he was betrayed, and named the traitors so that the Queen 'might be on her guard against those *pernicious Councillors who had retarded the descent*, and by that means given France time to fortify Brest,' etc.* It is evident that Tollemache could not have levelled his charge against Marlborough, for he was not then entrusted by the Queen with any secrets, nor was he one of her Council at the time.

No great man took more trouble to forecast the future than did Marlborough. Napoleon never looked forward beyond two years, but he tells us that he most carefully speculated upon what might possibly, and what would probably, happen in that time. Marlborough, however, always sought to divine, by analogy of the past and the present, what would be the course of events in England many years ahead. Yet he was no gambler at the game of life, and whether winning or losing he never wagered double or quits. He played for averages, preferring always to win a little on every throw rather than to risk largely in pursuit of great coups; and when, therefore, the stakes became high he invariably 'hedged' against all serious loss. This was no easy game to play when he began to foresee danger to the Revolution principles and to William's crown. He knew that many of the leading men were, like himself, disappointed with their share of the 'plunder,' and

* Macaulay refers to Oldmixon's History as 'an absurd romance,' vol. i., p. 608, note.

might at any moment turn against the King whom they had made. The French might carry everything before them in Flanders, or William—who always exposed himself much in action—might be killed. In short, there were a variety of chances in favour of James's restoration, and the far-seeing Marlborough desired to make himself safe in the event of any one of them coming off.

As time went on, and William became more and more unpopular, Marlborough's belief in the probability of James's restoration grew stronger, and his protestations became additionally effusive. But hitherto his professions had been unsupported by proofs, and when pressed to give some material evidence of his contrition for past offences, he seized upon the projected attack upon Brest as a good opportunity for apparent compliance. From his friends in office he had learnt the date upon which the fleet, without the troops, was to sail, and he knew that Godolphin, and possibly others, had already communicated its destination to St. Germain. Nothing he had to tell, as he was well aware, could therefore be really injurious to English interests; whereas, if cleverly laid before James, the intelligence would have such an air of treachery to William that it could not fail to strengthen the exiled King's belief in his good faith. The fact that he was still in disgrace at Court helped him much, for it was only natural that he should turn on William, who had showed him such scant consideration. William and Mary had disgraced, and subsequently imprisoned, him; what more likely, therefore, than that he should seek to be avenged upon them for the indignities and injuries which they had heaped upon him and upon his wife? As an injured man, he felt no difficulty under such circumstances in persuading himself that it could not be wrong to give James information which the latter had already received from others. To give still further proof of his sincerity, he caused Anne to write again to her father, and it would appear that in doing so she made some distinct proposals to him, for it is stated in a letter from ¹7, 1694.

Lord Middleton that James accepted in the main the terms specified.*

Judged by the modern standard of right and wrong, nothing could excuse Marlborough's letter to James, and although we know that it had nothing to do with bringing about the disaster in Cameret Bay, we do not hesitate to denounce it as treason against the England which we believe to be the heritage of the English people. But in his day every State, with its inhabitants, was still deemed to be the personal property of its Sovereign Lord. The sentiments of nationality and patriotism, as we understand them, had then but little hold upon popular imagination.

The career of Lord Sunderland, the trusted Minister of Charles, James, and William, affords a striking parallel case of how unfaithful men could be to their public trusts at this epoch, for whilst in William's confidence he sent James early news of an intended attack upon Toulon.† But the betrayal of secrets to an enemy was not then regarded as the crime we now consider it to be, and it must be remembered, that when two kings claimed the allegiance of the people, loyalty to one was necessarily treason to the other.

Many are of opinion that we are punished in this world for our sins. Queen Anne believed that her children died in infancy as a punishment for her treason to her father; and for his faults, whatever they were, Marlborough certainly suffered severely in this world. We may consider it a well-merited punishment for his treasonable dealings with James that he should have been driven from power at the end of his illustrious career by a mere clique of party politicians, and that he should have reaped such harsh ingratitude from the nation which he had made great. He himself, however, considered his offence venial, and looked upon his

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 488.

† Lord Arran, Sunderland's son-in-law, wrote to James $\frac{1}{2}$ 3, 1695, to tell him we were fitting out an expedition to attack Toulon, and says: 'It is Lord Sunderland who has given me in charge to assure your Majesty of this.'

dismissal from office by William, and his downfall in Queen Anne's reign, as mere freaks of fortune, as bad throws in the game of life. According to his notions, he had not sinned, because he had only done as others did. The sincere rebel is often guilty of treason from the noblest motives; but, alas! in Marlborough's treason there was no sincerity, for it had its origin in an ignoble and unworthy regard for personal safety. Thus, though technically we can acquit him of the responsibility of Tollemache's disaster, we are nevertheless bound to admit the deceit and insincerity of his conduct in this unfortunate affair. The casuist may seek to extenuate Marlborough's conduct, but it cannot be forgotten that the great man for whom England built Blenheim Palace did intrigue with his country's enemies. It is true, Marlborough never anticipated that the information which he and his friends sent to James would lead to loss of English life, for he shared the belief of the King, Shrewsbury and others, that if Tollemache found the garrison prepared for attack he would not land his troops. Indeed, it is but fair, as well as reasonable, to believe this of Marlborough.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

QUEEN MARY'S DEATH.

Efforts made to induce William to re-employ Marlborough—Effect of Queen Mary's death on William—Anne makes friends with the King—Namur capitulates to William.

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THE King left England for Holland early in May. His army in Flanders this year consisted of about 31,000 Horse and Dragoons and 51,000 Foot, besides a detached force near Ghent of some 7,000 men. The campaign which followed is dull reading, for the history of its marches and counter-marches, of the lines and entrenchments from behind which the two armies watched each other, is neither interesting nor instructive. Both sides were apparently reflecting on the old French maxim—'A battle lost loses more than a victory gains.' The capture of the little town of Huy was all that William had to offer the English people in return for the millions which they had placed at his disposal; he lost no battles, for he fought none.

Great efforts were made by Marlborough's friends this year to induce William to re-employ him. But the King still mistrusted, feared and disliked him, and was jealous of his reputation with the people. The Duke of Shrewsbury always befriended him, and he now tells William in a letter 'it is impossible to forget what is here become a very great discourse—the popularity and convenience of receiving Lord Marlborough into your favour. He has been with me since the news' of this failure at Brest,

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'to offer his service, with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable. What I can say by way of persuasion upon this subject will signify but little, since I very well remember when your Majesty discoursed with me upon it in the spring you were sufficiently convinced of his usefulness.' 'It is so unquestionably his interest to be faithful that that single argument makes me not doubt it.' In reply to this advice William, writing from 'Camp at Rosebeck,' says coldly: 'As to what you wrote in your last letter concerning Lord Marlborough I can say no more than that I do not think it for the good of my service to entrust him with the command of my troops.*' It is curious to note that this renewed offer of his services was made only a few weeks after the date of his alleged letter to James, in which he told him of the intended attack upon Brest; also that Shrewsbury, who thoroughly understood Marlborough, and who was himself one of the many men of influence then in correspondence with the exiled Court, states in his letter to the King the broad fact that it was Marlborough's interest to maintain the Revolution settlement.

But Queen Mary, the most serious obstacle to Marlborough's re-employment, was now to be removed from his path. She was attacked in December with small-pox, and, after an illness of only a week, died at Kensington Palace^{23-27, 1694.} in the thirty-third year of her age. Her loss stunned the nation for the moment, and was regarded as a national disaster. But over and above the sorrow it occasioned on public grounds, the grief was deep and sincere, for she was personally beloved by the people, and the unpopularity of her husband seemed to intensify the respect and devotion entertained for her by all classes.† Her death was a great blow to the King, and filled him with remorse; it shook the

* Shrewsbury Correspondence.

† Her life was a sad one owing to the cruel treatment she received from her ungenerous husband. Death must have been a relief to her. Burnet says she 'seemed to desire death rather than life.'

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foundations of his Throne, and revived the Jacobite hopes both in England and at St. Germain. Furthermore, this sad event made it necessary that he should at least appear to be on the best of terms with his heiress by law, the Princess Anne, whom he had never liked, whilst he despised her unwieldy and stupid husband. At the instigation of the Marlboroughs and Lord Sunderland, Anne took the initiative, wrote an affectionate and dutiful letter of condolence to William, and begged him to see her. The interview was satisfactory to both parties, and the King, to mark his appreciation of Anne's conduct in this matter and to bind her the more closely to him, gave her St. James's Palace as a residence, and presented her with Queen Mary's jewels. His prejudice against the Marlboroughs, however, still remained as before, and his continued refusal to employ the only able English General of the day exhibited alike a want of wisdom and of gratitude. William not only ignored the valuable military services which Marlborough had rendered him, but he also failed to recognise his recent conciliatory influence with the Princess. When Mary died there was a large party who wished to embarrass the King by insisting that the Parliament summoned by William and Mary conjointly had come to an end according to custom upon the demise of the Crown. Had the Marlboroughs, in revenge for William's harsh treatment, urged Anne to make common cause with that party, the position of the King would have been rendered extremely difficult, if not unsafe.

The Marlboroughs certainly did much to bring about a good understanding between the King and Anne. Had they opposed it, Anne would not have written to William as she did, nor would she have made the first overtures for a reconciliation, which was then so necessary to William. Indeed, considering the treatment which Marlborough had received from the King, it was as creditable to his Christian feelings as it was to his worldly wisdom that he should have done so much to restore amicable relations between William

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and his sister-in-law. Anne, by the advice of the Marlboroughs, went out of her way to make it publicly known that she was now once more on the best of terms with her brother-in-law the King, and their reconciliation became forthwith a subject of general rejoicing. A military guard of honour was again placed over her house, and she was again shown all the outward forms of respect usually paid to members of the Royal Family. It was soon currently reported that as a reward for all this the Marlboroughs were to be again received at Court and restored to favour.* This was not to be, however, for some years.

In writing about these events in the following January, the Duke of Shrewsbury says: 'Since the Queen's death, and the reconciliation between the King and Princess, her court is as much courted as it was before deserted. She has omitted no opportunity to shew her zeal for His Majesty and his Government; and our friend' (Marlborough), 'who has no small credit with her, seems very resolved to contribute to the continuance of this union, as the only thing that can support her or both. I do not see he is likely at present to get much by it, not having yet kissed the King's hand; but his reversion is very fair and great.'†

The events of 1693 and 1694 were not calculated to increase the popularity of William or his Government. The taxes were heavy, and although immense sums were spent upon the army and navy, England had failed both by sea and by land. William's gifts of Crown lands, salaries, and pensions to his own countrymen were still the common talk of the town. Plots and conspiracies disquieted society, and Jacobite treason was rampant everywhere. Ministers were bitterly attacked in the House of Commons upon the state of the revenue, and upon the great subsidies paid to foreign Powers for their adherence to the 'Grand Alliance'—a policy which few understood and fewer still appreciated.

* Charles Hatton to Viscount Hatton, $\frac{1}{2}$ 1, 1694.

† Shrewsbury Correspondence, p. 220.

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Throughout 1695 there was a constant interchange of ideas between St. Germain's and the Jacobites, both real and pretended. Marlborough is frequently referred to in this correspondence as an important factor in the proposed attempt to reinstate James now that Queen Mary was dead. In the cipher correspondence which Lord Middleton kept up with his agents in England he is generally referred to as 'the Hamburgh Merchant.' Middleton writes in May: 'I the more earnestly desired yours, that I might be the more particularly informed concerning the Hamburgh partner, from whom I have not heard of a great while, which you may know, for I never had any of his letters, but under your cover. I shall not write to him, till I hear further from you. If you think of any particular thing, that you judge proper for me to say to him, pray give him a hint of it; for some matters must be managed with great caution, and you can best judge on the place. I wonder the less, that I should be ignorant of his contract, since you are. Though I am confident he means well: yet I beg you would let me know what you can observe; nor is it fit to show him this.' Writing a few weeks later, he says that things at St. Germain's remain unchanged. In reference to the coming dissolution of Parliament, he says: 'I think it would be fit, that the Hamburgh partner should give the consul an account how far the interest of the company may be concerned in it, and of what may be advisable in this conjuncture; and in the meantime, to bestir himself.*' From these and other letters between the conspirators, it would seem that Marlborough seldom committed himself in writing. He spoke to the agents in England, who wrote to either Melfort or Middleton at St. Germain's. The reports of these agents cannot be entirely relied on, since they were constantly deceived by those who, like Marlborough, Sunderland, Godolphin, and others, were merely pretended Jacobites. Indeed, Lord Middleton

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 525.

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himself appears to have been deceived by Marlborough's protestations of loyalty to James.

In this year's campaign in Flanders, as in Marlborough's campaign of 1705, everything pointed at one time to a decisive battle in the neighbourhood of Waterloo, from which place one of William's letters is dated.* Namur capitulated to William on September 5. But in spite of this reverse, the French army in the field was still too strong to be attacked with any reasonable chance of success. The capture of Namur was the first great success in William's Continental wars since his accession to the Throne, and it greatly increased his military reputation. Even in Rome, the champion of Protestantism was looked upon with favour as a deliverer from the ecclesiastical tyranny of Lewis XIV., while in England he became for the time almost popular. He returned to England in October, and dissolved Parliament. Supported by the Whig party, he obtained a decided majority at the General Election. The new House of Commons granted the supplies William asked for, and fixed the establishment of the army for the following year at 88,000 men of all ranks.

* Ranke, vol. v., p. 95.

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SIR JOHN FENWICK'S PLOT.—THE PEACE OF RYSWICK.

Lewis XIV. again contemplates the invasion of England—Fenwick names Marlborough and others as his accomplices—Peterborough accused of coaching Fenwick—Godolphin quits office—England nearly bankrupt—Peace made—Sunderland's villainy.

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LEWIS XIV. now began to view with grave apprehension the growing power of William in the Netherlands, and a careful survey of the general position convinced him that his enemy was more open to attack in England than in Flanders. All the available English and Scotch regiments were engaged abroad in what seemed to the English people an interminable war, waged exclusively for Dutch interests. No more than 14,000 troops remained at home for the protection of our coasts. Lewis was kept well informed upon all such points by his guest at St. Germain's. The Jacobite party in England was strong and confident. The Protestant Tories had laid down the terms upon which they were prepared to accept James as King, and he had unwillingly agreed to them. He doubtless consoled himself with the reflection that, once on the Throne, he need pay as little heed to his promises as he had done to his Coronation Oath. Queen Mary's death had considerably strengthened James's cause in England. As long as his eldest daughter was on the Throne, although she only shared it with her husband, those who believed in hereditary right felt that the sentiment was not ignored or forgotten. But when her widower, who was not a Stewart, continued

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to reign alone after her death, the weakness—the illegality, as a large class deemed it—of his Parliamentary title filled the believers in the Divine Right of Kings with pious horror. The Jacobite agents in England, ever sanguine, reported the kingdom to be ripe for a rising. Everything conspired to favour the movement if supported by the presence in England of James himself at the head of an efficient French army. Lewis accordingly despatched some 12,000 troops to Dunkirk and Calais, where ships for their conveyance to England were rapidly collected, while the unhappy James was hurried off to the coast at the beginning of March. ^{2, 3, 1696 (N.S.).}

But with James's usual want of luck, the discovery at this moment of Sir John Fenwick's plot against William's life excited universal horror, and the whole country was raised to fever-heat by the atrocity of the intended crime. Even a large section of the Jacobites shared this sentiment. The result was the complete overthrow of the plans for a rising in England; and the destination of the expeditionary force having been discovered, all chance of surprise, and therefore of success, was at an end. The poor dethroned King returned broken-hearted to his wife, his penance, and his priests. Fenwick was captured in June, and endeavoured to save his life by a disclosure of all the Jacobite plans and conspiracies with which he was acquainted. The Duke of Devonshire—then Lord High Steward—visited him in prison, and received from him a paper wherein he named Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Marlborough, and Bath, also Admiral Russell, as implicated in the Jacobite plots.* He asserted that all of them had begged for forgiveness, and had been pardoned by James, who counted on securing the co-operation of the army through Marlborough's influence with the officers, and that of the navy through Admiral Russell. His gravest charges were, however, directed against Shrewsbury and Godolphin, who, he declared, had

* See Journal of House of Commons of 11, 1696, for copy of Fenwick's paper.

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for many years acted under James's orders, although they were also William's trusted Ministers.

Fenwick's charges were undoubtedly true, and all those he named were in frequent correspondence with St. Germain. But he only knew this indirectly through others. He had not had direct communication with any of them, and consequently he could of himself prove nothing. The fact, however, that a Jacobite gentleman should turn King's evidence, even to save his life, was a serious warning to both Marlborough and Godolphin. It made them realize the risks to which their treasonable correspondence exposed them, and although they had no intention of fulfilling their promises to James, the letters containing those promises placed their lives at William's mercy.

This event marked a turning-point in their dealings with James, and in the mode which they subsequently employed to impress him with a belief in their feigned sympathy. Thenceforward they abstained from committing themselves in writing, though they still continued to have interviews with James's agents, and were loud in protestations of loyalty, and good wishes for his return. These messages were transmitted to St. Germain in the words of the agents to whom they were personally given, and were often highly coloured in the process. It was these agents' business to give James news, and without doubt they were often led away by the specious character of the messages they received. In his Memoirs, James says that after the Fenwick plot Marlborough, Godolphin, Shrewsbury, and Russell urged as a reason for the discontinuance of their written correspondence with him that their secrets had been betrayed by his agents. He adds: 'It is doubtful whether this was a disadvantage in respect of such men. It was a check, however, upon better men.'

Without doubt William obtained excellent information of all that went on in the squabbling little Court at St. Germain. James was fully aware that his secrets were betrayed, and he had long suspected Godolphin to be the

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traitor. William certainly learnt much of the Jacobite schemes from Sunderland and Caermarthen, both of whom, apparently with his knowledge, corresponded with James and professed the deepest interest in his cause merely to betray it. And yet these men esteemed themselves and were by others esteemed English gentlemen!

William, whilst always ready to get rid of insignificant enemies, like Fenwick, when they plotted against him, never displayed the least anxiety to bring to the block any of the leading men who had helped him to the Throne, even when their complicity with treason was beyond all doubt. It was not that he was indifferent to their double-dealing, but that he was generous enough to make allowances for men in their unenviable position. Perhaps some remembrance of his own duplicity may have disposed him to leniency. Circumstances compelled James to employ Marlborough, Godolphin and Shrewsbury, and to treat them as loyal well-wishers, whilst he knew them to be insincere; but William of his own accord made use of men whom he knew to be in treasonable correspondence with St. Germain.

In one of Mr. Vernon's letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury, ^{W. 11.} 1696. describing a meeting at the house of Lord Somers, there is this significant sentence: * 'It was declared the King was disposed to do whatever should be thought best for the vindication of your Grace and Mr. Russell.† But I perceive he was not alike concerned to discredit the paper on other accounts.' From this it would seem that whilst sincerely interested in the two who are named, he did not care what charges were brought against Marlborough and Godolphin. Mr. Vernon kept the Duke of Shrewsbury fully acquainted with all that was extracted from Fenwick, and with the King's thoughts on the matter. He did the same to Lord Marlborough, whom he told that the Duke had 'enquired after him.' In another letter he says that

* Vernon was then Secretary of State.

† Meaning Admiral Russell.

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Marlborough 'seems very hearty in this matter, and as if he would push it.* All the accused felt their guilt, but as they had had no negotiations or intercourse with Fenwick, they knew that his statements must have been made on hearsay. They could, therefore, truthfully say in Parliament that they had not even seen their accuser since the Revolution. In some of Vernon's letters he mentions that 'Marlborough waits for a sure hand to send letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury by,' a proof that he had things to say in which both were interested, but which he would not like his enemies to know.

§ 11, 1696. The Bill of Attainder brought forward against Fenwick was opposed in the House of Commons, the accused being present. During the discussion, Marlborough's brother-in-law, Colonel Godfrey, rose and said: 'I desire some questions may be asked him in relation to a noble Lord, my Lord Marlborough.' 'I would have him asked whether since the beginning of this war, or from the time of the King's landing, Sir John Fenwick did ever speak to him in publick or private, or ever did write to him or receive any message by word of mouth, or letter from my Lord Marlborough. He says some service he promised King James, inclined him to promise him his pardon. I would know what that service was? and in relation to his sending Lloyd into France, whether he can by anybody else make that appear?' The Bill was equally opposed in the House of Lords, and in the following letters Marlborough gives the Duke of Shrewsbury an account of Fenwick's appearance there:

'Wednesday night.—Although I have not troubled your Grace with my letters, I have not been wanting in inquiring constantly how you did. I did, about a fortnight ago, write a letter to acquaint you with what I had observed of some people, in hopes Mr. Arden would have called upon me, as he promised. But I did not care to send it by post, and so it was burnt. We had yesterday Sir John Fenwick at the

* Vernon to Shrewsbury, 24.11, 1696.

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house, and I think it all went as you could wish. I do not send you the particulars, knowing that you must have it more exactly from others; but I should be wanting if I did not let you know that Lord Rochester has behaved himself on all this occasion like a friend. In a conversation he had with me, he expressed himself as a real friend of yours; and I think it would not be amiss if you took notice of it to him. If you think me capable of any commands, I shall endeavour to approve myself, what I am with much truth, etc., MARLBOROUGH.*

The Bill only passed by a majority of seven, and even that was only secured by the eloquence and persistency of Lord Somers. The Whig Lords were much influenced by party spirit as well as by private friendship for Shrewsbury and for Admiral Russell, the brother of their Whig martyr. Prince George of Denmark—presumably at Marlborough's instigation—supported the Bill, whilst forty peers recorded their protest against it. Marlborough took part in the debate, and spoke bitterly against the prisoner. 'He did not wonder,' he said, 'to find a man in danger, willing to throw his guilt upon any other body: that he (Marlborough) had some satisfaction to be owned in such good company; but he assured their Lordships that he had no sort of conversation with Fenwick upon any account whatsoever, since this Government, and this he asserted upon his word of honour.† Lords Bath and Godolphin made similar protestations of innocence.

To those who see in the mad, vain and vicious Peterborough—then Lord Monmouth—a sort of mediæval hero, the history of Fenwick's condemnation should be painful reading. Desiring above all things to be well talked about, he was never unwilling to attack even his oldest friends if he could thereby ensure notoriety. He was jealous of everyone in power, and always anxious to injure their

* Shrewsbury Papers.

† Cox's Shrewsbury Papers, p. 438. This extract from Marlborough's speech is given by Lord Wharton in a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

reputation and undermine their authority. At first he suspected—possibly with some reason—that his name was included in the list of those whom Fenwick charged with treason. When he ascertained that this was not so, he did what he could to strengthen the accusations against Shrewsbury, Marlborough and Godolphin, all of whom, and especially the last-named, he was at that time most anxious to destroy.* He wrote to tell Fenwick how his charges could be pressed with most telling effect, adding that 'he liked the accusation so well.† He advised him to cross-examine Marlborough as to the events which brought about his dismissal from Court, and that the King should be appealed to on this point. One of the informers, a villain of the worst sort named Read, had for some time previously been in Monmouth's pay.‡

When this infamous intrigue was discovered, many of the Lords were against pressing home the charges against Peterborough. Others—amongst whom was Marlborough—urged that he was looked upon by them 'as the contriver of those papers' which had been sent to Fenwick, telling how he should press his charges against those he had named as traitors. They thought the judgment of the House ought, therefore, to be pronounced upon the matter. This being agreed to, the Lords, after due consideration of the evidence before them, committed him to the Tower; the King removed him from the Privy Council, and dismissed him from all his offices. There can be little doubt that Fenwick's charges against the Lords whom he named would have been substantiated had he followed Lord Monmouth's advice, although by doing so he would not have saved his life, for the Whigs were determined that he should die.

These events were followed in October by Godolphin's

* Vernon to Shrewsbury, 29, 10, 1696.

† Lexington Papers, p. 237.

‡ Vernon to Shrewsbury, 24-9, 1696. 'Letters Illustrative of William III.'s Reign,' edited by G. P. R. James.

retirement from office. He had long been anxious to quit the Treasury, but had been persuaded by the King to remain. Naturally timid, his guilty conscience made him dread the publication of his correspondence with James II., and Fenwick's recent disclosures made him realize the danger of his position. Besides, William's foreign wars and reckless expenditure of public money had brought the revenue and the finances into serious confusion, and, as head of the Treasury, Godolphin felt that he might at any moment be called to account by a hostile Parliament.*

England was never nearer national bankruptcy than in this year, and no one understood this fact more clearly than Godolphin. Towards the end of the year money was so scarce that Exchequer tallies could not be cashed in the open market at less than thirty per cent. discount. When the Bank of England consented to advance £200,000 for the use of the army, nine per cent. was charged for the loan. The cost of the war appeared all the more enormous as the revenue had suffered severely from the state to which the currency had been reduced by the practice of 'clipping.' The amount of coin in circulation was too small for the ordinary trade of the country, and the large amounts of gold and silver sent away to the army in Flanders greatly aggravated the evil.

The projected invasion of England having come to nothing, Lewis began to feel that, all things considered, a general peace would be most to his advantage. The health of the poor imbecile King of Spain was bad, and at his death, which might occur at any moment, Lewis intended to claim his throne for Philip of Anjou, his younger grandson. Were the Grand Alliance in full force when that event occurred, its members would certainly fight to prevent the accomplishment of this intention. It was, therefore, of the first consequence to break up this formidable confederacy

* That Godolphin's retirement from office was not prompted by any love for James is very clearly argued in his recent Life by the Hon. Hugh Elliot.

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by means of a general peace. Once formally dissolved, it could not be easily or quickly re-established, and in the meantime, upon the death of King Charles, the French army might seize both Madrid and the Spanish Netherlands.

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The terms for a general treaty of peace were soon agreed upon. They were based upon the provisions of the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen. Strasburg was to be given back to the empire, and William was to be unreservedly acknowledged as King of England. The treaty of peace was signed at midnight on September 10, 1697, by the representatives of England, France, and Holland, in the palace of Ryswick, by which name it is still known in history. Lewis agreed to throw over the interests of his poor pensioner, James II., who was naturally furious, for the treaty seemed to destroy his only chance of restoration to the English throne. The fact that it did not prevent Lewis from formally recognising the Pretender upon the death of James proves how little reliance can be placed upon treaties made with great military powers by a nation which has a small army and objects to war on principle. This treaty made no provision for the disposal of the Spanish Empire upon the death of King Charles, the final settlement of which had been one of William's chief objects when he began the war eight years before. The peace was not in accordance with William's wishes, and, indeed, it was little more than a truce forced upon him by his English subjects in their ignorance of foreign affairs. But considering that he had been almost always unsuccessful in the war which now came to an end, he obtained from France—at least, on paper—all he could at the time have fairly expected. It is not uncommon to find these inconclusive campaigns derided, and to be told that they led to nothing; but those who say so are not well read in military history. Although they added no names to the roll of national victories, yet they were not to England a mere waste of men and money, for they saved us from invasion. It was

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better to spend largely upon indecisive military operations in Flanders, than to run the risk of defeat upon the chalk ridges between London and the coast.

Sunderland, who was utterly devoid of principle, although popularly supposed to entertain liberal, if not republican, views, was bent upon getting back to office and power. The most crafty and skilful intriguer perhaps in our history, he left no means untried to ingratiate himself with William, and he succeeded. Anne, when Princess of Denmark, called him in a letter to her sister, 'the subtlest, workinest villain that is on the face of the earth.'* Although he had been specially excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1689, yet William often consulted him privately. Indeed, he was the only Englishman on whose opinions the King set any value, and it was by his advice that the Whigs were recalled to office. In April he was once more made a Privy Councillor, and given the important position of Lord Chamberlain. As the King's favourite, he soon became odious to the people, and during the last years of the century the old ill-feeling and jealousy about the King's preference for foreigners was forgotten in the intense popular dislike to Sunderland. During the royal progress of 1695, William bestowed the first outward mark of favour upon Sunderland by staying five days with him at Althorp, and no doubt he turned this opportunity for intimacy with the King to good account. When restored to power he managed the public business in both Houses of Parliament with consummate skill, and obtained for himself a greater position than he had filled at any previous period of his eventful but ignoble career. 'What is one man better than another?' was a favourite saying of his, and one on which he habitually acted. The character of those he employed mattered nothing to him, provided he could make them useful. It was commonly thought at the time, that he had urged William into the long War of Succession, in order that Marlborough, Godolphin, and

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* This letter is dated the Cockpit, March 20, 1687.

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his own son might derive advantage from it, but those who believed this had no insight into William's character or aims. He required no encouragement to make war with France, for his great object always was to prevent her from becoming the mistress of Europe.

The restoration to favour of Sunderland has been dwelt upon, as it paved the way to Marlborough's forgiveness and re-employment.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

MARLBOROUGH FORGIVEN AND RE-EMPLOYED.

Marlborough's mother dies—He is made Governour to the Duke of Gloucester—He has the gout—Parliament demands the reduction of the Army, but will not vote the money to pay off the soldiers—William wishes to abdicate, but gives up the idea to please the Whigs.

MARLBOROUGH's mother died early in this year, after a long life of startling vicissitudes.* Born early in the reign of Charles I., she had lived through all the stormy times of the Great Rebellion. Her first child was born just a year before the murder of that ill-starred King. Condemned to poverty during the Commonwealth for the loyalty of her husband and his father, she lived to hear the name of Cromwell execrated, and to see all her children well provided for. She died, however, before her great son had been restored to his old position in the army and the State. As already told, she was a woman of a quarrelsome disposition, and it is remarkable that the three women with whom Marlborough was most intimately associated in life—his mother, wife, and mother-in-law—were all cursed with violent and uncontrollable tempers.

William had often been heard to express regret that he could not entrust Marlborough with any high military command. But now that Queen Mary was dead, there was no longer the same obstacle to his re-employment. Little by little all through 1697 he seems to have become less

* She died $1\frac{5}{8}$ 2, 1697.CHAPTER
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obnoxious to William, upon whom the Duke of Shrewsbury repeatedly urged his claims for employment. Shrewsbury's friends were the friends of his follower Mr. Vernon, then the Secretary of State, and he too favoured Marlborough as the Tory General who had so effectively assisted the Whig conspirators at the Revolution. There was at least one bond of union between Shrewsbury and Marlborough in the fact that both were suspected, and with equal justice, of treasonable correspondence with the exiled James. In February Mr. Vernon tells the Duke of Shrewsbury that 'an exchange is negotiating that Lord Marlborough should be Chamberlain and then Governour of the Duke of Gloucester, but I know nothing of it otherwise, but I observed Lord Marlborough is frequently with the King, and therefore I hope they are well together.'* Marlborough was naturally most anxious to be re-employed—forty-eight years of age and left idle for the last six years, whilst men who were not worthy to unloose his shoe-latchet were in the enjoyment of high offices and great salaries. But the time had now arrived when all was to be forgiven, and he was once more to enjoy the King's favour.

The Duke of Gloucester was now nine years old, and the King felt bound to provide him with a household befitting his position as heir-presumptive to the Crown. When Parliament fixed the King's revenue for life at £700,000 per annum it was on the understanding that £600,000 was for himself, £50,000 for Mary, wife of James II., and the remaining £50,000 for the support of the Duke of Gloucester's establishment; but the jointure was never paid, and not more than about £15,000 per annum was ever expended on behalf of the young Prince.† Now that the latter was to have an establishment suited to his rank, Marlborough, who was still unemployed, was strongly recommended by Sunderland and others for the office of Governour. The Princess Anne was naturally in favour of an arrangement that would retain near her son the services

* Spencer House Papers.

† 'The Conduct,' p. 117.

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of one in whom she reposed entire confidence. William, though he fully appreciated the ability of the man he had disgraced, was still unprepared to employ him, and his prejudice was fostered by Portland and other Dutch courtiers who were jealous of his genius. To save himself from having to offer the position to Marlborough, William pressed it upon Shrewsbury, who, excusing himself on the score of failing health, joined Lord Sunderland in urging the King to confer it upon Marlborough. This advice was backed up by William's new Dutch favourite, Keppel, lately created Lord Albemarle. Of the few upon whom the post could with any show of propriety be conferred, Rochester, Anne's uncle, was one; but being a violent Tory Churchman, and neither a wise nor a safe public servant, it was not desirable that he should acquire an influence over the heir-presumptive to the Throne. The King, thus driven into a corner, was in the end constrained to forego his objections and to offer the governourship to Marlborough. His knowledge of how acceptable the arrangement would be to the Princess Anne weighed with him somewhat in the withdrawal of his opposition. He announced the selection to the Privy Council, and said that he would appoint a committee to settle the young Prince's household.* He was wise enough to make this restoration to favour as flattering as possible to Marlborough. When the newly-appointed Governour kissed hands upon his appointment, William said: 'My lord, teach him to be like ¹/₃ 4, 1698. yourself, and my nephew will not want for accomplishments.† His salary as Governour was fixed at £2,000 per annum. Dr. Burnet, 'the blabbing Bishop,' as the High Churchmen and Tories contemptuously styled him, was made the young Prince's spiritual preceptor, much against Anne's wish, for she did not like him. She wished to have her old tutor, Dean Hooper, who had been chaplain to the

* Vernon to Shrewsbury, ¹/₄ 6, 1698.

† 'Lives of the Two Illustrious Generals,' p. 33; Coxe, vol. i., p. 87.

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Princess of Orange in Holland, but William, who hated him, refused his consent.* Burnet and Marlborough had long been acquainted, and now, through constant intercourse in the Prince's household, there sprang up between them the closest friendship and a strong mutual esteem. The King made use of Burnet, for whom, however, he had no personal regard. The Bishop was a Churchman of broad views, and consequently in touch with the great bulk of the Protestants of all Denominations; but he wished to be a statesman, and William would not tolerate episcopal interference in public affairs. In the following year an attack was made upon Burnet in the House of Commons by the Tories, and it was urged that the King should be requested to remove him from the Prince's household. Marlborough was much concerned for his friend, and he persuaded his brother George, a violent Tory, to leave the House before the division took place. The motion was defeated, but had it succeeded the intention was to get rid of Marlborough also, to make way for the Tory Rochester.†

There was a considerable amount of friction between the King and the Princess regarding the selection of the young Duke's household, for William positively refused to appoint several of Anne's nominees. In the following characteristic letter Lady Marlborough refers to this.

'I give you many thanks for the book you ded me the favour to leave at my lodgings for me, and I was sorry you would not come up, since you took soe much trouble as to come to my door. I have sent you three dozen and three pairs of gloves, which I desire you will try to get the gentleman you said was going to France to carry with him. Hee will find noe difficulty at the custome hous here if his things are to be seen; but in France those sort of things are forbid, and therefore I trouble you with them, because I can't send them as one does other goods that one may have in that countrey for paying for, but I conclude they

* Trevor's 'Life and Times of William III.,' vol. ii., p. 479.

† Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, 11 12, 1699.

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are not soe exact, but that a gentleman may carry any thing of that nature and they won't dispute it. They must bee given to Madam Dumene, without naming my sister at all, and if it bee as easy to you I beleieve it will bee best not to name me to the gentleman you give 'em to, who I conclude you know enough to ask such a favour from, but if hee won't undertake it I desire you would bee pleased to let the gloves bee sent again to my porter at St. James's, and I must try to find some other oportunity of sending them.*

'If you should happen to see Mrs. Lee, that desired a place for her son about the Duke of Gloucester, pray oblige me soe much as to tell her I was very sorry not to have it in my power to serve her in that matter, but the king put in the queen's servants into all those places that she proposed for him, and the querry, who is Mr. Wentworth, was allsoe by the king's order placed, I suppose obtain'd by Lord Raby's interest. I would have waited upon her my self to have given her this account, but I am just going into the countrey & have not soe much time, & I beleieve Lord Marleborough has lesse, who should have don it.

'Dear uncle, forgive this long letter and trouble I give you, and beleieve tis from one that would doe a great deal more for you if it were in my power, and am,' etc.

Marlborough, thus restored to favour, immediately resumed the prominent position in the country which he had formerly held. He was again made a Privy Councillor, and took his seat in June. Vernon writes: 'He will be a very 11 6, 1698. fit man to be one of the Lords Justices, there being a want of such,'† and when the King embarked for Holland in July 11 7, 1698. he was accordingly made one, and took an active part in the government of the country during William's absence.

Abstemious as he was, Marlborough suffered this summer from gout, but it was not bad enough to confine him to the

* It is curious to find that in 1698, when this letter was written, English-made gloves were evidently more prized at St. Germain's than those made in Paris.

† Vernon to Shrewsbury, 11 6, 1698.

house. With the exception of this hereditary ailment, which never attacked him seriously, and the severe headaches which now and then rendered him scarcely capable of transacting public business, his health was still extremely good, nor did any amount of work or trouble appear to weary him.

The public rejoicings in England at the Peace of Ryswick were scarcely over before a loud and general clamour arose for the reduction of the army. The country was overburdened with taxes, the military expenditure was heavy, and the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace was odious to the people. Knowing that he must yield on this point, William conceived the plan of keeping eighteen troops of Horse, four regiments of Dragoons and twenty battalions of Foot permanently in Ireland, where, since their maintenance would be a charge upon the Irish Exchequer, the English Parliament would have no control over them. In his speech at the opening of Parliament he advised the country not to risk the loss of the good terms just obtained from France by a too early disbandment of the army, and he warned his hearers that England, under the condition of things prevailing abroad, could not 'be safe without a land force.' He ended his speech with these memorable words: 'And as I have, with the hazard of everything, rescued your religion, laws and liberties when they were in the extremest danger, so I shall place the glory of my reign in preserving them entire and leaving them so to posterity.'

1668.

But in their ignorance of foreign affairs the House of Commons would not listen to William's wise, far-seeing advice, and resolved to disband all the regiments raised since 1680. Had this resolution been literally carried out, it would have reduced the English standing army to a total of about 7,000 men. This conduct on the part of Parliament struck the King as not only foolish, but ungenerous and ungracious to himself. He knew what he had done for England, and brooded over this rebuff, which

preyed upon his mind and served to intensify his dislike for Parliamentary government and English politicians. Long experience had taught him that a nation, devoid of military strength, carried little weight in the councils of Europe. What foreign Power would value the alliance of a King who could only command the services of 7,000 fighting men? He was haunted by the dread that, when the French King came to hear of the disbandment of the English army, he would not carry out the stipulations of the treaty which he had just signed.

The old arguments against a standing army, so common in all times of peace, were repeated, and long speeches were made—speeches which might have been made in the House of Commons yesterday—to prove that 'England could defend herself both from foreign and domestic dangers by a militia of her own people regularly trained, and which had much interest to defend, and none to attack liberties that were her own.* As usual, there was much wild and ignorant talk on this well-worn subject, which admits of so much cheap sentiment and canting patriotism. On the occasion in question, however, the pent-up energy of the House found vent in words only, which escaped like the steam from a safety-valve. Members lacked the hardihood to allot a sufficient sum of public money to pay off the soldiers then serving, and without which they could not be disbanded. This enabled the King to retain them until Parliament met again in December.

The new House of Commons was even more determined to reduce the army than its predecessor had been. It voted the disbandment of all the troops in England beyond 7,000 and of those in Ireland beyond 12,000 men.† To

* Dalrymple, vol. iii., Part III., Book VII., p. 175. See 'A Short History of Standing Armies in England,' London, printed for A. Baldwin, 1698, and several other pamphlets of same date on this subject.

† The English army was to consist of three troops of Horse Guards (543 men), one troop of Grenadier Guards (175 men), seven regiments of Horse (2,020 men), three of Dragoons (849 men), and five of Foot

1698.

emphasize their determination, it was resolved: 'That the troops which remained should consist, both officers and men, of natural-born subjects.' This was, of course, directly aimed at the King's Dutch Guards, his pet regiments of French refugee Protestants, and his well-loved foreign Generals. He felt this as a personal insult to himself. 'It is not to be conceived,' he wrote to Galway, 'how people here are set against foreigners.'

1699.

Marlborough was now consulted by the King upon all public affairs, as we learn from Sunderland's correspondence.* In William's quarrels with his Parliament, Marlborough had a difficult part to play. He was not yet strong enough to offend the Tories by openly siding with the Court, and were he to act entirely with his old party, he could not long be counted as one of William's friends. When the Lords passed a resolution that they would willingly see the services of the Dutch Guards retained, the powerful minority entered a protest. Marlborough, though present in the House, did not vote. He was entirely opposed to sweeping reductions in the army, for he never regarded the Peace of Ryswick as more than a truce. The warlike preparations of Lewis XIV., and the additions to the French army and navy, were sufficient to convince one of Marlborough's cautious temperament of the folly of reducing the English nation to helplessness at such a time. The King was able to count on Marlborough's support when factious members of either House of Parliament went out of their way to insult him. Marlborough shared the English dislike to foreigners, and no one had been more open-mouthed in denunciation of William's partiality for Dutchmen; but his instinct of reverence for the wearer of the Crown forbade him to countenance the personal insults which many politicians now thought fit to heap upon King William.

(3,412 men). The army in Ireland was to consist of two regiments of Horse, three of Dragoons, and twenty of Foot, 11,367 men in all.

* Spencer House Papers.

1698.

We know, from a letter written by Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury, that the King, worn out by the insults he had received from the House of Commons, had resolved to announce publicly that, having come to England to rescue her from impending ruin; having succeeded, and brought the country through a dangerous war without mishap, as she was now at peace, he meant to leave her to herself. He proposed to add, that he perceived the English distrust of him, and that before quitting England he was prepared to assent to a law for the appointment of Commissioners to administer the Government. Somers did not at first believe that William was serious, but added: 'He has spoken of it to my Lord Marlborough (which one would wonder at almost as much as at ye thing itself), to Mr. Montague,' etc.* The King had already written out the speech he intended to deliver.† Lord Somers and all his Whig colleagues who had any weight with William argued most strongly against this move. The King gave way, and, in the interests of the State, suppressed his resentment, and assented to the Bill for this sweeping reduction of the army with wise, if not over-true, expressions of generous confidence in his people.

Thursday, 29,
12, 1698.

When the Bill became law, the funds immediately fell.

* This letter is in the papers of the Duke of Buccleugh.

† This is in the Duke of Buccleugh's collection, and is given in Dalrymple, vol. iii., Part III., Book VII., p. 180.

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ABIGAIL HILL BECOMES A BEDCHAMBER WOMAN TO THE PRINCESS ANNE.

Sarah tired of work as Lady-in-Waiting—Abigail Hill's birth and parentage—Anne transfers her affection to her new favourite—Sarah's insolence to the Princess—The story of the gloves.

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It was in the spring of this year that Lady Marlborough committed the great blunder of her life, the appointment of her cousin, Abigail Hill, to the position of Bedchamber Woman to the Princess Anne, which not only led to the eventual ruin of her husband, but placed the greatness and future renown of England in jeopardy.

Pecuniary considerations had in early life made Sarah only too glad to be a Lady-in-Waiting, but by inclination and temperament she was never suited for duties which were then no sinecure. So when her husband was made Governour to the young Prince, and she thereby attained a good social status, her proud spirit revolted against the further performance of any offices for her Royal mistress. She had a family and a home of her own to look after, and she longed to throw off the irksome restraint of waiting upon one whose society bored her. At the same time, she had no intention of abandoning her mastery over the Princess, and conceived the foolish idea of ruling her by deputy. She felt so secure in Anne's affection and in the exclusive control she had obtained over her thoughts and actions, that it never occurred to her as possible that



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ABIGAIL HILL BECOMES A BEDCHAMBER WOMAN TO THE PRINCESS ANNE.

Sarah tired of work as Lady-in-Waiting—Abigail Hill's birth and fortune—Anne transfers her affection to her, now favourite—Sarah's confidence in the Princess—The story of the gloves.

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It was in the winter of this year that Lady Marlborough committed the great blunder of her life, the appointment of her cousin Abigail Hill to the position of Bedchamber Woman to the Princess Anne, which not only led to the eventual ruin of her husband, but secured the greatness and influence of the Princess in England.

Pecuniary considerations had in early life made Sarah Hill forced to be a Lady-in-Waiting, but by inclination and temperament she was never suited for duties which were then no duties. So when her husband was made Governor to the young Princess and she thereby attained a good social station, her spirit revolted against the further performance of any duties for her Royal mistress. She had a family and a house of her own to look after, and she longed to throw off the irksome restraint of waiting upon one whose society bored her. At the same time, she had no intention of abandoning her mastery over the Princess, and conceived the foolish idea of ruling her by deputy. She felt so secure in Anne's affection and in the exclusive control she had obtained over her thoughts and actions, that it never occurred to her as possible that

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G. Kneller.

SARAH,

Duchess of Marlborough.

FROM AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER, IN THE GALLERY AT ALTHORP.

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W. A. R. A. B.

Portrait of a Woman

FROM AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT BY MISS DODDING, ANTIQUE IN THE GALLERY AT ALPHING

London: Richard Bentley & Son 1844

ABIGAIL HILL
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anyone, least of all the apparently humble Abigail, could supplant her.

This cousin, whom she selected as her substitute, was the daughter of a merchant who had married one of Lady Marlborough's numerous paternal aunts.* He had at one time been in a flourishing Turkish business, but unfortunate speculations had reduced him to penury. Sarah tells us that she first heard of the Hill family and their poverty about the beginning of William's reign, when she at once sent them money and relieved their most pressing necessities.† The statement that she had never before known that 'there were such people in the world' must, I think, be accepted with some reserve; but be this as it may, it is certain that when she learned that her cousins, the Hills, were in want, she gave them generous and effective help, and extant letters from Mrs. Hill prove how sincerely grateful she was to Lady Marlborough for her spontaneous assistance. The merchant and his wife died soon afterwards, leaving four children entirely unprovided for. Lady Marlborough proved herself a good kinswoman, and obtained places for them about the Court. The elder of the sons was appointed to an office in the Customs through the influence of her friend Lord Godolphin, and she induced one of her husband's relatives to give the necessary security of £2,000 for his honourable conduct in that position. The other son, who, she tells us, was in rags, she clothed, put to school, started him in life as page to the Prince of Denmark, and afterwards procured for him the post of Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester. One of the daughters was appointed laundress to the young Prince, and when he

* He was second son of William Hill, of Teddington, county Middlesex, and of Wood Street, in the City, who was one of the auditors of the revenue, by Abigail, daughter of Richard Stephens, Esq., of Estington, county Gloucester. This Abigail Stephens was aunt to Abigail, the mother of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford.

† 'The Conduct,' p. 177.

died Sarah obtained for her a pension of £200 per annum. The eldest of the family, Abigail, was grown up at the time of her parents' death, and was employed as waiting-woman to Lady Rivers of Chafford, Kent.* Sarah removed her from this menial occupation to a position in her own nursery, and treated her with every kindness and consideration. Shortly afterwards one of the Princess Anne's bed-chamber women died, and Lady Marlborough begged that her cousin Abigail might be given the vacancy, a request which was at once acceded to.

This arrangement fulfilled a double object: it secured a suitable and permanent provision for a poor relation of unprepossessing appearance, and it placed in constant attendance upon the Princess a woman who might reasonably be expected to watch over Lady Marlborough's interests. Sarah did not give her cousin credit for ambition, or, even if she had any, for ability to further it. Her red nose, ungainly appearance, vulgar manners, and apparent stolidity, were not likely, as Sarah thought, to recommend her to Anne's favourable notice. But she little knew what a cunning, intriguing nature was concealed under that demure exterior, and she rashly gave Abigail credit for the rarest of all virtues, gratitude. Sarah was still sufficiently inexperienced to expect abiding thankfulness from those she helped on in the world; but history records few instances of great favours being repaid with more hideous ingratitude than in the case of Abigail Hill. The only excuse for the base and cruel return made to one who had raised her from the position of a domestic servant, to be a person of some consequence in Anne's household is, that she was instigated by another cousin, the able and tricky Harley. This arch-intriguer had long striven by careful flattery to win Sarah's active co-operation for his political schemes, but she so disliked and distrusted him that, finding he could make no impression upon her, he determined to try Anne instead, and to

* Coxe, vol. ii., p. 257, note.

obtain access to her by means of Abigail. Until she came under his influence, Abigail had been most grateful to Lady Marlborough, and filled her part as deputy-favourite with honesty and vigilance. Everything that went on in Anne's household, what she said and did, and whom she saw, was faithfully reported to the exacting Sarah. So well did Abigail carry out this duty at first, that no suspicion of her loyalty ever occurred to Sarah, whose absences from the Princess became, in consequence, gradually longer and more frequent. Indeed, weeks sometimes passed without Sarah seeing Anne.* In all this, Sarah evinced a strange ignorance of Anne's disposition. Daily intercourse with the Princess was essential to the maintenance of her favourite's influence, and Sarah might have foreseen that Anne would soon come to lean upon the subservient woman who lived constantly in her society and who would slowly but surely acquire a mastery over Anne's dull and narrow mind. Under the promptings of Harley, Abigail saw opening before her a future of power and influence as favourite of the heiress to a failing King. How different was the use these two women-favourites made of their power! Lady Marlborough certainly used her influence to benefit some of her own family, Abigail for example; but she never forgot the State, or advised Anne to do anything contrary to its best interests. Not so Abigail, who administered Anne, if we may say so, in the interests of a small clique whose first object was office, regardless how England might be affected by the accomplishment of their ignoble aims.

Anne now began to transfer to Abigail Hill the affection which she had formerly lavished on her dear Mrs. Freeman. The 'poor unfortunate, faithful Morley,' as Anne usually styled herself after her son's death, was beginning to weary of the bondage she had so long endured. Lady Marlborough's arrogance and presumption at times knew no bounds. Though brought up at Court, and having

* Lord Ailesbury's Memoirs.

spent all her life in the ante-chambers of royalty, she had never learned to restrain her temper or to shape her conduct as befitted a courtier. Unlovable in character as she was lovely in face, her life was one long war with the world.* She not only quarrelled with her family and friends, but even with her inferiors, and her angry correspondence with the architect Vanbrugh would fill a volume. Marlborough said to Closterman, whom she employed to paint a family group: 'It has given me more trouble to reconcile my wife and you, than to fight a battle.'† Indeed, notwithstanding the many generous deeds recorded of her, it is doubtful whether any other woman was ever so universally detested by all with whom she came in contact. She could never settle down to work with others. She must act by herself, and be absolutely independent of control. The trammels of authority made her first restive, then violent. Her obstinacy was a species of insanity, and her masculine determination aggravated her feminine faults of suspicion and jealousy.

Sarah is roundly abused by many for daring to rule Anne, but she might more reasonably be found fault with for allowing her own power to pass from her before the great object of the war had been accomplished, and, above all, for suffering it to pass to the unworthy hands of Swift's friend, Mrs. Abigail Hill.

For some years Sarah's behaviour towards the Princess had been rough and at times even insolent. She took little trouble to conceal her contempt for Anne's mental capacity, and plumed herself upon telling her the truth; but such insolence was as reprehensible as flattery would have been, and from a worldly point of view it was the extremest folly. It wrecked her husband's career, enabled a few self-seeking politicians to hinder England from reaping the fruit of his victories, and saved France from the punishment which

* 'I find it,' she wrote, 'a perpetual warr in this world to defend one's self against knaves and fools.'

† Leigh Hunt, 'The Town,' vol. ii., p. 150.

would have rendered her comparatively powerless for at least some generations. It is noteworthy, too, that Sarah's behaviour from first to last is not in consonance with her frequent protestations of the love she bore the Princess. Nevertheless, when as an old woman she reviewed her past life, she asserted most solemnly that she would always have served her mistress at any risk to herself, adding, however, as a warning to others, that were it possible for her to become again a Royal favourite, she would not avail herself of the chance.

These statements are in no way inconsistent in her case. She bullied and worried her husband, yet she loved him deeply. She was sincerely attached to Lord Godolphin, admired his good qualities and valued his friendship, yet at times she made his life a burden to him. Her arrogance and insolence towards Anne do not, therefore, prove that she was wanting in real affection for her, for truly Sarah's love was not as the love of other women; her whole character was, as it were, a freak of nature. Her mistress had long borne with her ill-concealed impertinences, but shortly after the Duke of Gloucester's death an occurrence took place which destroyed any remaining tenderness on Anne's part. There is good circumstantial evidence to attest the truth of the following account of it, though Lady Marlborough declared in after-life that she had no recollection of the circumstance. The Princess Anne, having forgotten her gloves, told Abigail to fetch them from the next room, where she remembered having left them on the table. In the next room, Abigail found Lady Marlborough seated at the table engaged in reading a letter, and wearing the gloves, which she had evidently put on by mistake. Abigail, in a submissive tone, pointed this out to her. 'Ah!' exclaimed Sarah, 'have I put on anything that has touched the odious hands of that disagreeable woman?' Then, pulling them off, she threw them on the floor, exclaiming with violence, 'Take them away!' The door was ajar between the two rooms, and

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Anne heard every word. Abigail perceived this when she shut the door and handed the gloves to her mistress, but Lady Marlborough never knew that Anne had overheard her.

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Some forty years afterwards, when writing to a friend about her recently published memoirs, she refers to this incident, and mentions that a critical correspondent brought to her notice that she had been found fault with on account of this story, for in a book written by the King of Prussia, the ruin of Europe—*i.e.*, the Treaty of Utrecht—was stated to have been the outcome of a quarrel between the Queen and herself 'about a pair of gloves.' Although she denies that it ever took place, it is evident that the story was generally believed, and it must not be forgotten that she was in her eighty-third year, and with a failing memory, when she denied its truth. Moreover, as she never knew that the Queen had overheard her, she would have no good reason to recollect what was evidently a hasty and petulant expression of the moment.* Indeed, when this story is added to the many other instances in which Sarah spoke unadvisedly with her lips, the wonder is that she was able to keep her conduct within bounds as long as she did. The restraint imposed upon her by the etiquette of Court life evidently tried her beyond endurance, and now that her husband had been taken back into favour, and that she had about Anne's person a near relative who was deeply indebted to her, and in whose fidelity she had complete confidence, she became even more than usually careless.

* Correspondence of Duchess of Marlborough in Coxe's MS. collection. See vol. vi., p. 186, of Strickland's 'Lives of the Queens of England.'

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

MARRIAGE OF MARLBOROUGH'S ELDER DAUGHTERS.

Lady Henrietta Churchill marries Godolphin's eldest son—Lady Anne Churchill marries Lord Spencer—His character—Portland resigns his offices—The King ailing.

MARLBOROUGH'S two eldest daughters had now reached the age at which, in those days, it was usual for parents to think of settling their girls in life. The eldest, Henrietta, was eighteen, and it was decided that she should marry Francis, the only son of Lord Godolphin, who was one of Marlborough's staunchest and oldest friends. The bridegroom was only twenty, and by no means rich, so it was not a brilliant match; but Marlborough's family was large, and he had a son to whom it was essential that he should leave a landed estate. He could, therefore, only afford to give each of his daughters five thousand pounds, to which the Princess Anne added a similar amount. She wished to double that sum, but Lady Marlborough would not consent to such a drain upon her mistress's purse, a fact which Sarah's detractors have ungenerously ignored.

It was said that the match was entirely one of youthful affection, and that the bride's mother had no hand in bringing it about. But the fact that she allowed her daughter to marry a stripling of twenty seems to show that the alliance at least met with her approval. The bride was fascinating as well as beautiful, and is thus described by a contemporary rhymist:*

* A poem called the 'Toasters.'

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'Godolphin's easy and unpractised air
Gains without art, and governs without care.
Her conqu'ring race with various fate surprise;
Who 'scape their arms, are captives to their eyes.'

Marlborough and Godolphin had been pages at Court together in early life, and the closest and warmest friendship had always subsisted between them. They were both Tories and High Churchmen, and they had acted conjointly in many a Court intrigue during the two previous reigns. But at the time of the Revolution, when Marlborough preferred his religion to his master, Godolphin did not follow suit. He took no part in the conspiracy which placed William on the Throne, though later on he threw in his lot with the new order of things. A sporting, cock-fighting country gentleman, he was also the ablest Finance Minister of his day, and William fully recognised the fact. His known probity also commended him to the astute King, who trusted him in a way that he did not trust other Englishmen. He and Marlborough were equally compromised by their correspondence with James, and he had only relinquished office, as previously mentioned, when Sir John Fenwick included him amongst those whom he accused of plotting against William. He had always been a favourite with Lady Marlborough, so much so, indeed, that scandal was sometimes busy with their names, though there is not a shadow of evidence to support a charge invented by political enemies. Everything known about Sarah and Godolphin gives the lie direct to these foul aspersions. During her husband's absence abroad, she habitually sought Godolphin's advice, and it was unfortunate for herself and her husband that she did not always follow it. Her caprice and tempestuous hatreds tried her trusty friend severely, but his regard and admiration for her, and his friendship for Marlborough, never wavered on this account. This marriage bound the two friends still more closely together. Godolphin was one of Anne's most favoured friends and most faithful servants,

and upon her accession he was made Lord Treasurer by Marlborough's all-powerful influence. So close was the union between these two men that, when Marlborough's dismissal was planned by Harley and St. John, it was taken for granted that Godolphin would go with him.

Lady Anne, Marlborough's second daughter, married Charles, Lord Spencer, the Earl of Sunderland's eldest son. The closest intimacy had long subsisted between the two families, and Lady Sunderland was godmother to her future daughter-in-law. Sunderland and Marlborough had both been strongly opposed to the policy adopted by James II. In many respects their views upon public affairs coincided; but Marlborough's religious faith saved him from many of the petty shifts and expedients to which Sunderland willingly lent himself. Sunderland having, as already described, thoroughly deceived James, was forced to fly the country at the Revolution. Marlborough not only urged William to forgive him and bring him back, but to re-employ him in the Government, and when Marlborough fell into disgrace, Sunderland in his turn strove to repay these good offices by repeated efforts to procure his restoration to William's favour; indeed, he never relaxed his efforts until he succeeded in obtaining for Marlborough the position of Governour to the young Prince. The mutual esteem and regard of these two men was fully equalled by the affection that grew up between their wives, an affection so warm that it aroused at one time a deep jealousy on the part of Anne. She wished to reign alone in her favourite's affections, and could not tolerate a rival, especially one for whom she had always entertained a particular dislike. 'I cannot help envying Lady Sunderland to-day,' wrote the Princess to Sarah, 'that she should have the satisfaction of seeing you before me; for I am sure she cannot love you half so well as I do, though I know she has the art of saying a great deal.'

Lord Spencer, silent and almost morose by nature, was still mourning the loss of a young wife to whom he had

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been deeply attached.* She had only been dead a few months when his parents urged him to marry again, and recommended the young and beautiful Anne Churchill as a suitable wife. They had set their hearts upon this match. The father wrote: 'If I see him so settled I shall desire nothing more in this world but to die in peace if it please God.' Thrown much into her society during a visit the Marlboroughs made to Althorp, Spencer was soon overcome, not only by the loveliness of her face, but by the sweetness of her disposition. Marlborough did not relish the match, as neither he nor his wife had any liking for their future son-in-law, whose ungracious manners and strong republican views were distasteful to both. He was twenty-five years of age, well read, a deep thinker, and of a stern disposition and rigid principles. When offered a pension, in accordance with custom, on his dismissal from office in Anne's reign, he would have none of it, adding that, if he were not allowed to serve his Queen, he, on his part, would not consent to rob his country. No two men could be more unlike than he and his father. Lady Anne Churchill was only seventeen, small, pretty and blessed with winning manners. After her marriage her husband's party were wont to toast her as 'the little Whig.' She was her father's favourite child; he loved to look upon her child-like face, and to watch in her the early development of a genius and a judgment far beyond her years.†

The match was first suggested by Lord Godolphin at Sunderland's instigation, and was strongly urged by Mrs. Boscawen, Godolphin's sister. It was not, however, until Lady Sunderland had won over her friend Sarah that

* She was Lady Arabella Cavendish, daughter of the Duke of Newcastle.

† 'There is a brave soldier's daughter in town that by her eye has been the death of more than ever her father made fly before him.'—Addison's reference to young Lady Sunderland, *Spectator*, No. 252, vol. iv.

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Marlborough's objections were overcome. His wife, being herself a strong Whig, regarded Lord Spencer's republican views with less horror than did her husband, to whom they were repugnant to the last degree. She alone could induce him to give the daughter he loved so dearly, to a man so uncongenial to him in every respect. To disarm his opposition, he was assured that his new son-in-law would shape his public conduct in accordance with Marlborough's views and wishes, and that he was sensible how advantageous it would be for him to do so.*

The party from Althorp spent their Christmas holidays with the Marlboroughs at Holywell House, St. Albans, where the final arrangements for the wedding were considered, and the matter of settlements decided upon. The wedding took place at St. Albans shortly after Christmas. † 1. † † †. Writing of it, Lord Sunderland says: 'It will certainly be turned to Politicks as everything is. If it can have any relation to them, it shall be only to pursue those measures for the present and the future which we discoursed of here.†

About the middle of the year, the Duke of Portland, who had always been hostile to Marlborough, and anxious to prejudice the King against him, resigned all his offices at Court. He seems to have just awaked to the fact that a favourite, if he wishes to keep his place, must never quit his master or give opportunities to others to practise those courtier-like arts by which he himself had succeeded. The good-looking young page, Keppel, had lately been constantly with William, and had so insinuated himself into William's good graces that he now reigned supreme as first favourite. Portland had for so many years enjoyed the advantages and power which the position gave him, that he could not brook supercession, and resigned. Keppel had long been on friendly terms with Marlborough, and had used his influence to remove William's old prejudice against him, and to establish more cordial relations between

* Letter from Lord Sunderland.

† Letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury: Spencer House Papers.

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these two men, both so great and yet so opposite in character. Just before Portland's final resignation, Marlborough, writing from Windsor to the Duke of Shrewsbury, refers thus to the coming event:

'June 3^d 99. . . . I have to much reason to take some things ill of L^d. Orford, but I have not, nor shal not, say any thing to him of itt, which I shou'd have done, if he had stay'd in, for I doe flatter my self that I have deserved better from him, however I can't forbear letting you know itt, you will judge of the rest by this one thing, which I am told he sayd with great pivishness, where he thought it might hurt me, and that was that L^d. Sunderland govern'd every thing and that I acted nothing, but as influenced by him, this is the unjuster, for he can't but know the contrary.

'When I have the happiness of seeing you, I shal let you know what has passed sence you were att Windsor, by which you will see the little incoridgement there is to medle with any thing, whielst soe much Jealousy rains. L^d. Portland leaves this place about ten days hence and as I am informed with a resolution of quitting all his employments in Holland as well as here, if any thing should happen that I think you will care to know, I shal be sure to write.'*

Everyone about the Court at this time knew that the King was ailing, and that he could not live much longer. His death might probably lead to another revolution, for James II. was still only separated from his inheritance by the narrow Channel and by his strong anti-Protestant bigotry. Ireland was only kept in subjection by the English garrison. Scotland was discontented; and the King was unpopular in England, where the Jacobite party was still numerous. It is no wonder, therefore, that men in office should have been uncertain of the future, loath to commit themselves to one side or the other, and,

* In the Duke of Buccleugh's Papers. The letter is endorsed in Shrewsbury's writing, 'ans^d 7th, 1699.'

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whilst serving William, that they should have been anxious to stand well with the other possible 'King over the water.' Mr. Vernon, writing in December, says:* 'If they (the Whigs) cannot do everything that the King may think a gratification to him, I believe he may depend upon it that † 12, 1699. they will keep the Government upon its proper basis, which is no small consideration; but then they must be at liberty not to meddle with things they see reason to despair of, and, as circumstances now stand, no prudent man will act but with a good deal of caution, and have some regard to his own safety, since the compensations are like to be so small for any hazards he shall run.' If this was the opinion of a singularly shrewd Minister then, it is easy to understand that six, eight, or nine years before, when the Jacobite cause looked still more promising, all the leading men, Marlborough included, should have sought to secure themselves against the contingency of William's overthrow and the restoration of James.

In October a vacancy occurred at the Board of Admiralty, † 10, 1699. and Marlborough begged hard that it might be given to his brother George. Vernon says in a letter: 'I wish he may be gratified in it, but I am afraid there are some who dislike it.' Eventually the office was given to him, and there was also a talk of making his brother Charles Governour of Hull.† So great was the advance which Marlborough had already made in Royal favour! It must not, however, be assumed from this that he made undue use of his position at any time to advance his brothers. Indeed, it may be justly said that his superlative genius so over-shadowed all his contemporaries, that his brothers suffered much in their respective careers from the comparison which the world naturally instituted between them and him. George was a good sailor, and Charles an excellent soldier; yet neither was ever given high command, or even knighted.

* This letter is addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

† Luttrell, 24, 8, 1699.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER—THE PARTITION TREATIES
AND THE DEATH OF THE SPANISH KING.

The Seventeenth Century closes in peace—Charles XII. of Sweden and Peter the Great—Marlborough strives to gain William's goodwill—Anne very grateful to him for obtaining from Parliament Prince George's claim for £85,000.—William's gift of forfeited lands in Ireland to his Dutch favourites—Marlborough made a Lord Justice when the King goes to Holland—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—Charles II. of Spain dies, and Duke of Anjou is proclaimed his successor—Lewis XIV. seizes the frontier fortresses of Holland.

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At the close of the seventeenth century, Europe was in a state of profound peace. But the gates of the Temple of Janus were not to remain long shut. The peace was merely a lull between the war just ended and the great storm which was soon to burst and disturb the civilized world for nearly fourteen years.

Two of the world's most remarkable soldier-princes, rivals in military glory, now appeared upon the stage of European politics: the danger-loving, heroic Charles of Sweden, and the far-seeing, despotic reformer, Peter of Russia, justly termed 'the Great.' The able and eccentric successor of Gustavus Adolphus was a man of ascetic and religious nature. He was in his eighteenth year when he appeared like a fiery meteor in his own Northern latitudes, leaving behind him in his course across Europe a lurid track of dazzling but profitless military splendour. The combination against which he was now compelled to

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take the field consisted of the King of Denmark, Augustus of Saxony, the elected King of Poland, and Peter the Great, just returned from the dockyards of Deptford. Each of these potentates sought for an increase of territory at some neighbour's expense. Denmark then, as now, coveted the Province of Holstein, whose reigning Duke was brother-in-law and a close ally of Charles XII. Russia, pent up within her periodically frozen seaboard, wanted Lithuania and, above all things, a port in the Baltic. In fact, the members of the Alliance wished to seize upon and divide amongst themselves all the provinces lying between the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic Sea, Poland and Russia.

William III. at once perceived the danger to which any quarrel between the two Protestant Powers of the North would expose his long-cherished plans. In vain he strove to arrange terms of agreement between the belligerents. The Powers allied with Denmark would listen to no proposals, believing their game to be a safe one, and having no doubt of their ability to crush with ease their opponent, the unknown boy-King of Sweden. Determined to save him if possible, William despatched a combined English and Dutch fleet to the Baltic, where it united with that of Sweden in the month of May. The Danish navy, unable to hold its own against this combination, was compelled to seek safety in Copenhagen, then threatened by a Swedish army under Charles; and the King of Denmark was glad to save his capital by concluding a peace with this young 'Madman of the North,' who thus brought his first campaign to a brilliant conclusion in less than six weeks. Towards the close of the year, with only a handful of troops, he defeated the Russians at the remarkable battle of Narva. These successes added greatly to the power and influence of Sweden in the North of Europe; so much so, that when Marlborough was negotiating the second 'Grand Alliance' in the following year, it became a matter of consequence that he should secure the goodwill of Charles XII.

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All through the years 1698, 1699, and 1700, Marlborough had striven to win William's favour, to obliterate the remembrance of past grievances, and to remove all causes of complaint against him. But it was not easy to convert the King's rooted prejudice into partiality, or even goodwill, towards him. Unfortunately for Marlborough, several subjects were discussed in Parliament at this time for which he could not conscientiously vote, although he knew that the King wished him to do so. In heart, like most of his best friends, he was still a Tory, and he generally voted with that party; but his position was a difficult one, for if he voted to please William, he displeased his Tory friends, who were much opposed to the Court measures. Amongst other things for which he incurred the King's displeasure, was his advocacy of Prince George's claim to the sum of £85,000 which William had guaranteed during the war between Denmark and Sweden in 1689. The question afforded the Tories an opportunity of subjecting the King's foreign policy to hostile criticism, and though the money was at last grudgingly voted, it was rather as a favour to the Princess Anne than in compliance with the King's wishes. William was displeased with the Prince for pressing a matter which exposed him to much personal mortification, and knowing the influence exercised over Anne and her husband by the Marlboroughs, he naturally regarded them as more or less responsible for having afforded his enemies this opportunity for annoying him. That Marlborough should have moved in this affair at a time when he was particularly anxious to propitiate William and win his favour, was a strong proof of his loyalty to Anne. It showed his determination to support her interests at whatever risk to his own prospects, a fact in striking contrast with the character usually attributed to him by historians. He studiously kept aloof from the acrimonious debates to which this affair gave rise, and strove to conceal the interest which he took in it. But whilst anxious to convey an impression of indifference in public, he

‡ 12, 1699.

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privately did all in his power to influence the decision in Prince George's favour, and there can be no doubt that it was principally owing to his able and zealous management that the debt in question was eventually discharged by Parliament. Princess Anne was most grateful to him for his successful advocacy, and expressed her sense of obligation in the following letter to his wife :

'I was going to thank your lord myself for what was done last night concerning the Prince's business, it being wholly owing to your and his kindness, or else I am sure it would never have been brought to any effect. But I durst not do it for fear of not being able to express the true sense of my poor heart, and therefore I must desire my dear Mrs. Freeman to say a great deal both for Mr. Morley and myself: and though we are poor in words, yet be so just as to believe we are truly sensible, and most faithfully yours. And as for your faithful Morley, be assured she is more, if it be possible, than ever her dear, dear Mrs. Freeman's.' *

The temporary estrangement between Marlborough and the King did not last long, for Vernon writes: 'I think the cloud which has been hanging over my Lord Marlborough is clearing up.' Before he had quite re-established himself in favour, there arose between William and the House of Commons another and more serious dispute. The King had made great presents of forfeited lands in Ireland to his Dutch favourites, Portland, Albemarle, Athlone, Galway and Rochford, and also to his English mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, lately created Countess of Orkney. It was urged by the Court party that William had given these lands to Ginkel and De Rouvigny in recognition of the good military service they had rendered in Ireland. But this was an injudicious argument, as not an acre had been bestowed upon Marlborough, who had done equally good work there, or upon any other English officer, whilst the bulk had been

* 'The Conduct,' p. 287.

January, 1700.

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given to Bentinck, Keppel and Zulestein, none of whom had taken any part in the Irish wars. William laid himself still more open to complaint in this matter, by a promise, which he was said to have given before he started for Ireland, that he would not give away these lands until Parliament had considered the matter. The non-fulfilment of this assurance, added to the emptiness of the Exchequer, incensed members against William and his Dutch friends. There was no money forthcoming to pay off the soldiers, and consequently the army could not be reduced in accordance with the decision of Parliament. Mr. Harley proposed to sell the forfeited estates in order to provide the amount required, and this gave the Tories another opportunity of slighting the King. The Commons passed a Bill to resume the grants, sell the land, and appropriate the money to pay off the regiments to be reduced, and to the discharge of other public debts. To preclude all tampering with this Bill in the House of Lords, it was unconstitutionally 'tacked' to a Bill of Supply, which led to angry altercations between the two Houses. Marlborough, anxious to recover the King's favour, strove to remain neutral in these disputes. In his heart, he was opposed to the Irish grants, although the pension of his sister Arabella, now Mrs. Godfrey, was dependent upon their validity.* He attended the House of Lords when the Bill was brought there from the Commons, and opposed the Court party's amendments, but withdrew before the question was finally put.† Neither House would give way, and a serious breach was only prevented by the moderation and self-sacrifice of the King. He nobly preferred to accept the insult, and to see his grants rescinded, rather than incur the consequences which a deadlock between the Lords and Commons might entail at such a time. He

* William had settled £1,000 per annum upon her as a charge upon the Irish confiscated lands which James II. had reserved for himself.

† Vernon to Shrewsbury, April 9 and 13, 1700. Letters edited by G. P. R. James.

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caused it to be generally known amongst his Parliamentary friends that he wished the House of Lords to pass the Bill without amendment, and in accordance with this wish Marlborough and others who had hung back voted against the proposed amendments, and the Bill was allowed to pass. But notwithstanding his evident desire to please the King by helping him to pass his measures in Parliament as far as he could conscientiously do so, his re-employment in any high position seemed for the moment as far off as ever. Writing to his friend the Duke of Shrewsbury in May, he says: 'The King's coldness to me still continues, so that I should have been glad to have had your friendly advice: for to have friends and acquaintances unreasonably jealous, and the King at the same time angry, is what I know not how to bear, nor do I know how to behave myself.'*

However, when William left England in June, he appointed Marlborough one of the Lords Justices during his absence. Shortly after the King's arrival in Holland, he received tidings of the death, at the age of eleven, of the sickly Duke of Gloucester, an event of grave import to the nation, and a sad blow to the Marlboroughs. The Prince and Princess were in despair, for child after child was born to them, but only to intensify by early death the poignancy of their sorrow. Vernon writes, they 'see nobody but their own servants; they are carried in chairs in the evenings to my Lord Godolphin's garden.'† All England mourned the loss of this young Prince, as it did in the following century that of a Princess who, like this boy, was at the time the hope of the nation. Worn out with watching and anxiety, Marlborough was now struck down himself with fever, and was made worse by being bled, then the universal remedy for all maladies.

In the following letter to Marlborough, William gives expression to his grief for the loss which he felt the nation had sustained. Its wording indicates a change of feeling

* Shrewsbury Papers.

† Vernon to Shrewsbury, 1³ 8, 1700.

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towards the great soldier, whose services he now began to feel were necessary to the State, since failing health warned him that he could no longer take the field himself:

'A Loo 4^e d'Aougt, 1700.—Je ne croi pas qu'il est besoin que je me serve de beaucoup de paroles pour vous dire avec quelle surprise et douleur j'ay appris la mort du Duc de Glocester. S'est une si grande perte pour moy et pour toute l'Angletere que j'ay le cœur percé d'affliction. Je vous assure qu'en cette occasion et en toute autre je serés très aise de vous donner des marques de mon amitié.—
WILLIAM R.*

The Electress Dowager of Hanover† was now to become a personage of importance in England, and to her the Whigs turned as Anne's successor, for her elder brothers and sisters, being Roman Catholics, were ineligible. She had numerous interviews with William this year in Holland, and was generally supposed to have arranged matters with him regarding her eventual succession as Queen of England.

A question of the utmost moment to the peace of Europe and to the future welfare of millions now arose to occupy the attention of statesmen. What was to become of the widely-extending dominions of Spain upon the death of the childless and almost imbecile King, Charles II., whose death might be looked for at any moment?‡ Both the Emperor and Lewis XIV. claimed the succession as heir-at-law to this last direct male descendant of Charles V. After lengthy negotiations, a compromise was arrived at in August, 1699, and an arrangement known as the 'First Partition Treaty,' according to which the Prince of Bavaria was recognised as heir to the Spanish Crown, was agreed to by all the States concerned. Had Charles II. died first, it is probable that Lewis XIV. would have stood by

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

† She was daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, who was daughter of James I.

‡ He succeeded his father, Philip IV., in 1666.

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the treaty; but the Prince of Bavaria dying within a few months of its ratification, a new treaty, known as the 'Second Partition Treaty,' was concluded very secretly between England, France, and Holland.

When the terms became known of this second treaty, which settled the succession to the Spanish Crown upon the Emperor's second son, the Archduke Charles, all Spain as one man denounced them.

The Spanish King died in November, but shortly before ²²⁻¹¹ 1700. his death he was induced by the priests and others in the French interests to bequeath his vast dominions to the Duke of Anjou, the Dauphin's second son, the Spanish grandees hoping thereby to save their extensive empire from dismemberment, as they naturally expected that Lewis XIV. would do all in his power to protect the integrity of a kingdom ruled by his own grandson.

As soon as the terms of this will were made known to Lewis he held a Cabinet Council, at which it was decided that the Duke of Anjou should accept the Spanish Crown. The French King had evidently some misgivings—not of conscience—about the affair; so much so that he allowed five days to elapse before he had his grandson proclaimed King of Spain. When Philip started for Madrid, Lewis, in parting with him, exclaimed, 'Désormais, il n'y a plus de Pyrénées.' Subsequent events, however, have not fulfilled this grandiloquent French prophecy.

On hearing this news William was furious. He had been duped, and his impulse was to declare war, but he had no army, and he could not raise one without the approval of the English Parliament. To him the Spanish Crown in possession of a Bourbon prince meant the supremacy of Lewis in Europe, and that, he felt, would entail the downfall of Holland as an independent Power, and if not the complete destruction of Protestantism, at least a heavy blow to European freedom. The Tories—always hostile to William—proved too strong for him at this juncture. They disliked him on party grounds, and distrusted his foreign

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policy as the cause of his wars; they consequently wished him to acquiesce in the provisions of the Spanish King's will, for what mattered it to them who ruled at the Escorial? War meant lavish outlay abroad, a hateful standing army, and largely increased taxation and national debt.

There was one point, however, in European politics upon which all England felt strongly, namely, the independence of Holland; for stupid as the people were upon most questions of foreign policy, they realized the danger they would incur if the Dutch ports and the maritime power of Holland fell into the possession of the French. It was well known that Lewis XIV. coveted the United Provinces, and England, which had already expended much blood and treasure in thwarting his designs, was prepared to defend their integrity.

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The provinces of Brabant and Flanders, commonly known as the Spanish Netherlands, were old possessions of Spain, and as long as they were occupied by Spanish troops their fortresses constituted an effective barrier both for Holland and the Empire against French aggression. They had, however, become so heavy a drain upon the finances of Spain that it was proposed at the Peace of Ryswick to exchange them for French territory on the Pyrenean frontier. This proposal alarmed the Dutch, for it virtually meant the transfer of those provinces to Lewis XIV., who would surely make them a stepping-stone to the eventual conquest of Holland, and sooner than incur this risk, they agreed to furnish and pay twenty-two battalions of their own troops to garrison these "Barrier Fortresses" under the Crown of Spain.

The transfer of the Spanish Crown to his grandson afforded the French King a plausible excuse for the occupation of these strong places. As they belonged to Spain, of which a Bourbon prince was now the Sovereign, it was, he argued, natural and right that they should be garrisoned by French rather than by Dutch soldiers. The Spanish

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Governour, the Duke of Bavaria, who had been won over to French interests, had promised to surrender these fortresses to the French troops.

Lewis, accordingly, upon the death of Charles II., marched a French army into Spanish Flanders, and in the name of the King of Spain took possession, during one night, of Oudenarde, Ath, Ostend, Nieuport, Mons, Luxembourg, Charleroi and Namur, capturing the twenty-two Dutch battalions which garrisoned them. He refused to release these troops unless the States General acknowledged his grandson as Philip V., King of Spain, and Holland was compelled, much against her will, to accept these terms in order to recover what then constituted the bulk of her national army.

Upon this occasion Lewis did not display his customary forethought. Having resolved to accept the terms of the Spanish King's will, of which he was aware, he should have had an army waiting in French Flanders, not only to take possession of the frontier fortresses immediately upon the King's death, but ready also to march into Holland and occupy its provinces. On no account and on no terms should he have released, as he did, those twenty-two battalions, but should have detained them as prisoners of war until all danger of hostilities was at an end. When he released them, William at once mobilized them for war, and they became the nucleus of the Dutch contingent of that Allied army which Marlborough so often led to victory.

Popular feeling in favour of Holland was aroused in England and throughout Europe by this sudden aggression of the French King. Even the most peace-loving Tory felt uneasy at the threatened attack upon Protestant Holland. Were Lewis allowed to remain in occupation of her frontier fortresses, her final absorption by France would be a mere question of time. Holland was doomed if her Allies now deserted her, and it was fortunate for her that Orange William and not Catholic

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James occupied the Throne of England. The latter would have gladly left Holland to the mercy of Lewis XIV., whilst her welfare and independence was the first consideration with William. The support of the Emperor further strengthened the party in England, which now called loudly for war with France.

William's policy was to gain time in order to arrange matters with his Tory House of Commons and obtain from it troops and money for the war which he saw to be inevitable. The States-General at his instigation demanded from France the restitution of Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, Ruremonde, Mons, Venloo, and other strong frontier places. This delayed matters, and enabled William to complete his preparations by land and sea. Meanwhile, the Lower House had been doing its utmost to insult and irritate the King, and William finally dissolved Parliament in December. He summoned another for the following February, and resolved to get rid of those Whigs who had shown themselves as unable to shield him from insult as they were incapable of carrying on the Government. The outrageous behaviour of members during the recent session had tended to bring the House of Commons into contempt, and had generally discredited it in public estimation. Discontent was general; the Triennial Act kept the country in a constant state of political ferment, whilst William's personal unpopularity told against the party that had placed him on the Throne. He was painfully aware of this, and felt that his power and influence in England were on the wane.

The harvests for several years in succession had been bad; trade was depressed, and every interest affected.* The Church, filled with resentment at the Toleration Act, once more found it convenient to remember that James was the Lord's anointed. Scotland resented the abandon-

* Lecky's 'England in the Eighteenth Century.' The price of the threepenny loaf rose to ninepence, and in the previous year there had been some serious bread riots.

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ment of the Darien colonists. The landed gentry and the merchants were all grumbling at the pressure of taxation which William's war policy necessitated. The Court was dull, and unlike anything to which the English aristocracy had been previously accustomed. With a new House of Commons, William thought a change of Ministers advisable. Lord Chancellor Somers had been dismissed in April, and $\frac{1}{2}$ 4, 1700. Sir Nathan Wright appointed in his place. Lawrence, Earl of Rochester was now made Prime Minister, and, for the sake of the emoluments of the office, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland also.

 $\frac{1}{2}$ 12, 1700.

Marlborough endeavoured to obtain for his friend Godolphin the post of Lord Privy Seal, but the King destined him for the less exalted but more important position of First Lord of the Treasury, where his financial ability found $\frac{2}{3}$ 12, 1700. useful scope.*

Under these conditions began that great and eventful war in which, for the space of ten years, Marlborough raised England to the highest summit of national glory, and humbled to the dust both France and her arrogant ruler.

* Letter from Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, $\frac{3}{8}$ 7, 1700: Spencer House Papers.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

MR. ROBERT HARLEY.

Harley made Speaker—His gratitude to and admiration of Marlborough—His birth and character.

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10, 2, 170^g.

WILLIAM'S new Parliament met in February, after an electioneering struggle of more than usual bitterness between the Whig and Tory factions. There was a Tory majority, but the Duke of Gloucester's death had awakened the apprehension of the nation with regard to the Protestant succession, and the irreconcilable Jacobites were in consequence less numerous than they had been in the previous House of Commons.

The rival parties in the House of Commons at once joined issue over the election of a Speaker, and the discussion ended in the nomination of the Tory candidate, Mr. R. Harley. This false friend and unscrupulous politician, who was distantly connected with the Jennings family, had early become known to the Marlboroughs, and had lived with them for years on terms of close intimacy. There is little doubt that Marlborough's influence with the Tories was used in favour of Harley's candidature for the Speakership; and that Harley owed much of his subsequent success in public life to kindly help from the same quarter is evident from the tone of his early letters to the Marlboroughs, which are full of expressions of profound gratitude, such as a *protégé* might address to his patron. Yet no man exercised a more baneful influence over Marlborough's

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fate. No burning love of country inspired Mr. Harley's policy, and his aims, like those of his great literary supporter, Swift, were purely personal. Wanting in principle, but reserved and solemn in manner, he had none of the earnestness, faith, honesty or unselfishness of the true patriot. He was above all things a party politician, but lacked even the conventional party loyalty usually displayed by the more upright and respectable of that trade. He belonged to no party, had no principles, and was Whig or Tory as best suited what he thought to be his own interests. As he said in a letter to Godolphin in 1706, 'I have no inclination to any party: I have no obligation to any party: I have no antipathy to any party.' Like Swift, he began political life in the Whig camp, and he joined the Tory party because the Whigs would not promote him to high office. To further his own aims he would accept the alliance of men whom he had but lately denounced as criminals, or would sacrifice the friend who had helped him to power. The superlative treachery of this Parliamentary 'trickster,' and his unrivalled insincerity and duplicity, must always be a by-word amongst us.*

At the time of Lord Blandford's death Harley wrote to Marlborough: 'Be pleased to consider that the nation are your children, the publick needs all your care, how little soever it may deserve it;† and the rest of the letter is couched in terms of fulsome flattery. Even when plotting to undermine Marlborough's influence with the Whigs, he assured the Duchess of his imperishable admiration for her great husband. When he congratulated her upon 'the advantage the public receives from this great and glorious victory of Schellenberg,' he says that he had an especial cause for joy, because of 'the hand that wrought it'; 'when the Duke of Marlborough is the author, when our deliverance, I may call it, is owing to his courage and his conduct,' 'I cannot but receive an additional pleasure, that

* He was commonly called 'the Trickster' by the Whigs.

† 'The Conduct,' p. 172.

it is done by my lord Duke.* In his letter to the Duke after the victory at Ramillies, he said every good Englishman cannot 'but be sensibly touched with the danger all were in by the hazard your grace exposed your own person to; that deliverance enhances the value of the victory, considering how dear it had like to have cost us: heaven itself hath preserved that precious life, and would not suffer us to lose your grace, who was born for the delivery of your own country, and the rescue of so many others from tyranny and oppression. Your grace does not only triumph over the publick enemies, by teaching us how to conquer abroad, but you deliver us from ourselves, and rescue us from that tyranny which each party here would exercise upon one another: you have again disarmed malice, and though your glorious actions will increase envy, yet the lustre of what you have done will deliver it, and consequently render it impotent.† In the same year he said in a note to the Duchess: 'I have been so often provoked to see so much publick and private ingratitude exercised towards the Duke.' And the following year he wrote: 'I beg leave to assure you that I serve you by inclination and principle, and a very little time will make that manifest as well as that I have no views or aims of my own.‡

One of the most generous traits in Marlborough's character was his reluctance to believe evil of those whom he called his friends. He was strangely unsuspicious of men whom, like Harley, he had helped into positions which they subsequently used as vantage grounds when they thought it in their interest to do him injury. It was long before he could bring himself to believe in Harley's villainy, though Sarah, with that feminine instinct always keener and more discerning than a man's reasoning power, suspected and distrusted him from the first. She was strongly opposed to his being given office by Marlborough and Godolphin early in Anne's reign. This is one of the many proofs of Sarah's natural sagacity, and of her in-

* 'The Conduct,' p. 192. † *Ibid.*, p. 193. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

tuitive power to read the hearts of men and judge their real character and disposition. She was fond of flattery and servile attentions; but though Harley left no means untried in his endeavours to ingratiate himself with her, he failed utterly. It was not until the latter half of Anne's reign that he fully realized the futility of his efforts and became for life an open and bitter foe to her and her husband.

Harley's fellow-conspirator, the dissolute Bolingbroke, described him as 'a man of whom nature meant to make a spy, or at most a captain of miners: and whom fortune, in one of her whimsical moods, made a General.* Sluggish in thought and taciturn in manner, he was one of those who acquire a reputation for wisdom by looking wise in silence. The son of a staunch Presbyterian, he was brought up as a Nonconformist and a Whig, and when he became a Tory and joined the Church party, he never entirely lost touch with the Dissenters, or ceased to cultivate their goodwill. In this way he managed to retain their support throughout his career. Having joined those who were opposed to the Court on every point, he was thrown into the society of the County or Tory party, who hated the Revolution principles as opposed to God's ordinances. This explains how it was that a Dissenter, the son of a Cromwellian Puritan, came to side with Tories and High Churchmen, with whom he had no affinity beyond a common enmity to a Whig Court which would give him nothing. He was generally regarded as a moral man, for he neither gambled nor frequented the cockpit or the race-course as did most of his contemporaries, though like them he indulged in the bottle. As a statesman he was contemptible; but no public man of his time could rival him in knowledge of the rules and customs of the House of Commons, and though indolent, he was unequalled as a Parliamentary tactician. Dull, tedious and hesitating in his public utterances, even his great panegyrist complains

* Letter from Bolingbroke to Swift, of March 17, 1719, N.S.

of his irresolute character and unbusinesslike habits. Having by successful intrigues destroyed the reputation of the greatest man of the time, he was in his turn disgraced through the scheming of his own colleague, Bolingbroke, and his life ended in complete failure. Queen Anne alleged, as the reason for his dismissal from office in 1714, that 'he neglected all business: was seldom to be understood, and that when he did explain himself, she could not depend upon the truth of what he said: that he never came to her at the time she appointed, and that he often came drunk.' And this was the creature who had but a few years before persuaded the weak and foolish Queen to dismiss from her service the only really great man in it; the one man who made her reign famous, and who by the brilliancy of his renown contrived to surround her commonplace person with an imperishable aureole of light.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

The Marlboroughs induce Anne to accept it—Jacobite correspondence intercepted—Acquittal of the Whig Peers who advised the Partition Treaties—William's health failing—The House of Commons against a war with France—The Dutch claim England's protection against France—Eventually the Tories, out of deference to public opinion, favour the war with France, and vote liberal supplies.

SINCE 1696 Jacobite intrigue had been in a languishing condition. James, more scrupulous than ever in the performance of his religious duties, became at the same time more obstinate in the assertion of his hereditary rights, and when Lewis would have persuaded him to renounce his claim to the English Throne in favour of his son, he declined emphatically to entertain the proposal.

If we are to believe the Jacobite agents of the time, Marlborough was again approached this year, and again declared his wish to further the restoration of James.* In the letters of the Jacobite agents, he is referred to under the feigned names of Gourny, Armsworth, and 'The Lawyer.' But now that he was reinstated in Royal favour, he was not likely to do more for James than when he was still smarting under disgrace and imprisonment. William was in very bad health, and his death would be followed by the accession of Anne, an event which would be most advantageous to the Marlboroughs. If it were necessary to demonstrate still more conclusively the utter hollowness

* Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i., p. 588.

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of Marlborough's protestations to James, it could not be done more effectually than by referring to the correspondence of the time, in which James's agents dwell upon Marlborough's fidelity to their hopeless cause. For the immediate prospect of Anne's accession rendered unnecessary on his part any further profession of loyalty to her father. The Tories would accept her as a Stewart, and there would be no difficulty in retaining her upon the Throne to which she would naturally succeed in lieu of her father and brother, both disqualified by their religion.

The Tories had a majority in Parliament, and the Whigs were divided, for William's unpopularity had gone far towards disintegrating that strong national party to which he owed his Throne. It was no longer the determined and progressive party which it had been in 1688, and whilst the remembrance of James's misdeeds had in a great measure passed from the minds of the people, the popular enthusiasm in favour of the principles of the Revolution had also disappeared.

Anne was not averse from becoming Queen to the temporary exclusion of her father and half-brother, for the Crown had many attractions for her, in the contemplation of which she forgot, or at least ignored, her father's rights. Nevertheless, her dull mind was distracted by the conflicting claims of her religion, her father, and her country, and for a brief space she hesitated. But the love of personal aggrandisement finally triumphed, and she decided to make a compromise with her conscience by accepting the Throne for her lifetime, and by naming her father or his son to succeed her. When she asked her father to sanction some such arrangement, he replied by cursing her if she ever presumed to wear the Crown during his life or that of her brother.

Upon this question of succession, and up to the time of the final settlement of the Crown upon the House of Hanover, Lady Marlborough and her husband were the constant advisers of the Princess Anne, who took no step

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without their approval. They naturally wished her to be Queen, and exerted their influence to induce her to accept the Throne on King William's terms with regard to the Hanoverian succession.

The new Parliament found itself called upon to face the question of the Succession to the Crown, and the further question of a war with France in defence of Holland. In the speech with which William opened the session, he ¹/₂ 2, 1701. dwelt upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and the consequent necessity of providing for the succession in the Protestant line at his own death, and in the event of the Princess Anne dying without issue. He found the Tories too strong to allow of his carrying out his wishes without Anne's assistance. Sarah had never forgiven William for his treatment of her husband, and in revenge used her influence with the Princess to deprive him of the support he looked for from her. But the threat that he would make over the succession to the Pretender if this line of conduct were persisted in soon induced a change, for Sarah knew that, were the Pretender to succeed to the Throne, her plans would be frustrated. The result was the passing of the Act of Settlement, which provided that ¹/₂ 6, 1701. after the demise of the King and of the Princess the Crown should pass to Sophia, Dowager Duchess of Hanover, and her heirs—being Protestants—for ever.

William now laid before Parliament his views upon the European situation, showing how the 'balance of power'—an old expression which now came into common use—had been affected by the accession of a Bourbon prince to the throne of Spain. He dwelt upon the necessity of maintaining that 'balance of power,' and enlarged upon the danger to which the peace and liberty of Europe would be exposed were France allowed to absorb Holland as well as the Netherlands. He pointed out that the future of European freedom, progress, and civilization would greatly depend upon the way in which they treated this question. William had already, in February, com- ¹/₂ 2, 1701.

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municated to Parliament the contents of an intercepted letter from Lord Melfort to his brother the Duke of Perth, describing the great preparations for war which were being carried on in France, and adding that the chief hope for the restoration of James lay not only in the defenceless and unprepared state of England, but also in the delay which the long and useless discussions in Parliament would entail. The contents of this letter had a great effect upon public opinion, for, though easily misled by self-seeking politicians in times of national tranquillity, the English people are apt to become suspicious of wire-pullers when rumours of war are in the air.

The Tory party would not yet recognise the danger of which their astute soldier-King warned them. Many amongst them ardently desired the return of James, and did not therefore wish to engage in war with Lewis XIV., by whose assistance the restoration of James could alone be effected. To prevent, therefore, all serious consideration of the danger which threatened Holland and the Protestant cause, the Tory party resolved to impeach Portland and several other Whig members of the late Ministry for the part they had taken in the last 'Partition Treaty.' This move was not only unpatriotic, but prejudicial to their own interests, suspected as they were of seeking to bring about the restoration of a Roman Catholic King. When popular excitement about the impeachment was at its highest, Portland obtained the King's permission to explain to the House of Lords the part he had taken in the making of the treaty. He said that he was only one of seven Ministers who were concerned in the business, Marlborough being one of them, a declaration which led to explanations from those he had named as to the share each had had in the transaction. They said that Lord Jersey called them together in the King's name and read the treaty to them. On objections being raised to some of its clauses, they were told—apparently by Lord Portland—that the King had done his best, and could

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obtain no better terms; upon which one of the Ministers replied that, if nothing could be altered, why bring them together?

The party nature of this impeachment was clearly shown by the fact that there was no intention of proceeding against Marlborough and the other Tory Lords concerned. In the end, the accused Whig peers were honourably acquitted, a result which raised a storm of indignation amongst the Tories in the House of Commons, the Tory peers joining in the cry. Protests, in which Marlborough joined, were recorded in the Upper House, condemning the accused members in terms of such violence that they were subsequently expunged from the journals. This is perhaps the only instance in which Marlborough, still a Tory at heart, allowed his party feelings to overmaster his habitual moderation, love of justice, and sense of what was for the true interest of England and the Protestant faith. He was fully aware that William had designed the 'Treaty of Partition' to save Europe from the war which threatened to follow the death of the Spanish King, and that it promised a peaceful settlement of the many claims that would be raised when that childless and heirless monarch should pass away. Marlborough was, moreover, fully impressed with the necessity for curbing the ambition of the French King, by providing definitively for the protection and independence of Holland. It was no mere error of judgment, as some suppose, for Marlborough was too wise and too far-seeing to make any such mistake. All that can be said in his defence is, that for the moment he suffered the baleful spirit of party, the ignoble allegiance which political supporters yield to their leaders, to outweigh his sense of what he knew in his heart to be best for the interests of his country. His conduct is the more inexplicable, because, although he hated and despised Portland, several of the other accused Whig peers were his personal friends, and, further, because he was at the time anxious to stand well with William,

from whom he was daily hoping to obtain high military command.

William now began to feel that his health was seriously failing. Harassed by the unpatriotic conduct of the House of Commons—many of whose members he knew to be in the pay of the French King—he began almost to despair of his adopted country. The universal dominion for which Lewis had striven all his life seemed near its accomplishment. The Dutch, in self-defence, had been compelled to acknowledge the Bourbon Prince Philip as King of Spain. The military and naval resources of France and Spain were to all appearances permanently at Lewis's command. But frail as William's body might be, a fiery, unconquerable spirit yet burned within him. He had never desponded in the darkest days of Holland's history, when he was but a young and inexperienced Stadtholder; and he would not do so now that he was King of England, commanding the resources of both countries, skilled in the expedients of statecraft, and ripe in his knowledge of men. To increase the bitterness of his cup, these Tories, whom he had so lately favoured and trusted, compelled him to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou as Philip V. of Spain. 'With great joy we avail ourselves of this opportunity,' William said to him in a letter, 'not only to congratulate your Majesty upon your happy accession to the Spanish throne, but also to mark especially the esteem in which we hold Your Majesty.' Well may the French chronicler have added as a note to this letter: 'Quelle joie que celle de Guillaume!'

On the last day of March William informed Parliament of the straits to which Holland was reduced, and of the fact that her existence as an independent State was threatened by France, adding that the Dutch were pressing for the twenty ships of war and the 10,000 troops with which England was bound to help them under the treaty of March 3, 1677. The Commons returned a cold and studied answer, to the effect that they hoped the King would act in concert with Holland, and that he might rest assured

they would give effect to their treaty obligations. This was meant as an intimation that they would not countenance his entering into any general European confederacy to resist France. A large party still felt that our interests in Holland were too indirect to warrant our embarking in a land war on her behalf. So much so, that about this time, 'Damn the Dutch!' became a common saying.*

The House of Lords, with a keener appreciation of the position and with more public spirit, counselled the formation of an offensive and defensive league with the Emperor and the other Sovereigns who were in favour of a complete separation between the French and Spanish Crowns. But William, the astute and experienced statesman, knew that it was only by a renewal of the 'Grand Alliance' France could be prevented from dominating Europe. But he had to do with a body of narrow-minded and jealous politicians, who, though not at heart unpatriotic, were incapable, from a habitual attention to matters of exclusively party and local interest, of grasping the full importance of those external affairs which carried with them weal or woe, not only to England, but to the cause of liberty and civilization. Throughout his reign William had chafed under the obligation imposed upon him by the Constitution, of submitting, in all matters of Foreign Policy, to the churchwarden-like views of his short-sighted Ministers, or, as they would have put it, to 'the will of the people.' But his phlegmatic Dutch temperament served him well and enabled him to wait with patience. 'It is,' he wrote to the Grand Pensionary, 'the utmost mortification to me in this important affair, that I cannot act with the vigour which is requisite, and set a good example; but the Republic must do it, and I will engage people here by a prudent conduct by degrees, and without their perceiving it. If I followed my own inclination and opinion, I should have sent to all coasts, to incite them to vigour; but it is not becoming, as I cannot set

* Defoe.

a good example, and I fear doing more harm than good; not being able to play any other game with these people, than engaging them imperceptibly.* This quotation describes in his own words the prudent but staying policy which he had long deliberately followed in his dealings with Parliament. Since his day Ministers have, upon more than one notable occasion, allowed themselves to drift into war either from incapacity or irresolution. William, however, had fully made up his mind as to what was the only true foreign policy for England, and deliberately allowed his people to 'drift' into war, 'engaging them imperceptibly,' and 'without their perceiving it.' Such was the only course by which he could save civil and religious liberty both in England and in Europe from the crushing power of Lewis XIV.

Early in May the King informed Parliament that Lewis XIV. had made overtures to the States General with a view to tempt them to enter into independent negotiations, but that the proposal had been rejected 'because they (the Dutch) deemed the interests of Holland and England to be inseparable.' The Dutch now pressed upon William, and he in his turn on Parliament, that Lewis 'had placed French garrisons in all the Spanish cities in the Netherlands,' and had collected armies with great siege-trains upon the frontier of Holland. 'A peace,' they added, 'in such circumstances, was worse to them than a state of war.' In a word, they declared their position to be so desperate that they had at last broken down their dykes and submerged the country. They could now look only to the sea and to England to protect their liberties and religion.

Before the session closed the Tories had made their cause unpopular. Their personal abuse of the King in the House of Commons, their violent opposition to the measures he had at heart for the defence of European liberty, and their open obstruction to the progress of public business, laid

* Hardwick Collections, vol. ii., p. 394.

them open to an accusation of promoting the Jacobite and Roman Catholic interests, and of furthering the ambitions of Lewis XIV. Some of the opposition shown by the House of Commons to William's policy and proposals had doubtless its origin in bribes cleverly administered by the French Ambassador. Lewis was seeking to engage William at home in quarrels with his Parliament, so that he should be powerless abroad to hinder the realization of French aspirations. It was notorious that French gold had lately been freely expended in England in furtherance of French interests, and suspicion fell upon the Tories. Their disregard of the appeals for help made by Protestant Holland to Protestant England had raised a strong feeling against them. All, therefore, who believed in the necessity of maintaining the Reformed Faith, felt how closely the cause of Protestantism was interwoven with the independence of Holland. The Tories saw their mistake before it was too late, and brought a stormy session to a close with a resolution passed *nem. con.* to 'effectively assist His Majesty to support his Allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe.' They even voted liberal supplies to enable him to thwart the French King in his designs upon Holland and the Low Country. William thereupon prorogued Parliament, and determined in his own mind to dissolve it, and employ his old friends, the Whigs. At the same time orders were issued for the despatch to Holland of the 10,000 troops with which England was bound by treaty to supply the Dutch in time of need.*

* Twelve battalions went from Ireland: ten embarked at Cork, and two at Carrickfergus. They were, two of the Royal Scots, and one from each of the following regiments: the Leicester, Norfolk, South Wales Borderers, Liverpool, East York, Royal Irish, Somerset Light Infantry, Lincoln, Royal Welsh, and the Bedford regiments.

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MARLBOROUGH APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE ARMY IN
FLANDERS.

William, feeling he has not the health or strength to command the Army in Flanders, appoints Marlborough to do so, and to be his Minister Plenipotentiary.

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ALTHOUGH William was only in his fifty-first year, he had for some time suffered from internal ailments, and the cares and anxieties of his eventful life had already told upon his frail constitution. His mind was as clear and his will as determined as ever, but his body was well-nigh worn out. He did his best to conceal the real state of his health from the outer world, lest the truth might deter foreign Powers from joining in that coalition against Lewis XIV. of which he was the animating spirit. But even when in his heart he knew that he had but a short time to live, and increasing weakness warned him that he could never again take the field, his first thought was still of Holland and her welfare. Since the transfer of the Spanish Empire to the Bourbon prince had added fresh strength and vitality to the long-cherished aspirations of the French King, William felt that a general combination of Powers against Lewis XIV. was more than ever necessary.

It was of the first consequence to him that the command of the army in Flanders should be in the hands of one strong enough to maintain, even after his death, the co-operation of England in this war. But whom should he

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select for this all-important position? A long series of campaigns had enabled him to appraise the military talents of his Generals, and to estimate their respective capabilities. For this war something more than a mere gallant leader was required, and William's knowledge of English character and of our insular prejudice against the employment of foreigners told him, that his choice must fall on an Englishman; at the same time, the nature of the duties that would devolve upon him made it essential that he should be a man capable of influencing public opinion, and of ruling the future Queen. By no other means could he hope to secure continuity of policy after he was gone.

Two English Generals only could be named as possible leaders in the coming war: the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Marlborough. Ormond was the greatest peer in Ireland, possessed of immense estates, able and experienced in public affairs, but as a soldier he preferred the pageantry of war to the hard work and rude realities of the field. As became the head of a great and ancient family, he was proud of his position in the world, generous in public life, and far more generally popular than Marlborough, who hated display, especially if it cost him money.

Ormond, who had been a soldier from infancy, looked upon the command of the English army in Holland as his almost by right, and was sorely disappointed when it was given to Marlborough—a man of small means and without hereditary position in the country;* and these feelings were shared by many leading public men, who seemed to think it more important that the General Commanding should be a personage of rank and high social position than one eminently qualified as a soldier. The cruel folly of such a view was afterwards proved in the campaign of 1708 in the Netherlands, when the Duke of Burgundy was given power to interfere with Marshal Vendome, who commanded the army in the field, because of his rank as a Prince of

* See letter of 9, 6, 1701, from Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, vol. iii., p. 146, of 'Letters in Reign of William,' by G. P. R. James.

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the blood: Oudenarde was the result. But William knew too much of war, and was too wise to make such a mistake, and in his choice between the two rivals—the man of rank and the soldier of genius—he never hesitated. As long as health and strength permitted him to take the field himself, he never cared to have about him Generals of first-rate ability, for, like many celebrated leaders, he was content to surround himself with subordinates of very ordinary talents. But now that he must surrender the command to another, he was determined to select the best man in his kingdom, and undoubtedly that man was Marlborough. He knew him to be not only an able General, but also the ablest of diplomatists, and the only Englishman who exercised a sufficiently powerful and directing influence over the Princess Anne. William's great desire was to make certain that the war should be continued with vigour after his death, and knowing Marlborough's ambitious nature, he felt confident that he could depend upon him to prosecute a war from which he might reasonably expect to reap both fame and fortune.

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A few weeks after Marlborough's appointment to this command, he was further made Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States of Holland, for William knew from personal experience how essential it is for the Commander-in-Chief in the field to be armed with full diplomatic powers. History, in which he was deeply read, had taught him that the world's greatest commanders had been skilful diplomatists, and that, in fact, it is difficult to dissociate the two callings in the field, and impossible to do so without injury, if not danger to the State. Marlborough's commission as Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Holland empowered him to make regulations and ordinances for the better government of the troops, and to punish by court-martial all who transgressed them. He might also grant commissions to officers as vacancies occurred—a privilege which was a fruitful means of money-making in those days. The renewal of the 'Grand Alliance' was to be his first aim, and he was authorized to enter into

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negotiations with that object in view. His instructions bade him demand the withdrawal of French troops from the towns of the Spanish Netherlands, the surrender of Newport and Ostend to English keeping, and of Luxembourg, Namur and Mons to that of the States-General.

It is a remarkable fact in this great English soldier's life that he should have been selected for these high duties by the stern and hostile William, rather than by the friendly Anne. He was singled out to command the Dutch and English armies by a Sovereign who had never liked him, who had imprisoned him without trial, who was jealous of his military reputation amongst the English people, and who had strongly resented his open condemnation of the preference long shown to Dutch favourites about the Court.

To be sent abroad as Ambassador Extraordinary was, in those days, a lucrative, as well as an honourable, employment, and amongst the customary perquisites of the office was a large quantity of plate. Marlborough's brother-in-law, Colonel Godfrey, the 'Master of His Majesty's Jewell house,' was ordered to provide him with 'the Quantity of five thousand eight hundred ninty three ounces of white platte, and one thousand sixty six ounces of Gilt platte ²/₃ s. 1701. which was the allowance heretofore given on ye like occasion,' etc.* He was given £1,500 'for his equipage,' and £100 'the weake for his Ordinary Entertainment, to commence from the day of his departure out of and to continue until the day of his returning into His Majesties presence inclusive,' etc.† Permission was given him to spend what sums he thought necessary on secret service.

* Lord Chamberlain's Records. In the accounts of the plate delivered out of the Jewel House and not returned between August 10, 1696, and March 25, 1702, 7,396 ounces of white plate, which cost £2,465 6s. 8d., were issued to Marlborough.

† Docket Books, Privy Seal, in Public Record Office.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

MARLBOROUGH NEGOTIATES THE SECOND 'GRAND ALLIANCE.'

Marlborough goes to Holland with William—Marlborough's able diplomacy—The position of European Powers—Tory sentiment opposed to war—Marlborough's Convention with Charles XII.—Sarah joins her husband in Holland—His indefatigable industry, and the difficulties he had to contend with—The terms of the 'Second Grand Alliance'—The *dénombrement* arranged—The press-gang and the desertion it led to.

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WHEN Lord Marlborough embarked with the King at Margate on the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, he entered upon the war that was to render his name immortal. Promotion came to him late in life, for he was already in his fifty-second year, and except during his expedition to Ireland, eleven summers before, he had never held independent command or high office. It must have been evident to Marlborough that William could not last long, and that upon his death the sovereign power would virtually devolve upon Anne's favourite, Sarah, and through her upon himself. Already he saw honours, fame, and wealth within his grasp. Confident in his own power, after long waiting upon fortune, he at last saw an opportunity for showing his military and diplomatic ability. William, on his part, did all he could to associate Marlborough with the Allies upon whom he counted in the coming struggle. They were all aware that upon William's death the General and Plenipotentiary would be all-powerful in England through his influence over Anne, and that

negotiations entered into with him would not fall to the ground by the change of English Sovereigns. CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Having reached the Hague after a short voyage of two days, our new Commander-in-Chief took up his residence in the town mansion of Prince Maurice, which was near the King's palace. It had been placed at his disposal by the States-General to mark their esteem for one who held so high a place in his Majesty's councils, and there he received visits from all the foreign Ministers at the Dutch Court, and entertained with great state all whom he wished to influence in his negotiations. As usual, the King was received most warmly by all classes of his countrymen. The day after his arrival he went to the Assembly of the States-General, and delivered an able, patriotic, and touching address, in which he deplored the unfortunate turn which affairs had taken, to the permanent danger of the land he loved, and to the general peace of Europe. He congratulated them upon their wise promptitude in the adoption of defensive measures, and he reassured them by stating that unless Holland could obtain from France a sufficient guarantee for her integrity as a State, they might count upon the support of England.

Fruitless and futile communications passed between William and Lewis. Neither had any intention of giving way, but at the same time neither wished to strike the first blow. To the Allies time was everything; for, as usual, England was unready, and the unmilitary Dutch were not yet prepared for hostilities on shore. Both sides pushed on their warlike preparations; the French busy in completing their lines from the Meuse to the Scheldt, near Antwerp, and thence to Ostend, whilst the Dutch were strengthening Nimeguen and other places on their threatened frontiers.

Marlborough, one of the most successful diplomatists who has ever represented England in the councils of Europe, now applied all his energies to effect a renewal of the celebrated 'Grand' or 'Triple Alliance' between the States-General of Holland, the Emperor and England. Lewis endeavoured

to thwart him by pretending to wish for peace, and succeeded in bringing the Dutch to believe in the assurance of his friendly feelings towards them. The Pensionary Heinsius, deceived by these professions, tried to persuade Marlborough that Lewis would in the end do all that was demanded of him sooner than embark in a war with the three Powers. Lewis, however, had no such intention, as he knew his position at the time to be specially strong. He had secured France and Spain from invasion by treaties with Portugal and Savoy, and thanks to the recognition of his grandson as King of Spain, which he had obtained from the duchy of Milan and the Two Sicilies, he could at any moment invade the Austrian provinces of Lombardy from Mantua and the neighbouring fortresses. The condition of Europe also favoured his projects. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne had become his firm allies, whilst the military strength of the German princes hostile to France had been weakened by the religious feuds to which the Reformation had given birth, by civil strife, and by a desire for political freedom which the French King took care to foster. Under these influences many of the German princes had, in self-defence, gladly allied themselves with France. Besides, they were angry with the Emperor, who had excited amongst them a strong and bitter feeling of jealousy by raising Brandenburg into a kingdom, and Hanover into an electorate. Once more the Turks threatened the frontiers of the empire, and rebellion was imminent in Hungary. Nevertheless, the Emperor was so personally and directly interested in opposing the French claims to the Spanish Crown that he had already sent an Imperial army under Prince Eugène across the Trentine Alps to the frontiers of Lombardy. But it was no easy matter to deal with him, on account of his exaggerated pretensions to the Spanish Crown.

William's great scheme was the renewal of the 'Grand Alliance,' that strong and effective Coalition between Holland, England, and the Empire, as principals, whilst

the smaller German kingdoms and electorates were invited to join it against their common enemy, France, but without having any voice in the direction of its main lines of policy. The respective interests of Holland and the Empire were, however, so conflicting, that it required all Marlborough's skill to reconcile their inordinate demands with the insular policy of the Tory Ministry. Writing to Godolphin, after his first conference with Heinsius and the Imperial delegates, Marlborough says: 'A great deal of time was spent in the Emperor's Ministers complaining of the Treaty of Partition, and when we came to the business for which we met, they would have the foundation of the treaty to be for lessening the power of France, and assisting the Emperor in his just rights to the Monarchy of Spain. But the Pensionary would not consent to anything further than that the Emperor ought to be satisfied with having Flanders, which would be a security to the Dutch; and Milan as a fief of the Empire. After four hours' wrangling, the two envoys went away; and then I endeavoured to let the Pensionary see that no treaty of this kind would be acceptable in England, if there were not care taken of the Mediterranean and the West Indies. When I gave the King an account, he was of my mind, so that the Pensionary has promised to use his endeavours with the town of Amsterdam; for they are unwilling to consent to anything more than Flanders and Milan.'

Sweden was then ruled by the eccentric young hero Charles XII. He owed William much, for, as already described, it was the co-operation of the English and Dutch fleets in his favour the year before that had saved his kingdom from destruction. The growing preponderance of France in Europe began to excite the apprehensions of this young soldier-King, and the military reputation won for Lewis XIV. by able Generals to rouse his jealousy. That wily monarch, already sensible of how formidable this new force in the North might become, did all he could by flattery cunningly lavished upon Charles, and gold freely

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bestowed upon his Ministers, to win Sweden to the side of France. By treaty we had bound ourselves under certain stipulated circumstances to furnish Charles XII. with a contingent of troops and ships; but we had also agreed with the King of Denmark that for certain considerations he would assist us with a Danish contingent of 3,000 Horse, 1,000 Dragoons, and 8,000 Foot; and there was always the possibility that Charles, by an attack upon Copenhagen, would disturb this arrangement. Marlborough, still a strong Tory at heart, had considerable influence with that party. But Tory sentiment was strongly opposed to all treaties and conventions which entailed war, immediate or prospective, upon England, and had consequently opposed and condemned the Partition Treaties of King William. The Tories neither could nor would share his views on foreign policy, or even discuss them logically and coolly, and they had from the first pressed him to recognise the Bourbon Prince as King of Spain. 'It grieves me to the soul,' he then wrote, 'that almost everyone rejoices that France has preferred the will to the treaty.*' But Marlborough rose superior to narrow party views. He knew as well as the King that by force alone could Lewis be kept out of Holland; and that were the United Provinces and Flanders, with all their wealth and naval and military resources, absorbed by France, as it might be said Spain had been, not only would Protestantism and liberty be extinguished, but even England might be unable to hold her own. In commissioning Marlborough to negotiate the 'Grand Alliance' against France, William looked to his influence with the Tory party to reconcile at least its leading members to his foreign policy. Anxious as Marlborough was to win the King's good opinion, he was too wise to commit himself to a treaty without first obtaining the sanction of those who exercised the sovereign power during the King's absence in Holland. The convention which he concluded with Charles XII., in September, was the only exception he

* Hardwick's State Papers, vol. ii., p. 396.

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allowed himself, and he did so because he had to deal with a capricious despot whom it was necessary to coax and bring to terms on the spur of the moment whenever the opportunity offered. To await the confirmation of such an agreement from home would probably, in this instance, have put an end to the negotiation.

The terms he obtained from Charles were, that Sweden ²⁴⁻²⁶ 1701. was not to enter into alliance with France, in consideration of the payment by England of 200,000 crowns, and of her guarantee for the 300,000 more which Holland agreed to advance in lieu of the troops and ships which we were bound by treaty to furnish. Marlborough also negotiated, though he did not finally conclude, a treaty with the newly created King of Prussia, whose chief aims were to obtain the recognition of his brother sovereigns, and to secure a subsidy for his exhausted treasury. In the draft treaty subsequently approved by the English Ministry, Prussia was to furnish a contingent of 5,000 men at once, and 20,000 additional soldiers later on.

According to Marlborough's usual practice when separated from his wife, he wrote to her almost daily. Hitherto she had never accompanied him abroad, but upon this occasion, soon after his departure from home, she determined to join him in Holland. As will be seen from the following letter, he desired her to postpone doing so until he should be in a position to judge how his negotiations prospered. She did not, consequently, join him at the Hague before September. ⁷⁻⁹ 1701.

'Neering, Aug. 1st, 1701.—I came on Wednesday night to Loo, and yesterday to this place, where I found the King ill of his knee. We all hope here it's the gout, and I think it is, but not in that violent degree that others have it. He is now better, and it is to be hoped he will not continue long lame, for the King of France has recalled his ambassador from the Hague, so that now we shall quickly see if he will begin the war, which makes me with a good deal of uneasiness tell you that you must defer your kind thoughts of a journey to this country until I can let you

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know a little more certainly of how I shall be disposed of, for our actions now must be governed by what France will think fit to do. Where'er I am, it is impossible for anybody to love better than I do you. My next will be from the Hague, for I intend to be a-going thither upon Monday, from whence you shall be sure to hear from him that is for ever,—Yours.—Remember me kindly to all the children, and let me know when Lady Spencer comes from Althorpe.'

Marlborough was neither given to reading for amusement, nor was he a man of pleasure; he hated writing letters, but a large correspondence on military as well as on diplomatic business kept him fully occupied at this time. With the Ministers at home, especially with his old friend Godolphin, he was in constant communication. His first great object was to carry them with him. He knew that although treaties might be ratified by the King, they would have no real validity unless approved by Parliament. He also knew that the best, if not the only, method of securing this approval was in the first instance to win the Ministers over to his views. He was anxious to carry out William's foreign policy, because he believed in it, and felt it to be the best policy for England. But he wished to pursue it by English and not by Dutch methods. He understood, not only his Tory friends, but also the sentiments and prejudices of his countrymen, which William was never able to comprehend. He consequently resisted the King's proposals for more rapid and independent action, knowing that he would most probably mar the whole combination if he ventured upon any such policy. We read of his rapid movements to and from Loo, Dieren, Breda, and the Hague, now to review some newly-arrived body of troops, now to confer with men who could influence the Princes he desired to win over. He had to settle with the Dutch authorities where the British troops were to be quartered, and how they were to be fed. He had also to look after the discipline of the army. In fact, all the chief duties connected with the command and administration of

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the troops, especially the British contingent, fell to his lot. To reconcile the conflicting interests of the various States, to allay the jealousies of their rulers, and to administer tactfully and in due proportion both flattery and bribes, was no very easy task. None but those, like Marlborough, who have complete control over their tempers can ever hope to bring such complicated negotiations to a successful issue. It is comparatively easy to conclude a treaty with one Sovereign or State, but he had to deal with many Sovereigns and many States at one and the same time. Owing, however, to his skill in diplomacy, he generally won the day in that war of words wherein the only forces employed are the wit and sagacity of the plenipotentiary. Diplomacy was then conducted with far greater secrecy than is possible in these days, and in all foreign negotiations the personal qualities of the diplomatist had consequently greater scope, and much more depended upon his ability, quickness and character, than at present.

The treaty now commonly known as the 'Second Grand Alliance' was partly drawn in the form of a series of proposals, so that Lewis XIV. might, if he chose, become a party to it without loss of dignity. There was no secret about its provisions, for an abstract of them was published in the *Paris Gazette*. Its immediate objects were the maintenance of perpetual peace between the contracting parties and the preservation of the balance of power. It forbade the union of France and Spain, or even the transfer of the Spanish Crown to any member of the Bourbon family. Lewis was not to possess himself of any of the Transatlantic provinces of Spain. England and Holland pledged themselves to satisfy the Emperor in respect of his claims to the Spanish succession, and the Spanish provinces in Italy were to be secured to him. France was to surrender the Netherlands, with all its fortresses, as a barrier against French aggression upon Holland. The maritime Powers—England and Holland—were to retain all their conquests in Spanish India. In fact, the treaty, unless

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accepted by France, meant little more than the alliance of the contracting parties against the boundless and unbearable ambition of Lewis XIV. If within two months from the signature of the treaty no satisfactory settlement were arrived at with him, the allies bound themselves to take the field. They promised to reconquer the Spanish possessions both in Italy and in the Netherlands, and to push the claims of the Archduke Charles to the Crown of Spain with all their united strength.

At the same time Marlborough concluded a separate treaty of alliance between England and Holland, in which the mutual assistance guaranteed by former treaties was confirmed. It also provided that, in future, the merchants of both nations should have the same trading rights in the Spanish possessions. This, and the possession of a line of barrier fortresses by Holland, were to be guaranteed by a defensive alliance when peace should be made. He submitted the draft to Godolphin for the consideration and approval of the Ministers, who made some trifling changes.

27-8, 1701. Early in September, N.S., about a week before his wife's arrival, he succeeded in obtaining the signatures of the contracting parties to the main treaty. Considered in all its aspects, it was a compact of great importance to Europe, and especially to England, for it formed the basis of all his subsequent negotiations with foreign Powers during the great decade of our national glory in Queen Anne's reign. He reserved the final approval of England for the decision of the Lord Justices, and the clauses which dealt with money, troops and ships, for the sanction of the House of Commons. He was pressed by the Grand Pensionary, and even by King William himself, to settle this important point out of hand as the English representative; but although no great stickler for constitutional checks upon the Royal authority, he knew too well the jealousy of Parliament in such matters to consent to do so. He refers to this point in the following extracts from his correspondence. Writing to Mr. Secretary Hedges in

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October, he says: 'I will let you know the method I could wish His Majesty would take, which is, very plainly to let the Parliament know what the Emperor and the Dutch are to furnish: and at the same time to give his own opinions very frankly, and that, by the 24th November, our style, which is the day the two months end, mentioned in the treaty, he is obliged to fix this *dénombrement*. I think by this method we shall have the Parliament on our side, and gain a greater number of men than the other way. Were I with you I would say a great deal on this subject: for I am so fully persuaded that, if the King should be prevailed upon to settle this by his own authority, we shall never see a quiet day more in England: and consequently not only ruin ourselves, but also undo the liberties of Europe: for if the King and Parliament begin with a dispute, France will give what laws she pleases. I am sure I would rather be buried alive than be the fatal instrument of such misfortunes.'

Again, on the 21st, he wrote to Lord Godolphin: 'It is 10, 1701. very plain to me that the Pensioner continues his opinion, that I ought to finish the *dénombrement* before the meeting of Parliament; but I have been so positive that he despairs of prevailing upon me; but I am afraid he hopes the King may be able, when he comes to England, to persuade yourself and the Cabinet Council to it, so that I may have orders sent me, believing that I should then make no difficulty; but I do assure you that I am so persuaded that the doing of this, by his Majesty's authority, would prove so fatal to himself and the kingdom, that I should desire to be recalled; for, before God, I will die sooner than do so fatal a thing.'

These were words of wise patriotism. They bespoke a man whose respect for the Constitution equalled the earnestness which he threw into the business entrusted to him by the King. Although his Tory prejudices still clung to him, it is evident from all he wrote, said and did at this time, that the Whig theory of government, policy, and

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aims were taking stronger possession of his mind, until they finally led to complete estrangement—which lasted throughout the following reign—between him and his old political friends. Every day he found that his Tory colleagues listened less to his advice, and that he was less able to induce them to adopt the King's foreign policy. In fact, except upon the point of fixing the succession of the Crown in the House of Hanover, Marlborough had not succeeded to any extent in gaining over the Tory Ministers to William's views and wishes.

Marlborough's arguments carried the day on the question of fixing the contingent to be furnished by each party to the treaty. A separate and subsidiary agreement was entered into, by which the Emperor bound himself to furnish an army of 90,000 men, and Holland 10,000, while England, subject to the consent of Parliament, was to provide an army of 40,000 men and an equal number of sailors. In his letters to the Tory Ministers, he urged upon them the necessity for agreeing to this proposal if they wished to gain the King's good-will. As a soldier also, his advice must have had much weight when he stated that those numbers would be required if France was to be successfully encountered on land and sea.

In England every effort was being made to collect a sufficient force for service abroad, but recruits were so hard to obtain that recourse was had to the 'press-gang.' The result was that large numbers deserted when in the field. When questioned as to their reasons for deserting, a great proportion said they had been pressed for sea-service, carried to the Tower, embarked blindfolded and transported to Flanders against their will. It is not to be wondered at that in one of the early years of the war near 1,500 English deserters were assembled in the towns of the Spanish Netherlands.*

* Lord Ailesbury's Memoirs, p. 523.



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Marlborough's arguments carried the day on the question of fixing the contingent to be furnished to each party to the treaty. A separate and subsidiary agreement was entered into by which the Emperor bound himself to furnish an army of 80,000 men, and Holland 10,000, while England, subject to the consent of Parliament, was to provide an army of 20,000 men and an equal number of sailors. In his speech to the Tory Ministers, he urged upon them the necessity for agreeing to this proposal if they wished to gain the Emperor's good-will. As a soldier also, his earlier conduct had been such, whilst he stated that these numbers would be required if France was to be successfully overthrown on land and sea.

In England every effort was being made to collect a sufficient force for service abroad, but recruits were so hard to obtain that recourse was had to the "press-gang." The result was that large numbers deserted when in the field. When questioned as to their reasons for deserting, a great proportion said they had been pressed for sea-service, carried to the Tower, embarked blindfolded and transported to Flanders against their will. It is not to be wondered at that in one of the early years of the war near 1,500 English deserters were assembled in the towns of the Spanish Netherlands.*

* *Lord Albemarle's Memoirs*, p. 522.

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*From a Miniature in the possession of
His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh.*

From a Miniature in the possession of
His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh.

London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1804.

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CHAPTER LXXXIX.

DEATH OF JAMES II.

James's mode of life at St. Germain—Lewis recognises the Pretender as King of England when James dies—The English people don't understand 'Foreign Affairs.'—The nation, incensed by this new move of the French King, are in favour of war—William resolves to bring in the Whigs again—Preparations made by William for the coming war—Lord Cadogan—William returns to England, but leaves Marlborough at the Hague, much to his annoyance—The scheme to pass over Anne and bring in the Electress of Hanover at William's death.

JAMES II. had been for some time in failing health. For the last ten years he had led a harmless life at St. Germain, buoyed up by his English correspondents with delusive hopes of a second Restoration. When well enough he hunted, and when unable to ride he spent much time in the confessional, finding interest, if not enjoyment, in penance. His career is a striking illustration of the evils resulting from bigotry and superstition. He died un-
honoured, on the day that the Second Grand Alliance was signed, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.*

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Lewis XIV. made a grave mistake when he seized the Netherland fortresses in the name of his grandson, the King of Spain, but he committed a still greater error when he recognised Prince James, commonly called the Pretender, as King of Great Britain and Ireland. William heard of it as he sat in council at Loo, and, unable to repress his anger,

* He was born $\frac{1}{4}$ 10, 1633.

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said openly that war was inevitable. Foreseeing this certain issue, he wisely gave orders to prepare for it at once by what we should now call the mobilization of the Dutch army.

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The recognition of the Pretender by Lewis can only be attributed to one of two motives: he either hoped to keep alive the Jacobite party and feeling in England in order to weaken William's power, or he was actuated by a passing sentiment in favour of a fallen and dying King, a kinsman and an exile. If the latter, the step was more creditable to his heart than to his head. It was clearly a breach of covenant; for although no article in the Treaty of Ryswick positively forbade this course, or specifically bound Lewis to recognise William as King of England, still he had therein stipulated to leave him in undisputed possession of Great Britain and Ireland. Our astute Dutch King must have chuckled—if he ever allowed himself such a gratification—over this unwise proceeding, which could do him little harm, while it strengthened his hands most effectively in England. William's greatest difficulty had always been the short-sightedness of even the more enlightened Englishmen upon questions of international policy. Their aims and views were narrowed down to what they conceived to be the immediate interests of their own islands. They knew little of the 'balance of power' and cared less, and whether a Hapsburg or a Bourbon ruled in Spain was to them a matter of complete indifference; but they had made up their minds that no Roman Catholic should again rule in England. It was with some difficulty that William had roused them to fulfil their treaty obligations to Holland by the despatch of the stipulated 10,000 soldiers to her assistance, and to induce them to engage in war with France had hitherto seemed impossible. All was, however, changed by this recognition of the Pretender. The English people have always been intensely jealous of anything like foreign interference or dictation in their own internal affairs, and that Lewis XIV. should presume to recognise a King of

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England against their wishes was an indignity that moved the wrath of the whole nation. It showed that no treaty could bind him. Yet we must not judge him too harshly for this breach of public faith, for powerful monarchs, and states with great national aspirations, rarely adhere to the terms of any treaty longer than it serves their purpose to do so.* In late years we ourselves have had some unpleasant experiences of this kind.

On receiving the news, William desired the Lords Justices to order the French Representative at St. James's to quit the country, and the English Ambassador in Paris to return home forthwith. Throughout England the excitement and indignation was general and intense, and William, never popular before, became for the time a sort of hero and was inundated with addresses from the great cities. All classes joined in condemning the insult offered to him by King Lewis. The gravity of the national crisis was generally recognised, and it was seen that the question at issue was whether we should bow to foreign dictation, or live a free and independent nation under a parliamentary form of government and a Protestant sovereign of our own choice. The insolence of the French King aroused a defiant spirit in England. The nation answered him with the cry of 'Let us fight it out!'—there was no uncertain sound about the reply.

William had for some time past contemplated the dismissal of his Ministry, but he had not yet come to a final decision in the matter. Of late the Whigs had not been as cordial as he could have wished; but at least they were not hostile, which was more than could be said of the Tories. In this difficulty, he turned once more to Lord Sunderland, who, hating the Tories, advised the King to recall his former Whig friends to office. Notwithstanding

* 'A treaty is an instrument by which a strong man, taken temporarily at a disadvantage, binds himself to do that which under happier circumstances he has no intention whatever of performing.'—The burlesque of the 'Happy Land,' 1873.

their old friendship and their recent connection through the marriage of their children, Marlborough was sorely displeased with what he regarded as Sunderland's underhand conduct at this juncture. He refers occasionally to him in his letters at the time, and always with indignant resentment.* He still thought it possible to bring about a reconciliation between William and the Tories, and although the gulf between his party and himself was growing daily wider, he continued to hope that they might yet come round to the King's views, and support his war policy. Though fully conscious of their unsoundness upon questions of foreign policy, Marlborough had as yet no intention of severing himself from a party with which he had long acted, and to which he was attached by strong and intimate ties. Indeed, he even hints in his private letters that if William were to throw over the Tories, he would resign, and he persuaded his faithful friend Godolphin not to leave office, as he then wished to do, but to follow the counsels of Lord Rochester, the leader of the Tory party.

All this time the King's mind was being strongly influenced by men of whose views he entertained the highest opinion. First amongst them was Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary, his firmest friend, his most disinterested councillor, and his most faithful public servant. Heinsius urged the dismissal of the recalcitrant Tories, the dissolution of Parliament, and the formation of a Ministry pledged to support the coming war with France. Sunderland's advice was to the same effect, and he sent Lord Carlisle and other friends to Holland, to confer with William and to press this policy upon him. Marlborough was not taken into the King's confidence upon this question, but he could plainly see that William was becoming daily more and more estranged from the Tories, and in his heart he could not but feel that the King had every reason to be so. His own remonstrances with them had proved of no avail, and they seemed for the moment to have entirely misapprehended the drift of

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 100.

popular feeling in England. Marlborough thought it advisable in this condition of affairs to try and bring matters to a crisis, and he adopted the following device with that object. He persuaded Godolphin to write him a letter, so worded that he might show it to the King, and containing an assurance of his belief in the Tories' honesty of purpose and in their determination to support William vigorously in the coming war with France. Godolphin did as Marlborough directed. His letter was a long apology for the Tories, and dwelt upon their strong and righteous claims to William's confidence. It wound up with an earnest hope that Parliament might be summoned to meet at an early date to settle the grave questions then awaiting solution. Marlborough showed this letter to the King, who received it coldly, and as if he took little interest in its contents. He would say nothing to indicate his intentions, but his manner gave Marlborough little hope that he meant to trust the Tories in future.

William determined to play a waiting game. He had made up his mind to dismiss the Tories, but he wished English public opinion to be more pronounced against them before he made his intention known. On various pretexts he postponed his announced departure for London from day to day, so that he did not embark until November 3. From the contents of the following letters it is evident that he completely deceived Marlborough as to the time of his departure, for he was anxious to keep him in Holland as long as possible in order to avoid his remonstrances and pleadings on behalf of the Tories. It is possible also that he may still have had some dread of Marlborough's influence with them, and judging from what had passed since 1687, it was but natural that he should still retain some apprehensions on the score of his intriguing disposition. He had, however, no suspicion now as to Marlborough's honesty of purpose in support of a war policy, for he felt that, as Commander-in-Chief and Plenipotentiary he would from personal interest, if from no

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higher motive, stand by him whether the Tories did so or not. William, before leaving for England, desired his friend, Heinsius, to do everything in his power to hinder Marlborough from soon following him. The following letter from Marlborough—probably to Lord Godolphin—describes the position, as he understood it, shortly after the Grand Alliance had been concluded:* ‘Hague, October 3, 1701.—The reason I did not write to you from Dieren by the last post was the latter going away the minute I came from the King. What I apprehended of the Pensioner’s having a mind to have me stay some time after his Majesty, I find has its effect; for I am to be left here till the end of this month. The measures the King has now taken for the not directing the proclamation for the sitting of the Parliament till he comes to England, I do verily believe does not proceed from any thoughts he has to have a new one, but from his being persuaded that upon this occasion there ought to be something more than what has been usual. I am pretty confident that this advice must come from you by the King’s calculation. This will put the meeting of Parliament off till towards the 10th of the next month, for he will be here next Thursday, and, if the wind be fair, leave this place upon Saturday, so that he hopes to be at London upon the 13th or 14th, which he has commanded me to let you know, and desire you would be there at his arrival being resolved to let you know everything, and, I hope, to follow your advice. If 16 be in the country, I hope you will take care for the good of the whole to have him in London by the middle of this month. I am so apprehensive of Lady Marlborough being sick in this country that I would have persuaded her to have gone at the same time with the King, but I cannot prevail; it may be you may. You will excuse me that I trouble you again about the *dénombrement*. I have made use of the argument that is very natural for England, which is that their expense at sea must be great.

* Blenheim Palace Papers.

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This argument is of more use to me when I speak to the Imperialists than with the Pensioner, for the latter tells me that they shall be willing to furnish at sea the same proportion as they did the last war, which was three in eight; and since their land forces are greater than they were the last war, the people here might reasonably expect that ours might not be less. I continue still of the opinion that it would be better not to have this settled anywhere but in Parliament; but on the other hand I ought to say something to them and I should be glad to know if I might not endeavour to make them not expect more than one half of what they had the last war. For aught I know, this may be more than England will care to do; but I hear no other language here than that this war must be carried with more vigour than the last, if we ever hope to see a good end of it; and I confess it is so much my own opinion that I hope we shall do our utmost. What that is, you and 16 are more proper judges than I am. When the King speaks to you of this matter, I beg you will be positive in the opinion that it is of the last consequence not to do anything in it but in Parliament. That which makes me the more pressing in this of the *dénombrement* is that the Pensioner is inclined to have it done before the Parliament meets, which I think would be destruction. My Lord Galloway goes from hence this evening and says he shall endeavour to see you before the King’s arrival. It is impossible to express how much I long to be with you, which will be by the end of this month, if you can let the King see that my presence may be necessary for his service. I mean my being there a week or ten days before Parliament meets.’

Another letter addressed to Viscount Hatton is also interesting:* ‘Hague, Oct. 1st, 1701.—My Lord, the enclosed treatys† being all that are as yett concluded, I

* From vol. ii. of the Hatton Correspondence.

† The Second Grand Alliance between England, the Empire, and Holland against France.

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take the liberty to send them as to a friend whose judgment I must depend upon. I desire you will take no notice of the having seen them, and when I have the honour of seeing you, which I hope may be before the parl. meets, I shall let you know my reasons for what is done as well as acquaint you with all that shall be done. For I call God to witness that I have had no thoughts but what might be for the good of England. If the wind proves fair, the King will embark in 4 or 5 days. I shall continue here till the end of this month. I am with much truth and respect, etc., MARLBOROUGH.'

Whilst both William and Marlborough had been busily occupied in the formation and consolidation of the Grand Alliance, the military preparations for the inevitable war were not forgotten. The States-General pressed forward the mobilization of their army with great earnestness, having obtained many recruits from England and Ireland. A large camp had been formed at Breda, where the twelve English battalions, together with other troops, were concentrated. William reviewed them there at the end of September, and dined afterwards at Marlborough's headquarters.

We now hear for the first time of the burly Irishman, William Cadogan, Marlborough's able Lieutenant and excellent staff officer.* He was the son of a Dublin lawyer, and had attracted Marlborough's notice as a gallant soldier at the taking of Cork and Kinsale. Although the Duchess quarrelled with him late in life, and accused him of ingratitude to her husband's memory, we cannot forget that when Marlborough was removed from the army, and persecuted by the Harley clique, Cadogan stood by 'the great man to whom,' as he wrote, 'I am under such infinite obligations,' adding in his Irish way: 'I would be a monster if I did otherwise.' When the twelve battalions were ordered from Ireland to Holland, Cadogan was serving in Ireland as Major

* Born most probably about 1670.

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of the Royal Irish Dragoons; and having been selected by Marlborough for the office of Quartermaster-General in the Low Countries, he accompanied these battalions abroad with the rank of Colonel. He knew his business well, and was of great use in preparing the British troops for the coming war. He contrived to amass a comfortable fortune during his campaigns under Marlborough, for in those days men were not scrupulous as to the means they employed to obtain money. We read, for example, that men who sought interviews with Marlborough paid Cadogan well for obtaining them.*

After the King's departure for England, Marlborough, who was most anxious to follow him, expected his recall by every post. He dreaded the dismissal of his friends from office, and was full of apprehension concerning the attitude which William might adopt with regard to the Tories. It was evident that he was being designedly retained in Holland, but for no object connected either with the army or the coming war. The long-looked-for recall came at last, and he sailed for England at once, but as he ²³⁻¹¹ 1701. was about to start he received the startling news that Parliament had been dissolved, and that Godolphin had resigned his post at the Treasury. William had cleverly availed himself of the popular ebullition of feeling against France, and the consequent reaction in his own favour; the result was a new House of Commons with a strong Whig majority pledged to support his war policy. Marlborough reached London some few days afterwards in very low spirits.

About the date of his return home, there was much talk amongst some of the leading Whigs of passing over the Princess Anne upon the death of William, and of crowning the Elector of Hanover. This project had its origin in the dread felt by many, that the accession of Anne would virtually confer sovereign power on Marlborough, who,

* Hook mentions that he paid Cadogan sixty Louis d'ors for such an interview.

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through his wife, was still known to direct Anne's thoughts and actions. Lord Dartmouth tells us that the Dukes of Bolton and Newcastle had pressed him to join in a plot for the supercession of the Princess, impressing upon him that he need expect little favour if Marlborough ruled in Whitehall. Dartmouth says that Marlborough asked him if he had heard of this proposal, and that he answered 'Yes,' but did not regard it seriously. Marlborough, however, assured him that the plot existed, but that he would never allow it to be carried out, exclaiming vehemently: 'By God, if ever they attempt it, we shall walk over their bellies!'

William's strength was meanwhile waning fast, though he still concealed from all but his faithful Portland the serious nature of his ailments, lest it should frighten timid Allies, and so injure the great cause which he had so much at heart.

* Note to p. 299, Book V., of Burnet.

CHAPTER XC.

DEATH OF WILLIAM III.

William's impressive and patriotic speech when he opened Parliament—It was well received—Bill of Attainder against the Pretender—Several Tory Ministers removed and Whigs substituted for them—Marlborough returns home to find public opinion in favour of a war with France—The English troops ordered to embark the end of February—William anxious to effect the Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland—Thrown from his horse, and dies shortly after—His liberality on all religious questions and anxiety to deal generously with the Irish—He was not regretted—His death a boon to Lewis XIV.—Marlborough's correspondence with St. Germain's at this period.

WILLIAM landed at Margate on his birthday, and was most cordially received. Addresses poured in upon him from every quarter urging an immediate dissolution of Parliament. Popular feeling was strongly against the Tories, whose obstructive conduct towards the King at home, and whose policy of peace at any price, had aroused widespread dissatisfaction. Within a week of his return writs were issued for a new Parliament, which met on December 30 ¹⁷⁰¹ after a stormy General Election. The Whigs were generally successful; and although many Tories were re-elected, those who supported the King's foreign policy were in a decided majority. The election of a Speaker was again keenly contested. 'There was great endeavours used for Littleton, but ye Church got it for ye old Speaker by 14 voyces: there was a great deale of money lost ye Wiggs

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were so confident; your neighbour Denton proffered 50g. to 5."*

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William opened the Session with an impressive speech, full of manly sense and vigorous patriotism.† He dwelt upon the dangers to which Europe, England, Protestantism, and liberty were exposed through the recent breach of the Treaty of Ryswick by Lewis XIV. The coronation of that monarch's grandson as King of Spain had, he said, so strengthened France, that she had become a source of danger to every State in Europe. The French King's recognition of the Pretender as James III. was not only a gross insult to the nation, but closely concerned every English subject who loved his religion and liberty. If the union between France and Spain were sanctioned, English trade would be driven from the sea, and if France were allowed to support a Pretender to the British Throne, peace could not be maintained. In the spirit of a high-minded patriot, soaring above all the littleness of Whig and Tory factions, he implored them "to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divide and weaken you." He desired to be their common father he said, and entreated them to disappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. Henceforward there should only be two parties, one that wished to maintain the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and the other that meant a "Popish prince and a French government." In conclusion, he urged the need of despatch. This manly, stirring speech was received by Parliament and the people with genuine enthusiasm, and revived the anti-French feeling in every English county.

Happily for Great Britain, in all moments of great national excitement, the pulse of Parliament generally beats in unison with the feelings of the people. In this instance both Houses, in their Addresses to the King, expressed deep resentment at the insulting recognition of

* The Verney MSS. of 1702, extract from a letter: Claydon House.

† This speech was written by Lord Somers.

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the Pretender by Lewis. They proudly demanded that there should be no peace until full reparation had been made for it, and they "offered to assist His Majesty to the utmost of their power in maintaining the succession in the Protestant line." The Commons added that they would grant the supplies required to support the alliances which William deemed necessary for preserving the liberties of Europe and reducing the exorbitant power of France.

In spite of vigorous opposition on the part of the Tories, a Bill of Attainder against the so-called James III. passed both Houses, and the conduct of the Tory leaders upon that occasion increased their unpopularity in the country. They still posed as the only true friends of the Church, but their Protestantism was of the narrow, bigoted type, which meant a bitter hatred of Dissenters and an ardent love for Jacobites, the known enemies of the Constitution in Church and State. The sentiment of the nation was not only Protestant, but also intensely antagonistic to Roman Catholicism.

The Whigs denounced the Tories as men who favoured a Popish Pretender and the French nation that protected him—a cry which strengthened the general hostility to all priestly influences, and prejudiced the popular mind against those who opposed William. The policy of the Tories was one of non-intervention in European affairs; England should be carefully guarded against becoming a principal in any war, and, if compelled to assist as an ally, she should positively restrict her share in the war to operations by sea. This policy has at all times commended itself to the English people, so much so that, had it not been for Lewis XIV.'s recognition of the Pretender as King of England, it is probable that William might never have succeeded in obtaining the sanction of Parliament to the Second Grand Alliance. That insolent recognition, however, changed the whole current of English feeling; and although William died before the war began, he lived long enough to see the old traditional objection to the employ-

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ment of English troops upon the Continent completely reversed.

Soon after the meeting of Parliament, several of the Tory Ministers were removed in order to make room for men pledged to support William's policy and the succession of the House of Hanover. Some of the moderate Tories were, however, retained in office, and also in high positions about the Court; and the election of Harley as Speaker showed the Whigs that they were not to have their own way entirely. To please the House of Commons and to secure its cordial support for the war, copies of all the treaties lately arranged by Marlborough were laid upon the table.* These met with such general approval that liberal supplies were at once voted. The strength of the British army to act against France in the Low Countries was fixed at 40,000 men, and a like number of seamen was to be provided for the navy. These were the numbers which Marlborough had secretly agreed upon with the States-General as the probable strength which Parliament would approve of.

17-18, 1701. When Marlborough reached London, he found that public opinion had undergone a change, and was now in favour of the anti-French policy which he had in vain urged upon his Tory friends: his sympathy with these views threw him more and more into the arms of the Whigs. His practice, like that of William, always was to make use of the good men on both sides as long as they could be induced to work together for the public welfare. It may be fairly designated as the coalition policy, and is naturally distasteful to the more ardent partisans of both sides. Godolphin, influenced probably by the superior genius of his friend, shared his moderate views on this point, and when pressed by William, in November, 1700, to take office, he had, against his own inclination, become First Commissioner of the Treasury in what may be regarded as a Tory Administration. But to Marlborough's

* Mr. Vernon's letter of 17 1, 1702, to George Stepney.

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great chagrin he found on his return home that Godolphin had resigned and had been replaced at the Exchequer by the Whig, Lord Carlisle. Godolphin had acted contrary to Marlborough's advice, in not awaiting his return before he resigned his office. The cause of his retirement, like so many of his other acts in the reign of William, is shrouded in mystery, but probably he found difficulty in overcoming his repugnance, on financial grounds, to the Whig war-policy, which had recently taken such strong possession of the public mind.

Preparations for the coming war were now pushed forward, and commissions were issued in February to raise nine new regiments of Foot.* All the old regiments of Foot, both in Holland and at home, were raised to thirteen companies of sixty men each, and nearly all those of Horse and Dragoons in England were ordered to be ready to embark for Holland at the end of February.† A train of artillery of 55 guns and 3 mortars was also fitted out at the Tower for this service.

After the Peace of Ryswick, Parliament had insisted upon the reduction of the army to 7,000 men, and the number of sailors from 40,000 to 8,000, but when it became necessary to collect an army for the field, men realized the folly then committed. Although a large proportion of the old soldiers dismissed in 1697 re-enlisted, there was still

* These nine regiments are now the Worcestershire, East Lancashire, East Surrey, Cornwall Light Infantry, West Riding, the Border Regiment, Hampshire, South Staffordshire, and the Dorsetshire. Each was to consist of 12 companies, 38 officers, and 795 non-commissioned officers and privates, servants included.

† The regiments of Horse were Lumley's (1st Dragoon Guards), Wood's (3rd Dragoon Guards), Lord Arran's (5th Dragoon Guards), Wyndham's (6th Dragoon Guards), Schomberg's (7th Dragoon Guards), and a regiment made up from the troops of Life Guards. The regiments of Light Horse to have fifty-nine men in each troop. Lord Teviot's regiment of Dragoons (the Scots Greys), and two regiments of Foot, Colonel Row's (the Royal Scots Fusiliers) and Colonel Ferguson's (the Scottish Rifles), were also ordered from Scotland to Holland.

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considerable difficulty in filling the ranks. The gaols were emptied, and all tramps and vagrants were compelled to become soldiers. An Act was passed in 1702 to allow men imprisoned for debts under £100 to go free, provided they joined the army or the navy, and by the Mutiny Act of that year criminals could obtain a pardon on similar terms.*

Early in the year the King urged Parliament to effect a complete legislative and administrative Union between England and Scotland, as he foresaw the difficulty that would arise at Anne's death if the question of the succession of the Princess Sophia to the Crown of Scotland had to be settled by an independent Scotch Parliament. He felt the union of the two Crowns to be a matter of great national importance, and he therefore urged it upon the attention of Parliament. Before this could be satisfactorily settled, it was thought necessary that a new Scotch Parliament should be summoned; but, owing to the state of the Highlands at that juncture, it was deemed inexpedient further to complicate matters there by a General Election. The question was, therefore, dropped for the time, but only to be taken up with vigour by Marlborough in the following reign.† The actual passing of the Act of Union, one of the most essential to the greatness of our empire, was reserved for Anne's reign.

The King's health improved during the winter of 1701-2, and he frequently rode from Kensington to Hampton Court to hunt. How long he might have been spared, had no accident befallen him, is a matter of mere speculation, but
‡-§, 1701. on February 21, when out riding, his horse fell with him,

* Clode, vol. i., p. 15. In a letter of 4, 3, 1700, the Secretary at War sends orders to the Mayor of Northampton desiring that certain named prisoners about to be released should be retained until the arrival of an officer whom Marlborough had sent to fetch them. Clode, vol. i., p. 585.

† Sarah to the Earl of Marchmont, ½ 6, 1734; Marchmont Papers, vol. ii., p. 30.

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and the King broke his collar-bone. The accident did not at first seem to affect his general health, for he carried on his business as usual, and pressed forward some useful measures in Parliament. On March 1, however, unfavourable symptoms showed themselves, and although he was able to give the Royal Assent to some Bills, his strength thenceforward gradually failed. Early on Sunday, March 8, he received the Sacrament, took an affectionate leave of his most intimate friends, and died at 8 a.m., evincing the same firm resignation which he had ever shown at all periods of his life.

William knew for some time before his death that his days were numbered. 'It is a fine thing to be a young man,' he pathetically said, when he heard of the victories won by Charles XII. and by Prince Eugène. He did not fear to die, but he deeply regretted that he could not live to see the policy which he had long advocated fully carried out. He seems, however, to have realized that his successor would, under Marlborough's guidance, be able to pursue it, and specially recommended him to her for the purpose. His recent experience of Marlborough in Holland had convinced him of his statesmanlike grasp, of his adroitness in the management of cross-grained allies, and of his marked skill in diplomacy. Of his military genius he had long been aware.

William's last public act was to give official sanction to the Bill of Attainder against the Pretender. When it was presented to him for signature, he could no longer write, but a few hours before he died he was able to stamp it.

So ended the reign of William of Orange, one of the greatest of our kings, and one who has rendered his name immortal in our history. He was not a great General. An epigrammatic Frenchman said of Turenne and William, that the former with small armies was able to make war on a grand scale, and that the latter with great armies at his disposal was never able to rise above operations which

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are technically classified as 'little war.'* In Ireland he has always been looked upon as a King of strong anti-Roman Catholic tendencies; but this is an incorrect view of his character. Before the English victory at Aughrim, he had, with true wisdom and liberality, wished to offer to the Irish Catholics the free exercise of their religion, together with half the Church buildings and half their ancient Church property.† Had this been the practical result of his Irish conquest, of what difficulties it would have relieved the United Kingdom, and what an amount of misery it would have saved the warm-hearted, clever, but easily misled Irish people!

Yet, although the British nation was deeply indebted to William, few Englishmen mourned his loss. He had, indeed, secured to them their liberty and religion, and had always ruled them justly and constitutionally, but he had never succeeded in either giving or inspiring confidence and affection. No one loved him, no one missed him. Charles II. was deeply regretted when he died; but, he was an Englishman in all his ways, whilst William was not only a foreigner by birth, but also by temperament and education, which alone was enough to make him unpopular. Even before he was buried, men went about congratulating one another upon again having an English Sovereign to reign over them, and rejoicing that henceforward no English gold would be annually diverted to Holland. So much for national gratitude!

William's death was a real source of congratulation to the French King, and he rejoiced over it as if he had won a victory. The name of Marlborough, soon to be dreaded in every French château and peasant's hovel, was still comparatively unknown, and Lewis naturally concluded that the Grand Alliance created by the King of England

* It is not easy to find English equivalents for the expressions, 'La grande guerre,' and 'La petite guerre.'

† Scott's Swift, vol. xviii., p. 18.

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expressly for the abasement of France would now fall to pieces. Marlborough's adversaries had yet to learn that he could not only by tact and personal influence hold together the members of that Alliance and make them work steadily towards one great aim as cleverly as William could have done, but that he could also command the Allied troops in the field with a brilliancy and success for which William could not have even hoped.

Marlborough had ceased to correspond by letter with St. Germain, but he continued to have interviews with the agents of James and the Pretender. He is referred to frequently in the Jacobite correspondence of the time as 'Gourney,' 'Gurney,' 'Armsworth,' and the 'Lawyer.' The agents through whom he communicated with his old master, and, after James's death, with the ex-Queen, were Colonel Sackville and Mr. Berry. Even so late as May, 1702, we find Lord Caryll referring, in his letters from St. Germain, in his usual counterfeit trade phraseology, to the 'contract' between Mary of Modena and Marlborough.* In this treasonable correspondence, Lord Godolphin was as deeply implicated as Marlborough, but it is evident, from the Stewart papers, that little reliance was placed by the Jacobite Court in either of them. It was hoped that Anne would not live long, that the Pretender would be recalled, and that the settlement of the Crown upon the House of Hanover would be ignored. Lord Caryll writes that, should Marlborough and Godolphin not 'concur in this, they are certainly the unjustest, and I think the most imprudent men that ever lived; for, notwithstanding their great practice at present, should Hanmer (Hanover) step into the copyhold, none would more feel the inconvenience of it than they and others.'† He adds further on, 'The great question will be, what better security they will or can give for the performance of this new agreement than they gave for the former one, for which we had promises and oaths. But

* Macpherson, vol. i., p. 609.

† *Ibid.*, p. 610.

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this only between you and me; for we must not reproach to their faces those whom we would gain, but rather take for current coin their excuses of want of power and ability to perform.' Evidently they were still playing the 'old game as they had played it throughout William's reign—hedging against the possibility, if not the probability, of another Restoration which they did not desire and would take no honest or active measure to bring about. So anxious were the Court at St. Germain's to obtain the cordial support of Marlborough at this time, and so highly did they estimate its value, that a proposal was set on foot for the marriage of the Pretender with one of Marlborough's daughters.

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MARLBOROUGH AT FIFTY-TWO.

'He was ambitious;
If it were so, it were a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Cæsar answered it.'

The serious charges commonly urged against him—The age in which he lived—He was far above it—A practical man of business—His amiable qualities—Swift's hatred of him—His love of money and avarice—His knowledge of men—His Toryism and general policy—His oratory—Love of home—His deep religious feeling—His devotion to Sarah—His greatness and his fame.

MARLBOROUGH was the servant of England until William died, when it was commonly said that he mounted the Throne; he certainly ruled England from that time until his downfall; and here, upon the threshold of his decade of glory, I must for a time take leave of my readers. I have yet to tell the story of his long war with France in Queen Anne's reign, of the able diplomacy with which he prepared the way for victory, and of the combined wisdom and boldness with which he ruled England. The story of his life in the eighteenth century is more easily put into words, and, as a matter of national history, is brighter reading than the narrative of his previous career to which these two volumes have been devoted.

The portion of his life dealt with in these pages embraces the gravest of the charges preferred against him. Hitherto there has been little independent inquiry into his early life

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and doings, and although his memory has long been branded as infamous, no one hitherto has sifted the evidence upon which his enemies denounced him. Each succeeding historian has been content to follow Marlborough's story as it was originally told for political purposes, by the unscrupulous Swift. It is high time now that the accusations made against him should be reviewed. Six generations have come and gone since he ruled England, and, at this distance of time, we are in a position to criticise his public career with calmness, and to pass upon him a judgment untainted by party prejudice. Time, the inexorable judge of public men, has not yet duly weighed Marlborough's merits against his failings—his great achievements against the defects of his nature and the blemishes in his conduct. In bringing to a close this part of his history, I wish to summarize my conception of his genius, and to recapitulate my general view of his character. In doing this, it is necessary to remember, that although his mind was well balanced, it had never been enlarged by study or strengthened by methodical education. Though gifted with a brilliant genius, he lacked culture and scholarship, yet all who love England may well rejoice that God created him a Cæsar rather than a Cicero.

The further we are removed from Marlborough's intrigues and calculated treachery during the Revolution period, the more brilliantly he stands forth as a great man of action. We are still so much under the glamour of Wellington's more recent achievements, and the appalling danger he saved us from is still so present to our minds, that the renown of Waterloo seems almost to obscure the marvellous glory of Blenheim. But in some respects time serves rather to darken and accentuate the crimes with which Marlborough is charged; not that any fresh discoveries have been made to his prejudice, but because our whole conception of ethics and of public morality has changed, and goes on changing. An offence that might have been regarded as venial towards the end of the seventeenth century

would now suffice to outlaw the offender, however high his position. Is it, for example, conceivable that England would nowadays suffer a King as immoral, dishonourable, and contemptible as Charles II.?

Marlborough's lot was cast in an age which, though picturesque, was not distinguished for patriotism or chivalry. There were no lofty ideals; although religion was still a strong motive power in Europe, nations seldom fought for an idea. The main object of an English courtier was to enjoy life in self-indulgent idleness, and to grow rich with the least possible trouble to himself. To be philanthropic or serious at the Restoration Court was to be deemed vulgar.

During the period embraced in these volumes, the history of England is a long story of internal strife, dissension, and revolution. The 'Great Rebellion'; the murder of the King; the proud rule of Cromwell; the Restoration, followed by the national debasement under the brothers, Charles and James; and then, pestilence, fire and civil war, until England could bear its misfortunes no longer, and the people at length chased the last Stewart King from these shores. Then came the reign of William and Mary, with its plots and conspiracies, some real, many false. England, torn by internal dissensions, became powerless abroad, while the strength of France, under the absolute rule of an able King, increased proportionately. The Treaty of Westphalia had given Alsace and Roussillon to France, and extended her southern frontier to the Pyrenees. She became compact, wealthy, powerful on land and sea, and formidable to her neighbours. Protestantism had been well-nigh exterminated within her borders, and with it had died—at least, for the time—all national aspiration for civil liberty. To rule absolutely at home, and to extend the territory of France at the expense of his neighbours, was the policy of the self-styled 'Great Monarch.'

Those who would thoroughly grasp what Marlborough effected by his great victories, must closely study

Lewis XIV., his aims and objects, and his plans for their accomplishment. Indeed, none can thoroughly follow the workings of Marlborough's mind or the secret motives of his crooked actions, who have not made themselves acquainted with all the history of his time. So close is the connection between his career and concurrent events, that at the risk of relating an oft-told tale, I felt bound to give a rough outline of contemporary historical occurrences, and I have striven to make known every fact that could tell for or against his character and reputation. Nothing has been suppressed, nothing extenuated.

Marlborough's career divides itself naturally into two distinct parts. The first extends over the period described in the preceding chapters—that is, from his birth to the year 1702, in which King William placed him at the head of the Allied Dutch and English armies in Flanders. The second comprises the last nineteen years of his life, and embraces a period of military glory unparalleled in English history.

I have no intention to consider, as yet, his place among the great soldiers from Hannibal to General Lee. It will be time enough to criticise his military genius when my readers have before them an exhaustive study of his great campaigns. When Napoleon, shortly before his death, was discussing the character of the world's greatest leaders, he said: 'Marlborough was not a man whose mind was narrowly confined to the field of battle. He fought and negotiated. He was at once a captain and a diplomatist.'*

We have now to judge his character and actions apart from those world-renowned victories which might be pleaded in extenuation of his faults. His unerring wisdom in council, his genius as a strategist and diplomatist, and his

* The result of this conversation, which took place on the 19th April, 1821 (see Abbot's 'History of Napoleon'), was that Napoleon sent his copy of Coxe's 'Life of Marlborough' as a present to the officers of the 20th Regiment—now the Lancashire Fusiliers—then on duty at Longwood. This book is preserved most carefully amongst the prized memorials of that old and distinguished regiment.

tactical adroitness, will be discussed later on. Let us for the present merely endeavour to form a fair estimate of his character and personality, and of the spirit which animated him during the first fifty-two years of his life. Let us judge him as one of those who, in order to establish Protestantism as the national faith, and thereby to secure our liberties and political privileges, violated their most cherished feelings at the Revolution. Let us try his conduct as we are wont to try the conduct of Lords Russell, Danby, Devonshire, Halifax, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Bishop Compton, Admiral Herbert, Henry Sidney, and the others with whom Marlborough acted, and while doing so, let us remember how often he was the victim of slanderous libels, and how important it was to the rival political party to accomplish his downfall.

In moral character, Marlborough was as far above the age in which he lived, as he was in ability above the men who governed it. Although there was much that was inconsistent in his character, there was no grovelling mediocrity, nothing insignificant about him. He was essentially a man of the world, who looked at everything, outside of his religious life, from a worldly point of view, and who reflected in his career of practised worldliness all that was most salient in the character and aims of the English courtier and public man of his time. He possessed the easy grace and winning ways of the polished men who surrounded Charles: he shared the earnest Protestantism, both of faith and of liberty, which inspired those who accomplished the Revolution and drove out James: while not even the untiring William equalled him in capacity for constant and heavy business, and in the power of endurance which it demanded. His life-work, however, only began where these volumes leave off, and not even Napoleon, in the height of his glory, toiled harder for his country than did Marlborough in Anne's reign. But in comparing these two great soldier statesmen, it should not be forgotten that Napoleon at Auster-

litz was only thirty-seven, whilst Marlborough was nearly a quarter of a century older when he forced the lines of Bouchain.

He was a man of business in an unbusiness-like age; and at a time when straightforward dealing in public affairs was neither practised nor esteemed, he was noted for his cool, well thought-out management of affairs. There was a British thoroughness in the way he worked out everything which he undertook, and no contemporary left behind him a larger correspondence, although he hated writing.* I have heard of no other great man who cared so little for applause and popularity. He seemed to despise that public opinion which eventually—in revenge, as it were, for his indifference—cut short his career of usefulness, and has for two centuries blasted his reputation.

He was no party politician or phrasemonger, but he would have made great and renowned the smallest village that was placed under his rule.† He was a man of facts, not of words, of deeds rather than of theories; an admirer of strong Governments which rule and lead the people rather than of those which drift with every passing current of popular opinion. He was, in short, a great and gifted man of action, who made England feared as well as renowned, and who, like Cromwell, was not afraid to make her great.

Marlborough had many failings, and great as he was, it is not easy to love his memory as we all love that of Nelson, nor to respect it as we do that of Wellington. Yet still there is something so attractive about the man's personality that we feel drawn towards him in spite of his faults. He was no saint, and he was too fond of money, but throughout his whole life he displayed a simplicity and gentleness of disposition, a touching sympathy with grief and sorrow, and a loathing of cruelty and injustice, that go far to counterbalance his many faults. Mercy was

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 129.

† Plutarch makes Themistocles say this of himself.

always in his thoughts, and if in action he smote hard, he always sheathed his sword with unaffected pleasure, and upon any good excuse. To the wounded and the destitute he was ever a friend, and he proved the kindness of his heart by a compassionate sympathy for his prisoners, and the care to avoid hurting their feelings by any exultation of manner.

Who can read unmoved the many touching passages in his letters to his absent wife? Clumsy and ungrammatical as they are, the loyal, loving spirit of the man breathes in every line. And who that loves England can read the story of his life without feeling a reflected glow of the enthusiasm which he inspired in the day of his power, when he stood, the central figure in Europe, the councillor of kings and the idol of his soldiers? Yet this is the man whom Swift hounded down with that combative instinct for which he was remarkable—pressing gossip, spite, and slander into the service of vituperation. Indeed, it would be difficult to draw from the history of any other great man a more striking illustration of the everness of the lie and the strong vitality of the libel.

Few men have ever had so clever and unscrupulous a detective as Swift set upon their trail with a commission to search into every event of their lives, and, *per fas et nefas*, to work out a case against their character and reputation. That he was able to find so little against the mighty soldier-statesman, redounds greatly to Marlborough's credit. And since every public document was at the service of Swift and his hirelings, Marlborough may surely be acquitted of every fault not included in the Dean's cruel indictment.

Notwithstanding Marlborough's signal services, the withering blight with which they were covered by the writings of this one man, caused the England of his latter years to hate him as if he had betrayed her. The power of the pen has seldom been more forcibly exemplified. England was drunk with the glory he had brought her,

and her sons were inflated with pride by reason of his victories. Yet despite all, the great essayist and his paid libellers persuaded the reading world that he was a Judas, while the people took up the cry, and harried him till he died.

Like Wellington, Marlborough had nothing of the braggart about him, and he never posed after the manner of Napoleon. He despised the 'stage business' and theatrical effects of public life; he was always dignified, without studying to be so; he had none of the mannerisms or the trappings of vulgar greatness, and the success which he achieved neither brutalized nor intoxicated him. Marlborough was patriotic in that he longed to make England great, but his patriotism lacked the steadfast dignity of Chatham's impassioned public spirit, and the chivalry and unselfish devotion which in men of Nelson's stamp transmute their love of country into a religion.

When enlarging upon his great qualities, Prince Eugène thus refers to his well-known love of money: 'But what is it we all term the politics of a Court, the reasons of State? The personal interests of ambition or the vengeance of a man in power. In looking into my own heart, I believe this last motive, as well as the first, has operated a little too much upon me, as a desire for power and riches exerted a little bias over the conduct of Marlborough.* An aide-de-camp, sent one evening to the English headquarters by Eugène, found the Duke in bed. A servant lit two candles, but during the conversation Marlborough blew out one, evidently considering two candles a useless extravagance.†

In a later volume I shall discuss the charge that he sought to prolong the war in order to enrich himself, and hope to prove how unfairly this accusation has been pressed against him. A similar indictment was urged against Cæsar by his political enemies, who accused him

* Prince Eugène's Memoirs.

† 'Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose' (by Dutens), vol. i., p. 108.

of plundering distant provinces, and alleged that in his greed of money he even robbed holy shrines. In both instances the evidence for these charges is of the flimsiest description.

There are two distinct forms of avarice: the desire to save by spending little, which leads to meanness and miserliness, and the determination to acquire wealth even though it must be taken from others, which leads to great crimes. Marlborough's avarice was of the mean, not of the criminal order, and whilst we know that he refused great bribes, his worst enemies were never able to prove that he had ever defrauded any man, or been even unfair in his money dealings with others.

A long acquaintance with poverty had made him economical in his habits. In the days of his greatness he was still actuated by the same thrifty spirit which possessed him when, as a young ensign, he lived on his pay. The man who for the greater part of his life has to count every farthing he spends in order to make both ends meet, generally finds it difficult to open his purse-strings when he exchanges poverty for riches.

Late in life, when looking over some old papers with his friend Lord Cadogan, he took a green purse from a little drawer in his writing-table, and contemplating its contents with evident satisfaction, he said, 'Cadogan, observe these pieces well; they deserve to be observed. There are just forty of them; it's the very first sum I ever got in my life, and I have kept it always unbroken from that time to this day.* What memories of youth, with its struggles and ambitions, must not this little hoard have brought back to the old man! In cases like his it is not easy to draw a clear distinction between praiseworthy thrift and culpable parsimony.

Close to Blenheim Palace a pretentious bridge spans some low ground, where there trickles at times what the guide-

* 'Old English Worthies.'

book describes as a little river. This bridge suggested the following biting epigram :

'The lofty arch his high ambition shows,
The stream an emblem of his bounty flows.'

He kept accurate accounts of his daily expenditure, and entered his servants' wages and other expenses with a precision equal to that shown in such matters by the great Duke of Wellington.* The care with which Marlborough looked after even his small bills is evidenced by the fact that he wrote the celebrated note to his wife announcing the victory of Blenheim, on the back of a page torn from his pocketbook, upon which he had previously entered a washing account.

Avarice and money-making were as common in Marlborough's age as they are at present, but in his time it was the custom to make money out of the State in many ways, and notably, by the sale of places, and also of interest with those in power. We have already seen how Lord Cadogan took money from men who sought an interview with his great chief. Pepys died rich, all he possessed having been obtained by the sale of promotions

* The following copy of an account current between Marlborough and his groom in 1699 is worth transcribing for many reasons. It is copied from a paper in Blenheim Palace :

	1699.	£	s.	d.
December y ^e 2, p ^d . for 2 duzon of Stable brooms . . .		0	4	0
and p ^d . for A paire of Shoes for Stephen . . .		0	4	0
the 4 p ^d . for A peck of hempseed . . .		0	1	4
and p ^d . for A pound of candles . . .		0	0	6
the 14 p ^d . for mending Stephen's Shoes . . .		0	1	4
And p ^d . for Linen for Stephen's Sherts . . .		1	8	0
and for Makeing . . .		0	2	0

2 1 2

Pay to Shurley, the Groom, two pounds, one shilling and two pence.
De: 26: 99.' Marlborough.

The account itself is in a strange hand; the order to pay is written by Marlborough himself.

in the navy, and by other equally questionable proceedings in the exercise of his public duties. But despite Marlborough's love of money, no instance of venality has ever been brought home to him. Wealth did not make him purse-proud or less easy of approach, and he knew how to be generous on occasions to a comrade. He amassed an immense fortune, but he swindled no one. He was in the very zenith of his fame when John Evelyn records the kindly tact with which the great commander sought out and welcomed the old Puritan-souled cavalier in a brilliant throng, where, doubtless, it was easy for out-of-date worth to suffer neglect.

Amongst his wife's papers there is the following remarkable note by her upon the accusation of sordidness, so freely flung against his character: 'I have heard him (Marlborough) solemnly swear, when it was of no signification to do it to me, that he never in the whole reign of Queen Anne sold one commission, title, or anything to anybody when he had so much favour from Queen Anne. He had a great deal of compassion in his nature, and to those that he had been long acquainted with, he gave money out of his own pocket to those that were poor, though they were not of his opinion. I am a living witness of this, for I was directed by him to pay some pensions when he was abroad, and have letters that prove the truth of it from the persons.*' In writing this, she evidently intended it to apply not only to his wars in Flanders, but to his whole career.

Marlborough was singularly free from prejudices, and was moved by few strong convictions, except upon the point of religion; hence his views on all subjects were broad for the age in which he lived. Clever, astute, and possessed of great originality, he was a fanatic in no cause, and remained an opportunist to the end of his days. Cool and calm as Cæsar in the midst of the most appalling danger, he was as untiring in energy and perseverance as

* Blenheim Papers.

was Napoleon in all that he undertook. Being no theorist, he studied man as he met him, not as he found him described in books.

A strong instinct served him in the selection of men, for he thoroughly understood the secret springs which influenced the conduct of all classes, and played deftly upon the individual idiosyncrasies and aspirations of those with whom he had to deal. The scientific estimate of human character did not interest him; but he could equally well manipulate the fierce vanity of the great soldier-despot, Charles XII., and the overbearing pride and pompous dulness of some hereditary Hoogheid or Hoheit of Pumpornikel. When genius fails in the work of everyday life, it is from ignorance of men and of how to influence them, and from a lack of that subtle and courageously directed energy which Marlborough possessed so largely. The written science of statesmanship had no allurements for him, and in dealing with his fellow-men he did not probe deeply below the surface to ascertain what spiritual nature might lie hidden beneath. Few amongst his contemporaries had so intimate an acquaintance with public affairs, both domestic and foreign, or with the men who controlled them; and he not only recognised, as if by inspiration, those upon whom he could rely to do his bidding, but seemed to know how they would do it.

From many years' experience and study of the men and women amongst whom he lived at Court, he had learnt the weak points in the character and disposition of both sexes. He thoroughly understood them, and could justly appraise the relative force of their virtues and their vices. Under an almost foppish exterior and an assumption of lazy indifference, he hid from casual observers the penetrating glance, which looked into the hearts of men and read their very thoughts. He was an excellent listener, and would often allow himself to be contradicted and opposed with the utmost good-humour. Few suspected that beneath the varnish of his polished manner there was great ambition,

and a fierce determination to find scope for it. There was no hesitancy, no uncertainty of purpose in that intense desire. He knew what he wanted, kept that object always before him, and firmly believed in his own power to achieve it. But he was human; and history tells us how that more than once he mistook the road up that thorny 'steep where Fame's proud temples shine,' to find himself, as it were, in a blind alley, from which, apparently, there was no outlet but over the scaffold. He possessed in a remarkable degree the power of winning over those whom he sought to influence. Some men are largely endowed with this persuasiveness, while others win by sheer force of character alone. But Marlborough, with all his directness of purpose and strong determination to have his own way, contrived to gain his ends by such a grace and charm of manner, that those he won over followed him as admiring friends, and not grudgingly as unwilling subjects or grumbling servants.

There was, in truth, a magnetism about him which made itself felt in every society which he frequented, and worked like a spell upon all who came within the circuit of its force. His words, full of charm, were uttered with a dignity that arrested attention, whilst they soothed and satisfied all for whom they were intended. His tone and manner indicated a reserve of power even in his moments of greatest volubility. He could refuse a request more graciously than most men can confer a favour, and it often happened that an unsuccessful applicant went away so charmed that he quite forgot his disappointment in the geniality of his reception.*

Whilst bent on securing the points he deemed essential to his plans, he would carefully, courteously, and often with some ostentation, give way upon small matters. This he did with exquisite adroitness, making believe that these trifling matters were of the first consequence, and that he yielded, not because of his opponent's solicitation, but

* Lord Chesterfield.

because the superior views and opinions of that opponent had converted him. His fertility of resource was boundless. If thwarted, he evinced no resentment, neither did he exhaust his strength by continued or obstinate struggle; he merely shifted his ground, and instead of trying to remove an obstruction from his path, he set himself to work under or round it. He never gave up in despair, or indulged in the weak folly of public lamentation over the perverse ignorance of those who had wrecked his best-laid plans. No man ever knew better how to play a waiting game. 'As I think most things are governed by destiny,' he wrote, 'having done all that is possible, one should submit with patience.*' In his well-ordered mind all points to be solved were silently and closely argued out. Gifted with the greatest equanimity, he never allowed himself to be hurried or flurried, and he never mistook bustle for business in others. But 'with all his gentleness, no man living was more conscious of his situation, nor maintained his dignity better.†

The cosmopolitanism of to-day would have been odious to him. His general policy was essentially national, and into it no questions of party were allowed to enter. It was, in fact, the reverse of the policy of those who overthrew him. The first aim of Harley and St. John was office and the material advantages which it afforded, and in pursuit of it they did not shrink from the foulest falsehood and scheming. That the Tories should rule, and that they themselves should be the acknowledged leaders, was to them of far greater moment than the country's welfare. Marlborough, on the contrary, never sought to perpetuate power in the hands of any one set, but employed men of both political parties, only considering the advantage of the nation.

Although educated in the tenets of Toryism and remaining a Tory in principle until the age of thirty-six, Marl-

* Coxe, vol. ii., p. 294.

† Lord Chesterfield's letter to his son of 18, 11, 1748.

borough was no slave to any theory of government in either Church or State. He was essentially liberal in his political views, and always repudiated exclusive adherence to any party. The form of government which evidently commended itself to him was that of a Protestant King, who should be his own First Minister, ruling through Ministers, who should have no collective responsibility, but be directly responsible to the King alone. The bent of his mind was towards a mild and beneficent despotism, provided that the despot would protect the liberties and religion of the people. Marlborough had no strong theories about liberty, but neither had the great bulk of the people. A small minority still adhered to Roundhead principles, but they and their creed had been utterly discredited. What the people clamoured for was war to the knife against Popery. Popular sentiment in England had been intensely roused by stories of the persecution of Protestants in France, and the feeling was kept alive by dramatic tales of horror related by the Huguenot refugees who crowded into London and all our large towns. By his revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Lewis XIV. had, as it were, declared war against Protestantism and free thought, and in doing so had aroused here an intensely angry feeling against himself and against all those Englishmen who still adhered to the ancient faith. The Whig policy meant the persecution of the English Romanists, notably by their exclusion from the public service; but it was a policy with which the liberal-minded Marlborough never sympathized.

It is noteworthy that Marlborough's rise to power was not the outcome of any great upheaval of society, as in the case of Cromwell, Washington, and Napoleon.

In the stormy times in which those three great revolutionists rose to eminence, a leader was urgently needed, and they, each after his own fashion, supplied the want. But Marlborough, after taking a leading part in bringing about that peaceful and bloodless change known as 'The

Revolution,' rose in the usual order of promotion to be Commander-in-Chief of the army which was collected to do battle against France.

Marlborough was not a man of crotchets in public affairs. To carry on the 'Queen's Government smoothly' and for the benefit of England through the instrumentality of his friend Godolphin, was the home policy which he pursued when he became master of England at William's death; and to destroy the domineering power of France whilst maintaining the independence of Holland and protecting British commerce throughout the world, was the aim of his foreign policy. Having no decided bias himself, he always opposed the discussion of abstract questions of government, as well as violent expressions of public opinion on the affairs of State, and he shunned subjects calculated to arouse class hatred or to excite popular passion.

At all times, even when he spoke most freely, he had so much natural dignity that no one ever ventured to be pert or familiar with him.* When serving in the French Army, and on intimate terms with Turenne, he acquired, perhaps unconsciously, that great man's trick of raising or shrugging his shoulders when he wished to avoid any disagreeable question;† and amongst his intimates he had the habit of saying 'Silly, silly,' in a somewhat drawling tone, to questions which he deemed either inquisitive or inconvenient. This gained him the nickname of 'Silly-silly,' by which we find him at times referred to in familiar letters from his friends.‡

His enemies said that his voice was weak and squeaky, and we have evidence that, like Cæsar's, it was shrill when speaking in public, and at all times somewhat high.§ He

* Lord Chesterfield.

† Lord Ailesbury's 'Memoirs,' p. 571.

‡ Seward's 'Anecdotes,' vol. ii., p. 324.

§ Bishop Warburton states that Pope had repeated to him some unpublished lines, in which the death of Marlborough's son was thus unfeelingly referred to:

'In accents of a whining ghost
Laments the son he lost.'

was no orator, but though not a fervid, he was yet an effective, because a convincing speaker. Incapable of fiery declamation, he was never at a loss to find fitting words to convey his meaning to others. All he said was unimagined, and measured. He appealed to no human passion, but rather to the cold common-sense of his hearers. No fire burned within him to kindle the sensibilities of his audience. His speeches were as devoid of ornament as were those of Wellington, but, then, their sterling sense and rugged strength required none. They were clear, simple, practical, and free from canting sentiment about the wickedness of men, or the loveliness of virtues which few respected and fewer practised. He knew that those whom he addressed had little real sense of justice or morality, and he spoke to them in terms suited to the low code of honour upon which they acted.

His character does not inspire as much respect as his genius, but until he became Captain-General at William's death, his career had been little more than one long series of intrigues, sometimes with, and sometimes against, his colleagues.* His enemies declare that he did not play the game fairly; but who amongst his contemporaries did so? Not surely James II., or William III., or Sunderland, not Shrewsbury, Nottingham, Godolphin, or Admiral Russell? Even the clergy were not irreproachable in this respect.

It would be difficult to find amongst the great men of the earth one more truly human than Marlborough; and if in his many-sided character there was often a certain want of harmony between his actions and his principles, still his kind heart and amiable disposition made him more lovable than it was in the nature of our great 'Iron Duke' to be. The animal passions which so often drive men to soul-and-body-destroying debauchery were in his case very strong, but kept in check and softened by natural tenderness and gentle-

* Before William died he had given Marlborough command of the English troops in Flanders, but he was not made Captain-General until Anne's reign.

ness, and above all by his kind and sympathetic consideration for others. It is said that no coarse expression ever passed his lips, and in an age when men, and even women, spoke and wrote indecorously, it may be safely inferred that refinement of speech implied a corresponding refinement of mind. In judging him, few look beyond the record of his great deeds and the comments of critics who have emphasized and exaggerated every fault and crime laid to his charge, whether proven or not. But those who study his inner life will find a warm heart, a religious and spiritual faith, a fascinating manliness and an ardent love of home and country which influenced the whole of his career.

He was systematic in his habits, and possessed a complete mastery over himself. 'Calm and irresistible, like a force of nature,' his evenness of temper was all the more remarkable because, living with one so fiery and imperious as his wife, it must have been often sorely tried. But he used to say, 'patience will overcome all things,'* and the following anecdote illustrates how impossible it was to ruffle him. Riding one day with Mr. Commissary Marriot, it began to rain heavily, and the grooms behind were ordered to bring up their masters' cloaks. Mr. Marriot's servant, a good-humoured, bright lad, brought his immediately, but Marlborough's servant, a lazy, sulky fellow, was awkward in his attempts to undo the buckles which secured the coat to the saddle. The Duke, getting wet, called a second time for it, when the groom, in a surly, ill-tempered tone, grumbled out: 'You must wait, if it rains cats and dogs, till I can get at it.' Marlborough, turning to his companion in the calmest manner, said good-humouredly: 'I would not have that fellow's temper for all the world!'

Marlborough's yearning for home, and for the society of his wife and children, breathes through all his life. He expresses it in the letters written shortly after his

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 192.

marriage. We find it repeated when he was the greatest man in Europe, at the head of a large and victorious army, already old beyond his years, and worn-out by the cares, worries, and responsibilities of a long war. Take, for example, the following letter, written to Sarah in allusion to the building of Blenheim Palace: '... It is there I must be happy with you. The greatest pleasure I have, when I am alone, is the thinking of this, and flattering myself that we may then so live as neither to anger God nor men, if the latter be reasonable; but if they are otherways, I shall not much care if you are pleased, and that I do my duty to God; for ambition and business is what, after this war, shall be abandoned by me.' Again, writing during a hot July in Flanders, he says the heat 'will ripen the fruit at St. Albans. When you are there, think how happy I should be in walking alone with you. No ambition can make amends for being from you.'

During that solemn night before Blenheim, when far from home, upon the banks of the mighty Danube, he prayed so earnestly for victory, his mind wandered constantly to his house on the little Hertfordshire stream near St. Albans, and he longed to saunter through its trim gardens with the wife he loved before all earthly things. She was all in all to him, and this is so generally felt and recognized that mention is rarely made of Marlborough without some allusion to the beautiful termagant who ruled his heart and his destinies. The result is, that we are prone to judge him as if he were a duality, and to judge both, as if each were to be held responsible for the other's doings, sayings, aspirations, and thoughts. But this is not fair to him, for no man ever had more practical wisdom, and no clever woman ever had less.

I have dwelt much upon his deep and lover-like devotion to her, because it was an essential part of himself. He admired her beauty, though experience had taught him that it was not the beauty of holiness. He was fully conscious of her failings, for he was a frequent victim of

her cross-grained temper, and of the violent outbursts of passion in which she frequently indulged. The acerbity with which she hated his Tory colleagues, Godolphin excepted, was a thorn in his side, and continually embroiled him with them and with the Queen, whose strong leaning towards that party was undisguised. But, notwithstanding her petulant disposition, she always remained his 'sweet-heart.' His love for her was a species of tender worship; but, like those races who fear their devils more than they love their gods, he seemed generally more anxious to calm her fiery pugnacity than to elicit any tenderness by appeals to the love she certainly bore him. Surely no man who loved his wife as he did could be devoid of that tenderness and self-sacrifice which are the offspring of consideration for others. In the letter which he wrote to her when he embarked to set out on his great career of victory he says: 'We are now out of sight of Margate, and I have neither soul nor spirits; but I do at this moment suffer so much, that nothing but being with you can recompense it. If you will be sensible of what I now feel, you will endeavour ever to be easy to me, and then I shall be most happy; for it is you only that can give me true content. I pray God to make you and yours happy; and if I could contribute anything to it with the utmost hazard of my life, I should be glad to do it.'*

In another letter, written to her upon reaching the Hague, he says: '. . . the quiet of my life depends only upon your kindness; and I beg you to believe that you are dearer to me than all things in this world. My temper may make you and myself sometimes uneasy; but when I am alone, and I find you kind, if you knew the true quiet I have in my mind, you would then be convinced of my being entirely yours, and that it is in no other power in this world to make me happy but yourself.'†

There can be no doubt of the strong faith in God which influenced his conduct from the date of his marriage

* Coxe, vol. i., p. 119.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 120.

onwards, though his was not an age of spiritual earnestness. It was a time of religious scepticism, when the principles of Hobbes appealed successfully to the reasoning faculty, and had caught the fancy of many. But no speculative doubt as to the accuracy of the Bible, the philosophy of its teaching, or the great scheme of Christian redemption, ever troubled his thoughts. To him the Gospel history was as unquestionably true as the elementary laws of nature, and he did not doubt or question the religious teaching of his childhood, but took it simply on trust as he had learned it. What had been good enough for his father, for Bacon, for Locke, and for the thousands of very great thinkers who believed in it, was good enough for him. Not so with his wife. Her questioning turn of mind led her to critically examine every point of religious belief, until at last she became a confirmed sceptic upon all matters of revealed religion, and not only lost all faith in goodness and truth herself, but came at last to despise, as dishonest fools, those who still retained it. Marlborough's letters, on the contrary, teem with expressions of trust in God, of belief in God's constant watchful care over him, and of unqualified reliance upon His aid and support. In every undertaking he looked for 'the particular blessing of the Almighty,' and saw His hand in all that happened. It was God who gave him victory, and it was by His mercy that he was preserved through the dangers which he encountered. He spent hours of the night before Blenheim in prayer, and, as was ever afterwards his custom, he received the Sacrament before going into action. Upon that particular occasion he said of himself, 'he believed he had prayed more that day than all the chaplains in the army.' He certainly possessed a childlike faith in the efficacy of prayer, which, in a mind of his calibre, so often confounds the reasoning of the ablest sceptic. His religion elevated his character and strengthened all the good that was within him. To such an extent did he sometimes allow his religious feelings to carry him, that we read of his cashiering two officers

for blasphemy.* He was, however, as liberal in his views about rival creeds as he was about politics, harbouring no rancour against those who differed from him in spiritual belief, some of his best friends being Roman Catholics. Although he did not profess the creed of the High Churchmen of his time, he never ridiculed their views, nor did he, on the other hand, in any way condemn the peculiarities of the Dissenters. He recognised and admired the sincerity of all Christian believers. His was no emotional religion, but a living faith, worth fighting for if necessary, and for it at the Revolution he risked his life and everything he had.

One of our greatest historians says that Marlborough's conduct at the Revolution 'was a signal sacrifice to public virtue of every duty in private life, and required for ever after the most upright, disinterested and public spirited behaviour to render it justifiable.'† But few who are conversant with the ethics of the Restoration period will accept this theory. Marlborough had been educated and had spent his life in an atmosphere of crooked plots and counterplots. To scheme for what he wanted was second nature to him, as it was to all his friends; and he was as careful as a modern bookmaker to hedge against every possible turn of fortune's wheel. Except at the Revolution, when he drew the sword and threw away the scabbard, his conduct was always so calculated that, come what might, he should at least be safe from destruction and his family from ruin. Surely there is nothing incompatible in this union of a strong religious faith with the intriguing caution which was the fashion of the day.

Our reputation as a race of brave, stubborn men has been high in all ages. The Romans found our ancestors hard to beat, and in the long wars of the Middle Ages the prowess of the Briton was superior to that of other peoples. Yet, notwithstanding the antiquity of these war-

* 'Life of Colonel Gardiner,' by Dr. Doddridge, p. 129.

† Hume, vol. viii., chap. lxxii., p. 310.

like characteristics, it must be admitted that the reputation of our army only dates from Marlborough's victories. His wars first proved to modern Europe that Great Britain could produce not only stalwart soldiers as hard to beat as the victors of Crecy and Agincourt, but able commanders also; and that England possessed a native army officered by English gentlemen and led by an English General before which no other army of equal number could hold its own. It was Marlborough who first taught us to be proud of our standing army as a national institution, and the spirit of confidence which pervaded Wellington's army in the Peninsula, and to a still more remarkable degree shows itself now in Queen Victoria's army, may be said to have been born at Blenheim, baptized at Ramillies, and confirmed at Oudenarde.

In the heterogeneous army which he commanded, the British troops were soon recognized as the core round which the component parts crystallized into a hard and compact mass, upon which blows made no impression. They were as the steel point to the Confederates' spear which forced its way through all armour, and when at last the British contingent was withdrawn from the Allied army, victory fled its ranks.

In writing of men like Caesar, Marlborough, and Napoleon, we feel that we have to deal with leaders, not followers, of public opinion, with real men, upon whose guidance hung the future of their countries and the destiny of Europe. Both Marlborough and Wellington dreaded the invasion of England by the French, and both conceived the maintenance of a well-planned balance of power amongst the great nations of the Continent, as necessary to preserve Europe from the general dominion of any one ambitious State. It is impossible to imagine what would now be the condition of Europe, or of civil and religious liberty anywhere, if those two Englishmen had died in the comparative obscurity of their early years. Lewis XVIII. said that a merciful Providence had sent a Wellington into the

world as a counterpoise to Napoleon, and we may surely say the same of Marlborough with reference to Lewis XIV.

When Lord Bolingbroke was in exile, some French friends thought to please him by abusing his enemy, the great English General. With that dignity of mind which characterized him when not weighted with party considerations, he replied: 'I am the last person in the world to be told this. I knew the Duke of Marlborough better than any of you. He was so great a man I have entirely forgotten all his failings.' Until the party exigencies of political life had warped all sense of justice and gratitude in this remarkable genius, he had always spoken and written of Marlborough in the most gracious and generous terms.

The Duke of Wellington said, when asked about Marlborough, that he considered his strong sound sense and great practical sagacity were his most remarkable characteristics.* These were his own most salient qualities, and this answer of his shows how keenly he appreciated them in others.

Some great writers have misused their eloquence in abuse of Marlborough. Libellers have even dared to question the courage of the great soldier who was no longer young when he led the crushing charge at Ramillies, and whose sword, years afterwards, Prince Eugène kissed when it was bequeathed to him, saying as he received it, 'O sword that I have so often followed!'

'I hope,' Marlborough wrote, 'my services will need no apology with good men, and as long as they may be of any benefit to the public I shall be very little concerned at the endeavours any others may use to lessen them.' In another letter he comforts himself and reassures his correspondent with regard to some abuse which had been apparently levelled at both of them: '*We must continue to do our duty,*' he says; and he then goes on to infer, that if that be done, calumny can be regarded with contempt. Wellington could

* The Greville Diary of 8, 8, 1843.

have said no more, and Wellington had been formed in a sterner school of public morality.

The master spirits who command the armed forces of a free country are but the inspired mandatories of their country's will. They defend her interests and give effect to her aspirations; they clench the links of her strength, and are alike pioneers and guardians of her power; and in England the noble, selfless word 'duty' has long been the motto of her most famous warrior sons. Marlborough, his great, serene mind ruffled for a moment by insult, comforts himself with this magic word; Nelson thrills his eager fleet and all future generations of Englishmen with it; Wellington, cold and impregnable, rests upon it. May England never forget all that she owes to that word, and remembering how much it has achieved for her in the past, may she thus be enabled to keep faith with her future!

But as regards Marlborough's detractors, 'he has outsoared the shadow of (their) night,' and his finest qualities still form an integral part of our national heritage of fame. No one did more to redeem his country from the abject servitude into which she had sunk when the Stewarts reduced her to being 'little more than a province of France.*' The Kings whom he first served were but pensioners of Lewis XIV.; those whom he helped to create were more than their enemy's equals. Queen Anne as a woman was dull and apathetic; but, championed by Marlborough, she became distinguished as the representative of an enduring monarchy, respected abroad and beloved at home, and the traditional sentiment of loyalty, thus brought into harmony with our national requirements, has never since been seriously impaired.

That he had faults is freely admitted, and it is sometimes harder to excuse petty foibles in a great man than to forgive those huge errors which are the outcome of deep passions, and are often redeemed by pathos and tragedy. It is sorry work to dwell on the errors of the mighty dead,

* Burnet.

or on the malevolent skill which exaggerated them, and Marlborough's calmness and indifference under insult may have goaded his detractors to further attacks. But surely John Churchill's faults may be deemed as more than expiated when we remember that he, formerly so handsome, so gallant, so dominant, was in his helpless old age shown for money by his own servants to visitors at Blenheim Palace, an object of vulgar curiosity to sight-seers in the lonely corridors of the vast pile built to commemorate his glory. Yet his fame still enriches our national history, and for generations his name lived in the terrors of our enemies as French mothers hushed their children with the national alarm of: 'Malbrook s'en va-t-en Guerre.'

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